HAMILTON, LOCKE AND CLARK SERIES.

TITUS LIVIUS.

SELECTIONS

FROM

THE FIRST FIVE BOOKS,

TOGETHER WITH THE

Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books Entire:

WITH AN INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

AS NEARLY LITERAL AS THE IDIOMATIC DIFFERENCES OF THE LATIN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES WILL ALLOW.

For the Use of Schools and Private Learners.

By

REV. I. W. BIEBER.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In preparing the following "Interlinear," it was deemed requisite to present only such portions of Livy as are found in Prof. Lincoln's edition, embracing selections from the first five, and the whole of the twenty-first and twenty-second, books. Except a few slight alterations, made on the authority of the best German critical editions, the text of Lincoln has been scrupulously followed and precisely reproduced; while in the preparation of the corresponding English, the most reliable current translations were freely consulted and used.

In method, aim and general execution, the present work is essentially in harmony with those of the "Interlinear series," already before the public, and of which the Livy is merely a continuation. It was thought possible, however, to introduce an additional feature (in the matter of translation,) without defeating the purpose, or destroying the peculiarity, of the book as an Interlinear. By resorting to a somewhat novel plan of "italicizing," the English text throughout has been made to assume a two-fold character: substantially preserving, on the one hand, the "verbal method" of its predecessors; and making provision, at the same time, for the demands of the more advanced and cultured reader. Dropping all

phrases, words and parts of words, in italic dress, the sense still remains comparatively unimpaired, and constitutes the (almost) "literal" rendering of the Latin text; an unbroken reading, on the other hand, gives us the meaning of the author in clearer, fuller and bolder English. In order to secure such a result in all cases, it became necessary, at times, to sacrifice the position of words in the original, and strict grammatical propriety, to the general end; and occasionally to adopt a style of "grouping" and "lumping," altogether foreign to other Interlinears. Among the Latin constructions thus violated, a few deserve particular mention: the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive of verbs with *cum*, (to subserve our purpose, frequently translated participially); *ut*, *qui*, and *quod*, with the present and imperfect tenses of the same mood, (generally rendered as an infinitive); and the *ablative absolute*, in whose case, instead of a passive, an active signification is given to the participle, and the accompanying noun placed as its object. However, these unserious deviations from the beaten track are fully redeemed by the advantage gained in fluency, intelligibility and better vindication of the English idiom.

Should the "Interlinear Livy" contribute in any way towards the more extensive study of an author, who justly ranks as one of Rome's brightest and most polished historians, the translator will deem himself amply rewarded for the laborious effort of adding this new volume to the American Interlinear Series of Classics.

I. W. B.

Bethlehem, Pa., 1872.

TITUS LIVIUS.

PREFACE.

FACTURUSNE sim pretium operæ, si perscripserint
Whether I shall do what is worth the trouble, if I trace

res Romani populi a primordio urbis,
the history of the Roman people from the foundation of the city

nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, ausim dicere;
I am neither quite sure, nor, if I were, would I venture to say,

quippe qui videam esse rem cum veterem
inasmuch as I am aware that the matter is both old

tum vulgatam, dum novi scriptores semper credunt
and common-place, whilst later authors always suppose

se allaturos aliquid certius in rebus, aut
that they will bring out something more accurate in the facts, or

superaturos rudem vetustatem arte scribendi.
that they will excel the unpolished ancients in *their* style of writing.

Utcumque erit, juvabit tamen, et ipsum
However that may be, it will be a pleasure notwithstanding, myself also

consuluisse, pro virili parte, memoriæ
to have contributed, according to *my* ability, towards the perpetuation

rerum gestarum populi principis terrarum: et si in
of the achievements of a people the foremost of the world: and if, amidst

tanta turba scriptorum, mea fama sit in obscuro,
so great an array of historians, my reputation should remain in obscurity,

consoler me nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum.
I shall console myself with the celebrity and eminence of those,

qui officient meo nomini. Præterea res est et
who stand in the way of my fame. Moreover, the subject is both

immensi operis, ut quæ repetatur supra
of immense labor, since it reaches back more than

septingentesimum annum, et quæ, profecta ab
seven hundred years, and one which, having set out from

exiguis initiis, creverit eo ut
small beginnings, has increased to such an extent that

jam laboret sua magnitudine; et, plerisque
it is now distressed by its own bulk; and, to the majority

legentium haud dubito, quin primæ origines
of readers I doubt, but that the first origin

proximaque originibus præbitura sint
and *the events* proximate to *that* origin will afford

minus voluptatis, festinantibus ad hæc
but little pleasure, hastening on, *as they will be*, to these

nova, quibus vires prævalentis populi
later *times*, in which the strength of *this* overgrown people

jampridem ipsæ se conficiunt. Ego contra
has for a long period been exhausting itself. I on the contrary

petam hoc quoque premium laboris
shall seek this [also] *as* a reward of my labor, *namely*,

ut avertam me a conspectu malorum, quæ
that I withdraw myself from the contemplation of the evils, which

nostra ætas vidit per tot annos, tantisper certe,
our age has witnessed for so many years, so long at least

dum repeto tota mente illa prisca,
as I am going over with my whole attention those ancient *times*

expers omnis curæ, quæ, etsi possit non flectere
being free from every care, which, though it cannot warp

animum scribentis a vero, tamen efficere sollicitum.
the mind of the writer from the truth, may yet cause it *to be* distracted.

Quæ traduntur ante
What *traditions* have been handed down *of events* before

urbem conditam condendamve, decora magis
the city *was* built or *its* building *was* designed, being suitable rather

fabulis poeticis quam incorruptis monumentis
to the fictions of poetry than to the authentic records

rerum gestarum, ea in animo est, nec affirmare
of history, these it is my purpose, neither to maintain

nec refellere. Hæc venia datur antiquitati,
nor to refute. This indulgence is conceded to antiquity,

ut miscendo humana divinis, faciat
that by blending things human with divine, it may make

primordia urbium augustiora. Et si cui populo
the origin of cities *seem* more venerable. And if any people

oportet licere, consecrare suas origines,
might be allowed, to consecrate their origin,

et referre ad deos auctores, ea est gloria belli
and attribute it to the gods *as* its authors, such is the renown in war

Romano populo, ut, cum ferat Martem
of the Roman people, that, when they represent Mars

potissimum suum parentem sui conditorisque,
in particular *as* their own parent and *that* of their founder,

gentes humanæ patiantur et hoc tam æquo animo,
the nations of mankind may take up with this [also] as patiently

quam patiuntur imperium. Sed utcumque
as they submit to their sovereignty. But in whatever way

hæc et his similia animadversa aut
these and such-like matters shall be attended to or

existimata erunt, equidem haud ponam in
judged of, I for my part shall not deem of

magno discrimine.
great importance.

Mihi quisque pro se acriter intendat
In my opinion every one should for himself earnestly apply

animum ad illa, quæ vita, qui mores fuerint;
his mind to these *points*: what their life, *and* what their manners were;

per quos viros, quibusque artibus imperium sit et
through what men, and by what measures, the empire was both

partum et auctum deinde, disciplina paulatim
acquired and extended then, *as* discipline gradually

labente, sequatur animo mores, primo velut
declined, let him follow in his thought their morals, at first, as it were

dissidentes, deinde, ut lapsi sint magis magisque, tum
leaning aside, anon, how they sunk more and more, then

cœperint ire præcipites, donec perventum est ad
began to fall precipitate, until he arrives at

hæc tempora, quibus possumus pati nec nostra
the present times, in which we can endure neither our

vitia nec remedia. Hoc illud est præcipue
vices nor their antidotes. This it is *which is* particularly

salubre ac frugiferum in cognitione rerum, te intueri
salutary and profitable in the study of history, that you behold

ocumenta omnis exempli posita in illustri
illustrations of every *kind of* conduct displayed on a conspicuous

monumento; inde capias tibi
monument; *that* from thence you may select, for yourself

tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitere; inde
and for your country, that which you may imitate; thence

fœdum inceptu, fœdum
note what is dishonorable in the undertaking, *and* dishonorable

exitu, quod vites.
in the result, which you may avoid.

Ceterum aut amor negotii suscepti
But either a predilection for the task undertaken

fallit me, aut nulla unquam fuit respublica nec major,
deceives me, or there never was any state either greater,

nec sanctior, nec ditior bonis exemplis; nec civitatem
or more moral, or richer in good examples; nor a city.

in quam avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint tam
into which avarice and luxury made their entrance so

seræ, nec ubi honos paupertati ac parsimoniæ
late, or where the esteem for poverty and frugality

fuerit tantus ac tam diu; adeo
was so great and *continued* so long; so that

quantc minus rerum, tanto minus cupiditatis
the less wealth *there was*, the less desire

erat. Nuper divitiæ invexere avaritiam,
was there. Of late riches have introduced a greediness for gain,

et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per
and excessive pleasures, a longing *for them*, amidst

luxum atque libidinem pereundi
luxury and a wanton desire for ruining *ourselves*

perdendique omnia. Sed querelæ
and destroying everything *else*. But let complaints, *which*

futuræ ne quidem tum gratæ, cum forsitan
will not even then be agreeable, when perhaps

necessariæ erunt, absint certe ab initio
they will be necessary, be *kept* away at least from the first stage

ordiendæ tantæ rei. Potius inciperemus, si
of commencing so great a work. Rather would we begin, if

mos esset nobis quoque, ut poetis, libentius
it were customary with us [also], as *it is* with poets, more cheerfully

cum bonis ominibus votisque et precationibus
with good omens and vows and prayers

deorum dearumque, ut darent prosperos
to the gods and goddesses, that they would grant abundant

successus orsis tanti operis.
success to our endeavors in so arduous a task.

CONTENTS OF BOOK I.

I, II. *Arrival of Æneas in Italy, and his achievements there.* III. *The reign of Ascanius in Alba, and of the other Sylvian kings.* IV. *The daughter of Numitor,* enceinte *by Mars, gives birth to Romulus and Remus.* V. *Amulius killed.* VI. *City built by Romulus.* VIII. *Senate formed.* X. *The grand spoils offered to Jupiter Feretrius.* XI. *War with the Sabines.* XIII. *The people divided into curiæ.* XIV, XV. *The Fidenates and Veientes vanquished.* XVI. *Romulus deified.* XVIII. etc. *Numa Pompilius institutes the rites of religious worship; builds a temple to Janus, and, having made peace with all the surrounding states, closes it for the first time. Pretending that he has nightly meetings with the goddess Egeria, he conciliates the savage dispositions of his subjects to religion.* XXII. etc. *Tullus Hostilius attacks the Albans in war.* XXV. *Battle of the three twin brothers.* XXVI. *Horatius acquitted. Punishment of Mettius Fufetius. Alba demolished; the Albans received into the number of the citizens. War declared against the Sabines. Tullus killed by lightning.* XXXII. *Ancus Martius renews the ceremonies instituted by Numa.* XXXIII. *Conquers the Latins, and, conferring on them the right of citizenship, assigns them the Aventine hill. Having attacked Politorium, a city of the Latins, a second time by force of arms, because the ancient Latins had taken possession of it, he razes it to the ground; builds a wooden bridge across the Tiber; adds the hill Janiculum to the city; enlarges the bounds of the empire; and builds Ostia. He reigns twenty-four years.* XXXIV. *In his reign Lucumo, son of Demaratus of Corinth, came from Tarquinii, a city of Etruria, to Rome, and, received into the confidence of Ancus, assumes the name of Tarquinius, and after the death of Ancus usurps the throne.* XXXV. *He increases the number of senators by adding a hundred; subdues the Latins, marks out the circus, institutes public games. Attacked in a war with the Sabines, he augments the centuries of knights. For the purpose of testing the art of Attius Navius the augur, he is said to have consulted him, whether that could be done which he (Tarquinius) was thinking on; and when he replied that it certainly could, he commanded him to cut a whetstone asunder with a razor, and it was immediately done by the augur. The Sabines, moreover, he defeats in a pitched battle; surrounds*

the city with a wall, and makes the common sewers. XL. *He is killed by the sons of Ancus, after he had reigned thirty-eight years.* XLI. *Servius Tullius succeeds him on the throne, the son of a well-born captive of Corniculum, while he was yet in his cradle, the boy's head is said to have blazed with fire. He routs the Veientes and Etrurians in battle; is the first to institute the census; and closes the lustrum, in which eighty thousand citizens are said to have been enrolled; divides the people into classes and centuries; enlarges the Pomerium, and adds the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills to the city.* XLV. *He builds a temple to Diana in conjunctian with the Latins.* XLVII, XLVIII. *Is killed by Lucius Tarquin, son of Priscus, at the instigation of his own daughter Tullia, after he had reigned forty-four years.* XLIX. *After him Lucius Tarquin, the Proud, assumes the government without the order of the Senate or the people. On the same day the impious Tullia drives her chariot over the body of her father, lying on the ground. He keeps a body of armed men about himself as a safeguard to his person; puts to death Turnus Herdonius by foul means.* LIII. *Wages war with the Volscians, and with their spoils builds a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol. By a stratagem of his son Sextus, he gets into his possession the city of Gabii.* LVI. *His sons having set out for Delphi, to consult the oracle as to which of them should be king at Rome, the reply is given, that he should be king who would first kiss his mother. When they construed this response in a different sense, Junius Brutus, who had gone with them, pretends that he stumbled and fell, and kisses the earth; and the issue of the matter confirms this act of his. For when, by his imbecile behaviour, Tarquin the Proud had led all his subjects to cherish contempt and hatred for him, he is at length banished, principally by the instrumentality of Brutus, on account of the forcible violation, at night, by his son Sextus, of Lucretia's chastity, who, on summoning to herself Tricipitinus her father, and her husband Collatinus, makes them swear that her death shall not remain unavenged, and stabs herself with a knife.* LX. *After this Consuls are elected for the first time, viz: L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus* [U. C. 1–245: B. C. 751–507.]

LIBER PRIMUS.

BOOK FIRST.

CHAP'S. I—XXVI. XXXII—XXXV. XXXIX—XLI. XLV—XLIX LIII. LVI—LX.

JAM primum omnium satis constat, Troja
Now first of all it is sufficiently certain, that, Troy

capta, sævitum esse in
having been taken, vengeance was *visited* upon

ceteros Trojanos; duobus, Æneæ
all the other Trojans; *but that* towards two, Æneas

Antenorique, Achivos abstinuisse omne jus belli,
and Antenor, the Greeks forbore all the rights of war

et jure vetusti hospitii, et quia
both in virtue of an old *tie of* friendship, and because

semper fuerunt auctores pacis reddendæque
they had always been advisers of peace and of the restoration

Helenæ. Deinde, variis casibus Antenorem
of Helen. Then, *that* after various reverses Antenor

venisse in intimum sinum Hadriatici maris, cum
came into the innermost bay of the Adriatic sea, with

multitudine Enetûm, qui, pulsi ex
a multitude of the Heneti, who, having been driven out of

Paphlagonia seditione, quærebant et sedes
Paphlagonia in a civil war, were seeking both a settlement

et ducem, rege Pylæmene amisso ad
and a leader, their king Pylæmenes having been lost at

Trojam; que pulsis Euganeis, qui
Troy; and *that*, after expelling the Euganei, who

incolebant inter mare et Alpesque, Enetos
dwelt between the sea and the Alps, the Heneti

Trojanosque tenuisse eas terras; et locum
and Trojans took possession of those lands; and the place,

in quem primum egressi sunt, vocatur Troja, inde
at which they first landed, is called Troy, whence

que nomen est Trojano pago; gens universa
also is the name for the Trojan canton; *but* the nation at large

appellati Veneti. Æenean, profugum domo
is called Veneti. *That* Æneas, driven from home

ab simili clade, sed fatis ducentibus ad initia
by a like disaster, but the fates leading him to the founding

majora rerum, venisse primo in Macedoniam,
of a greater state, came first to Macedonia,

inde quærentem sedes delatum in Siciliam;
thence, in search of a settlement, he sailed to Sicily;

ab Sicilia tenuisse classe ad Laurentem
that from Sicily he proceeded with his fleet to the Laurentian

agrum. Huic loco et est nomen Troja.
territory. To this place also is *given* the name of Troy.

Cum Trojani, egressi ibi, agerent prædam
When the Trojans, having landed there, were driving plunder

ex agris, ut quibus, ab prope
from the fields, as being *persons* to whom, after their almost

immenso errore, nihil superesset præter arma
immeasurable wandering, nothing was left besides their arms

et naves,— Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum
and ships,— Latinus the king and the Aborigines, who then

tenebant ea loca, concurrunt armati ex urbe
occupied those places, assembled in arms from the city

atque agris ad arcendam vim advenarum. Inde
and country, to repel the violence of the strangers. From here

fama est duplex: alii tradunt, Latinum
the account is two-fold: some say, that Latinus,

victum prœlio junxisse pacem, deinde
being overcome in battle, contracted *first* a peace, and then

affinitatem cum Æneа; alii, cum acies
an alliance, with Æneas; others, *that* when the armies

constitissent instructæ, priusquam signa
took their stand in battle array, before the signals

canerent, Latinum processisse inter primores,
were sounded, Latinus advanced in the front,

que evocasse ducem advenarum ad colloquium;
and invited the leader of the newcomers to a conference;

deinde percunctatum, qui mortales essent, unde
that he then inquired, who they were, whence

aut quo casu profecti domo,
they had come, or by what calamity driven from home,

quidve quærentes exissent in Laurentinum agrum;
or in quest of what they had landed on the Laurentine territory;

postquam audierit multitudinem esse Trojanos,
after he heard that the host were Trojans,

ducem Æneam, filium Anchisæ et Veneris,
their leader Æneas, son of Anchises and Venus, *that*,

profugos patria et domo
having made their escape from their country and homes

cremata, quærere sedem locumque
committed to the flames, they were seeking a settlement and a place

condendæ urbis; et admiratum nobilitatem
for building a city; and, struck with admiration of the high rank

gentis virique, et animum paratum
of the nation and of the hero, and their spirit prepared

vel bello vel paci, sanxisse fidem
alike for war or for peace, he confirmed the pledge

futuræ amicitiæ data dextera. Inde
of his future friendship by giving his right hand. *That* thereupon

fœdus ictum inter duces, salutationem factam
a league was struck between the leaders, *and* salutations exchanged

inter exercitus: Æneam fuisse in hospitio
between the armies: *that* Æneas was *received* with hospitality

apud Latinum; ibi apud
at the house of Latinus; *that* there, in the presence of

penates deos Latinum adjunxisse
the household gods, Latinus added

domesticum fœdus publico, data Æneæ filia
a family league to the public *one*, by giving Æneas his daughter

in matrimonium. Ea res utique affirmat
in marriage. This event fully confirms

Trojanis spem tandem finiendi erroris
the Trojans in the hope of at length terminating their wandering

stabili certaque sede; condunt oppidum:
by a fixed and permanent settlement; they build a town:

Æneas appellat Lavinium ab nomine uxoris.
Æneas calls it Lavinium after the name of his wife

Brevi quoque virilis fuit stirps ex novo
In a short time too, a son was the issue of the new

matrimonio, cui parentes dixere
marriage, to whom his parents gave

nomen Ascanium.
the name of Ascanius.

II.—Aborigines Trojanique deinde petiti
The Aborigines and Trojans were soon after attacked

simul bello. Turnus, rex Rutulorum,
together in war. Turnus, king of the Rutulians,

cui Lavinia pacta fuerat ante adventum Æneæ,
to whom Lavinia had been affianced before the arrival of Æneas,

ægre patiens advenam prælatum sibi,
mortified that a stranger should be preferred to him,

intulerat bellum Æneæ Latinoque simul.
made war upon Æneas and Latinus together.

Neutra acies abiit ex eo certamine
Neither army came off from that contest

læta: Rutuli victi,
with cause for rejoicing: the Rutulians were vanquished,

victores Aborigines Trojanique amisere ducem
the victorious Aborigines and Trojans lost their leader

Latinum. Inde Turnus Rutulique,
Latinus. Whereon Turnus and the Rutulians,

diffisi rebus, confugiunt ad florentes opes
diffident of their strength, have recourse to the flourishing state

Etruscorum Mezentiumque, eorum regem: qui
of the Etrurians and Mezentius, their king who

imperitans Cære, tum opulento oppido,
holding *his* court at Cære, at that time an opulent town,

minime lætus jam inde ab initio
being by no means pleased from the very beginning

origine novæ urbis, et tum ratus,
at the founding of the new city, and then convinced,

Trojanam rem crescere nimio plus, quam esse
hat the Trojan power was increasing far more than was

satis tutum accolis, haud gravatim
altogether safe for the neighboring *states*, without reluctance

junxit arma socia Rutulis. Æneas,
joined his forces in alliance with the Rutulians. Æneas,

ut conciliaret sibi animos Aboriginum
in order that he might win to himself the minds of the Aborigines,

adversus terrorem tanti belli, appellavit
in view of the terror of so serious a war, called

utramque gentem Latinos, omnes essent
both nations Latins, *so that* they might all be

nec solum sub eodem jure, sed etiam nomine.
not only under the same laws. but also the *same* name.

Nec deinde Aborigines cessere Trojanis
Nor after that did the Aborigines yield to the Trojans

studio ac fide erga regem Æneam: fretusque
in zeal and fidelity towards their king Æneas: relying, too,

his animis duorum populorum in dies
upon this disposition of the two nations, *who were* daily

coalescentium magis, quamquam Etruria
coalescing *more and* more, although Etruria

erat tanta opibus, ut jam implesset
was so prominent in power, that it already filled

fama sui nominis non solum terras sed
with the fame of its prowess not only the land but

mare etiam, per totam longitudinem Italiæ,
the sea also, through the whole length of Italy

ab Alpibus ad Siculum fretum, tamen,
from the Alps to the Sicilian strait, yet,

cum posset propulsare bellum mœnibus,
when he might have repelled the war by *means of* fortifications

eduxit copias in aciem. Inde prœlium
he marched out his forces to the field. Thereupon a battle

secundum Latinis,— ultimum etiam
ensued, successful to the Latins, the last also

mortalium operum Æneæ. Situs est—
of the mortal acts of Æneas. He was buried

quemcumque jus fasque est eum
(whatever *appellation* it is humanly and divinely lawful that he

dici— super Numicum fluvium:
be called *by*) upon *the banks of* the river Numicus:

appellant Jovem indigitem.
they style him "Jupiter Indiges."

III.—Ascanius, filius Æneæ, erat nondum
Ascanius, son of Æneas, was not yet

maturus imperio; tamen
old enough for *assuming* the government; nevertheless

id imperium mansit incolume ei
that government remained secure for him

ad puberem ætatem. Tantisper Latina res
till the age of maturity. In the interval, the Latin state

et regnum avitum paternumque stetit puero
and the kingdom of his grandfather and father were preserved for the boy

tutela muliebri— tanta indoles erat in Lavinia.
under the regency of his mother, such capacity was there in Lavinia.

Haud ambigam— enim quis affirmet
I am not without *some* doubts (for who can affirm

pro certo rem tam veterem?— hiccine
with certainty a matter of such antiquity?) whether this

fuerit Ascanius, an major quam hic
was the Ascanius, or *one* older than he,

natus matre Creusa Ilio incolumi,
born of Creusa *when* Troy *had* not *yet* fallen,

comesque paternæ fugæ inde, eundem quem
and the companion of his father's flight from thence, the same whom,

Iulum Julia gens nuncupat auctorem
being called Iulus, the Julian nation claim *as* the founder

sui nominis. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque
of their name. This Ascanius, wheresoever and of whatsoever

matre genitus,— certe constat natum Ænea,—
mother born, (it is at least certain that he was the son of Æneas,)

abundante multitudine Lavinii relinquit
on account of the excessive population of Lavinium left *that*

jam florentem atque, ut res tum erant, opulentam
already flourishing and, as circumstances then were, wealthy

urbem matri seu novercæ; condidit ipse
city to his mother or step-mother; *and* built himself

novam aliam sub Albano monte, quæ,
a new one at the foot of the Alban mount, which,

ab situ urbis porrectæ in dorso,
from the situation of the city, being stretched along the ridge

appellata Alba Longa. Inter
of the hill, was called Alba Longa. Between

Lavinium et deductam coloniam
the building of Lavinium and the transplanting the colony

Albam Longam, ferme triginta anni interfuere.
to Alba Longa, *only* about thirty years intervened.

Tamen opes creverant tantum, maxime
Yet its power had increased so rapidly, especially

fusis Etruscis, ut ne quidem morte
after the defeat of the Etrurians, that not even on the death

Æneæ, nec deinde inter tutelam muliebrem
of Æneas, nor afterwards, during the regency of a woman

primum rudimentumque puerilis regni, aut
and the first essays of a youthful reign, did either

Mezentius Etruscique, aut ulli alii
Mezentius and the Etrurians, or any other

accolæ ausi sint movere arma.
of the bordering *nations* attempt to inaugurate hostilities

Pax convenerat ita, ut fluvius Albula,
A peace was agreed on to this effect, that the river Albula,

quem nunc vocant Tiberim, esset finis
which they now call Tiber, should be the boundary

Etruscis Latinisque. Deinde Silvius, filius
between the Etrurians and Latins After him Silvius, the son

Ascanii, natus quodam casu in silvis, regnat :
of Ascanius, born by some accident in the woods, ascends the throne

is creat Ænean Silvium, is deinde
he begat Æneas Silvius, who afterwards *begat*

Latinum Silvium : ab eo aliquot coloniæ,
Latinus Silvius : by him several colonies.

appellati Prisci Latini, deductæ ; postea
called the ancient Latins, were transplanted ; from this time

cognomen Silviis mansit omnibus qui
the surname of Silvius continued *to be given* to all *the princes* who

regnaverunt Albæ. Latino ortus Alba ; Alba,
reigned at Alba. From Latinus sprung Alba ; from Alba

Atys ; Atye, Capys ; Capye, Capetus ;
Atys ; from Atys, Capys ; from Capys, Capetus ;

Capeto, Tiberinus ; qui, submersus in trajecto
from Capetus, Tiberinus ; who, being drowned in crossing

amnis Albulæ, dedit flumini nomen celebre
the river Albula, gave to *that* stream a name so celebrated

ad posteros. Inde Agrippa, filius Tiberini
among his posterity. Then Agrippa, the son of Tiberinus ;

post Agrippam Romulus Silvius regnat,
after Agrippa Romulus Silvius reigns,

accepto imperio a patre : ipse, ictus
having received the kingdom from his father : the latter, being struck

fulmine, tradidit per manus regnum Aventino
by lightning, demised the kingdom to Aventinus,

is, sepultus in eo colle, qui est nunc pars
who, being buried on that hill, which is now a part

urbis Romanæ, fecit cognomen colli. Deinde
of the city of Rome, gave his name to it. After him

regnat Proca ; is procreat Numitorem atque
reigns Proca ; he begets Numitor and

Amulium ; Numitori, qui erat maximus stirps,
Amulius ; to Numitor, who was the eldest son,

legat vetustum regnum Silviæ gentis. Tamen
he bequeaths the ancient kingdom of the Silvian family. But

vis potuit plus, quam voluntas patris aut
force prevailed more, than the will of the father or

verecundia ætatis: pulso fratre, Amulius
the respect for seniority: having expelled his brother, Amulius

regnat. Addit scelus sceleri; interemit
takes the throne. He adds crime to crime; murders

fratris virilem stirpem, per speciem honoris
his brother's male issue, *and* under pretence of *doing* hono

fratris filiæ, Reæ Silviæ, cum legisset eam
to his brother's daughter, Rhea Silvia, having made her

Vestalem, perpetua virginitate adimit
a Vestal, by *a vow of* perpetual virginity he deprives *her* of

spem partus.
all hope of issue.

IV.—Sed, ut opinor, origo tantæ urbis, quæ
But, in my opinion, the origin of so great a city, and

principium imperii, maximi secundum
the first establishment of an empire, in greatness next to

opes deorum, debebatur fatis. Vestalis,
the kingdom of the gods, was due to the fates. The Vestal *Rhea*,

compressa vi, cum edidisset geminum partum,
being deflowered by force, when she had brought forth twins,

nuncupat Martem patrem incertæ stirpis,
declares Mars *to be* the father of her doubtful offspring,

seu rata, seu quia deus erat
either *because* she *really* thought *so*, or because a god was

honestior auctor culpæ. Sed nec dii,
a more creditable author of her transgression. But neither gods,

nec homines vindicant aut ipsam aut stirpem
nor men protect her or her children

a crudelitate regia: sacerdos vincta
from the cruelty of the king: the priestess, being loaded with chains

datur in custodiam; pueros jubet mitti
is cast into prison; the children he orders to be thrown

in profluentem aquam. Forte quadam divinitus
into the stream of the river. It happened providentially

Tiberis effusus super ripas lenibus stagnis, nec
that the Tiber had overflowed its banks in stagnant pools, nor

poterat adiri usquam ad amnis justi cursum;
could it be approached anywhere near its regular channel;

et dabat spem ferentibus, infantes
and raised the expectation in the *minds of the* bearers, that the infants

posse mergi aqua quamvis languida: ita,
could be drowned in water however still: accordingly,

velut defuncti regis imperio, exponunt pueros
as if fulfilling the king's command, they expose the boys

in proxima alluvie, ubi nunc est ficus Ruminalis,—
in the nearest land-flood, where now stands the ficus Ruminalis,—

ferunt vocatam Romularem. Erant tum
they say that it was called Romularis. There were at that time

vastæ solitudines in his locis. Fama tenet,
vast deserts in those parts. Tradition has it,

cum aqua tenuis, destituisset fluitantem alveum,
that when the water, subsiding, had left the floating trough,

quo pueri expositi erant, in sicco,
in which the children had been exposed, on dry ground

sitientem lupam, ex montibus qui sunt circa,
a thirsty she-wolf, from the mountains which are in *tha* vicinity,

flexisse cursum ad vagitum puerilem; eam
directed her course to the cries of the infants; *and* that she

præbuisse mammas submissas infantibus adeo
held her dugs down to them *with* so *much*

mitem, ut magister regii pecoris invenerit
gentle*ness*, that the keeper of the king's flock found

lambentem pueros lingua. Ferunt nomen fuisse
her licking the boys with her tongue. They say his name was

Faustulo; datos ab eo ad stabula
Faustulus; *and that* they were brought by him to his hut,

educandos uxori Larentiæ. Sunt, qui putent
to be nursed by his wife Larentia. There are *some* who are of opinion

Larentiam vocatam lupam inter pastores,
that *this* Larentia was called Lupa among the shepherds, *from her*

vulgato corpore: inde datum locum
being a common prostitute: that thence was furnished the occasion

miraculo ac fabulæ. Ita geniti, itaque educati,
for the fabulous myth. *The children* thus born. and thus educated.

cum primum ætas adolevit, segnes nec
as soon as their age was matured, loitered neither

in stabulis nec ad pecora, peragrare saltus
at the stables nor among the cattle, *but* traversed the forests

venando: hinc sumpto robore corporibus animisque,
in hunting: hence acquiring vigor of body and mind,

jam non tantum subsistere feras, sed facere
they began not only to encounter wild beasts, but to make

impetus in latrones, onustos præda, divideremque
attack upon robbers, loaded with booty, and divided

rapta pastoribus; et cum his,
the spoils with the shepherds; and in company with these,

grege juvenum in dies crescente, celebrare
the number of *their* young *associates* daily increasing, they carried on

seria ac jocos.
their business and their sports.

V.—Hoc ludicrum Lupercal, ferunt, fuisse
Our present festival *of* the Lupercal, they say, was

jam tum in Palatio monte,— et appellatum
even at that time *practised* on the Palatine hill, and *that this* was called

Pallantium, a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, dein
Palatium, from Pallanteum a city of Arcadia, *and* afterwards

Palatium montem:— Evandrum, qui
the Palatine hill: that Evander, who *was*

ex eo genere Arcadum multis tempestatibus ante
of that tribe of Arcadians *which* for many years before

tenuerat loca, instituisse ibi sollemne
had possessed *that* country, had instituted there *the* festivity,

allatum ex Arcadia, ut juvenes
brought from Arcadia, *in such manner*, that young men

currerent nudi per lusum atque lasciviam,
were *to* run about naked in sport and wantonness,

venerantes Lycæum Pana, quem Romani
doing honor to Lycean Pan, whom the Romans

deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Latrones ob iram
afterwards called Inuus. That the robbers through rage

amissæ prædæ insidiatos deditis
at the loss of *their* booty, having lain in wait for them *whilst* intent

huic ludicro, cum sollemne esset notum, cum
on this sport, (as the festival was *now* *well* known,) whilst

Romulus vi se defendisset, cepisse Remum ;
Romulus vigorously defended himself. took Remus prisoner;

tradidisse captum regi Amulio,
that they delivered him up, *when* taken, to king Amulius,

ultro accusantes. Dabant crimini maxime,
grossly impeaching *him*. They laid *it* to *their* charge more particularly,

impetum fieri ab iis in agros Numitoris ;
that violence had been done by them to the lands of Numitor;

inde, collecta manu juvenum, eos agere
moreover *that*, having collected a band of young men, they carried on

prædas in hostilem modum. Sic Remus
their plunder in a hostile manner. Upon this Remus

deditur Numitori ad supplicium. Jam inde ab initio
was delivered to Numitor for punishment. Now from the very beginning

spes fuerat Faustulo, apud se educari
the hope had been *cherished* by Faustulus, that he was bringing up

stirpem regiam : nam et sciebat, infantes
a progeny *of* royal *blood* : for he both knew, that the infants

expositos jussu regis, et tempus, quo ipse
had been exposed by order of the king, and that the time, at which he

eos sustulisset, congruere ad id ipsum ; sed
had taken them up, corresponded exactly with that *event* ; but

noluerat aperire immaturam rem, nisi per
he was unwilling to disclose the *yet* undeveloped matter, unless in *the event*

aut occasionem aut per necessitatem. Necessitas
either *of* a fit opportunity or *of* necessity. Necessity

venit prior : ita, subactus metu, aperit rem
came first : wherefore, constrained by fear, he discovers the affair

Romulo. Forte et, cum haberet Remum
to Romulus. By accident also, when he had Remus

in custodia, audissetque fratres esse
in custody, and had heard that the brothers were

geminos, comparando et eorum ætatem, et
twins, on comparing their age and *observing*

ipsam indolem minime servilem, memoria
that their disposition *was* by no means *of a* servile *turn*, the recollection

nepotum tetigerat animum Numitori
of his grandchildren struck Numitor;

sciscitandoque pervenit eodem,
and on making inquiries he came to the same *conclusion*,

ut haud procul esset, quin agnosceret Remum.
so that he was not far from recognizing Remus.

Ita dolus nectitur regi undique.
Thus a plot is concerted for the king on all sides.

Romulus, non cum globo juvenum,— enim erat
Romulus, not in company with a band of youths, (for he was

nec par ad apertam vim,— sed jussis
unequal to open force,) but, ordering

aliis pastoribus venire certo tempore alio itinere
different shepherds to come at a fixed time, by different roads,

ad regiam, fecit impetum ad regem; et Remus,
to the palace, forced *his* way to the king; and Remus,

alia manu comparata a domo Numitoris,
with another party procured from the house of Numitor,

adjuvat; ita obtruncant regem.
renders *him* assistance; and so they kill the king.

VI.—Numitor inter primum tumultum, dictitans
Numitor at the beginning of the tumult, calling out

hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam,
that enemies had invaded the city and assaulted the palace,

cum avocasset Albanam pubem, in obtinendam
when he had drawn away the Alban youth, to secure

arcem præsidio armisque, postquam vidit
the citadel with a garrison and arms, after he saw

juvenes pergere ad se gratulantes
the young men coming towards him with congratulations

perpetrata cæde, extemplo advocato
upon the perpetration of the murder, instantly calling

concilio, ostendit scelus
an assembly *of the people*, represented *to them* the impious conduct

fratris in se; originem nepotum, ut
of his brother towards himself; the birth of his grandchildren, how

geniti essent, ut educati, ut cogniti; deinceps
they were begotten, how brought up, how discovered; then *he told them of*

cædem tyranni, que se auctorem.
the death of the usurper, and that he himself *had been* the instigator *of it.*

Cum juvenes, ingressi agmine per mediam
When the young men, coming up with their band through the midst

concionem, salutassent avum regem, consentiens
of the assembly, saluted their grandsire king, an approving

vox secuta ex omni multitudine, efficit ratum regi
shout following from all the people, ratified to him

nomen imperiumque.
both that title and the sovereignty

Re Albana ita permissa Numitori,
The government of Alba having thus been committed to Numitor,

cupido cepit Romulum Remumque condendæ urbis
a desire seized Romulus and Remus to build a city

in his locis, ubi expositi erant, ubique educati.
in the place, where they had been exposed, and brought up.

Et supererat multitudo Albanorum
And there was an overflowing population of Albans

Latinorumque: pastores quoque accesserant ad id,
and Latins: the shepherds, too, deferred to this *plan,*

qui omnes facile facerent spem, Albam fore
and all these readily inspired the hope, that Alba would be

parvam, Lavinium parvum præ ea urbe.
but small, Lavinium *but* a petty *town* in comparison with the city,

quæ conderetur. Deinde cupido regni,
which was to be built. But then ambition for rule,

malum avitum, intervenit his cogitationibus
the bane of their grandfathers, interrupted these designs,

atque inde coörtum fœdum certamen a principio
and thence arose a shameful quarrel from a beginning

satis miti: quoniam gemini essent,
sufficiently amicable: for as they were twins, *and*

verecundia ætatis nec facere discrimen, ut
the respect for seniority could not render a decision. in order that

dii, quorum tutelæ ea loca essent,
the gods, under whose guardianship the place was,

legerent auguriis, qui daret nomen novæ urbi,
might choose by auguries, which should give a name to the new city,

qui regeret imperio conditam, Romulus
which have the supremacy over *it* when built, Romulus

capiunt Palatium, Remus Aventinum
chose the Palatine, Remus the Aventine

templa ad inaugurandum.
as *their* consecrated stands to wait the auguries.

VII.—Fertur Remo augurium venisse priori,—
It is said that to Remus an omen came first,—

sex vultures; jamque, augurio nuntiato, cum
six vultures, and now, the omen having been proclaimed, when

duplex numerus ostendisset sese Romulo,
double the number showed themselves to Romulus,

sua multitudo consalutaverat utrumque regem:
his own party saluted each king:

illi trahebant regnum præcepto tempore,
the former claimed the kingdom on *the ground of* the priority of time,

at hi numero avium. Inde,
but the latter on *account of* the number of birds. Upon this,

cum altercatione congressi, certamine irarum
having met in altercation, from the contest of angry feelings

vertuntur ad cædem: ibi Remus cecidit
they turn to bloodshed: there Remus fell

ictus in turba. Vulgatior fama est,
from a blow received in the crowd. A more common account is,

Remum, ludibrio fratris, transiluisse
that Remus in derision of his brother, leaped over

novos muros: inde interfectum ab
the new wall: that thereupon he was slain by

Romulo irato, cum increpitans,
Romulus in a passion, *who*, after sharply chiding *him*,

adjecisset quoque verbis: "Sic quicumque alius
uttered in addition *these* words: "So *perish* every one, who

deinde transiliet mea mœnia." Ita Romulus
shall hereafter leap over my fortifications." Thus Romulus

solus potitus imperio; urbs
[B. C. 751] came into sole possession of the government; *and* the city,

condita appellata nomine conditoris.
when built, was called after the name of its founder.

Primum muniit Palatium, in quo ipse
First *of all* he fortified the Palatine hill, where he himself

erat educatus. Diis aliis facit sacra
had been brought up. To the other gods he offers sacrifices

Albano ritu, Herculi Græco,
after the Alban mode, to Hercules according to the Grecian *rite*,

ut instituta erant ab Evandro. Memorant
as they had been instituted by Evander. It is recorded

Herculem, interempto Geryone, abegisse
that Hercules, having slain Geryon, drove away

boves mira specie in ea loca; ac,
his cattle, *which were* of surprising beauty, into those places; and that,

ut reficeret boves quiete et læto pabulo, ipsum et
in order to refresh them with rest and the rich pasture, himself also

fessum via, procubuisse prope fluvium
being fatigued with travel, he lay down on *the banks of* the river

Tiberim herbido loco, qua trajecerat nando,
Tiber in a grassy place, to which he had swam over,

agens armentum præ se. Ibi cum, gravatum
driving the herd before him. There when, satiated

cibo vinoque, sopor oppressisset eum, pastor,
with food and wine, sleep overpowered him, a shepherd,

nomine Cacus, accola ejus loci, ferox viribus,
named Cacus, resident in that region, presuming on *his* strength

captus pulchritudine boum,
and struck with the beauty of the cattle

cum vellet avertere eam prædam, quia,
would fain have made away with that booty, *but* because,

si compulisset armentum agendo in speluncam,
if he had driven the herd forward into his cave,

ipsa vestigia deductura erant dominum eo
their tracks would have guided their master thither

quærentem, traxit boves caudis aversos
in his search, he dragged the cattle by the tails backwards

in speluncam, quemque eximium pulchritudine
into the cave, *picking out* those distinguished for *their* beauty.

Hercules, excitus somno ad primam auroram,
Hercules, arousing from his slumbers at the first *approach of* dawn,

cum perlustrasset oculis gregem, et sensisset
when he had taken a view of his herd, and observed

partem numero abesse, pergit ad proximam
that some of the number were missing, went *at once* to the nearest

speluncam, si forte vestigia ferrent eo.
cave, *to see* if by chance their footsteps would lead *him* thither.

Ubi vidit quæ omnia versa foras, nec ferre
But when he saw that they all pointed outward, nor directed *him*

in aliam partem, confusus atque incertus animi,
to *any* other quarter, perplexed and unsettled in *his* purpose,

occepit agere porro armentum ex infesto loco.
he began to drive forward his herd from that unlucky place.

Cum inde quædam boves actæ
When, upon this, some of the cows, *as they were* driven off,

mugissent, ut fit, ad desiderium relictarum,
commenced to low, as was natural on missing those *that were* left,

vox boum inclusarum reddita ex spelunca,
the lowings of those *that were* confined, being returned from the cave,

convertit Herculem.
brought Hercules back.

Cum Cacus conatus esset prohibere quem vi
And when Cacus attempted to prevent him by force,

vadentem ad speluncam, ictus clava,
as he was proceeding to the cave, being struck with a club,

occubuit morte, nequidquam invocans fidem
he fell dead, vainly invoking the assistance

pastorum. Tum Evander, profugus ex
of the shepherds. At that time Evander, a fugitive from

Peloponneso, regebat ea loca magis auctoritate
the Peloponnesus, governed this country more by his influence

quam imperio. Vir venerabilis
than by absolute rule. *He was* a person *highly* revered

miraculo litterarum,— rei novæ
for his wonderful *knowledge* of letters,— a discovery *quite* new

inter homines rudes artium,
to these men ignorant, *as they still were*, of *all* arts;

venerabilior credita divinitate matris
but more respected on account of the supposed divinity of his mother

Carmentæ, quam eæ gentes miratæ fuerant
Carmenta, whom these nations had admired

fatiloquam, ante adventum Sibyllæ in Italiam.
as a prophetess, before the coming of the Sibyl into Italy.

Is tum Evander, excitus concursu pastorum
This Evander then, alarmed by the concourse of the shepherds,

trepidantium circa advenam reum
crowding in confusion around the stranger, guilty *as they declared*

manifestæ cædis, postquam audivit facinus
of open murder, after he heard the deed

facinorisque causam, intuens habitum formamque
and the cause of the deed, observing the person and mien

viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque
of the hero *to be* much larger and more majestic

humana, rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi accepit
than human, asked, who the man was. When he learned

nomen patremque ac patriam, inquit
his name and father and native country, he said:

"Salve, Hercules! nate Jove, mater,
"Hail, Hercules! son of Jupiter, my mother

veridica interpres deûm, cecinit mihi,
a truth-telling interpreter of the gods, foretold to me,

te aucturum numerum cœlestium; tibique
that thou shalt increase the number of the celestials; and *that* to thee

aram dicatum iri hic, quam gens olim
an altar shall be dedicated here, which a nation, hereafter

opulentissima in terris vocet maximam,
the most powerful in the world, shall call the greatest,

colatque tuo ritu." Hercules,
and honor according to thine own institution." Hercules,

data dextra, ait, se accipere
having given *him* his right hand, said. that he accepted

omen impleturumque fata
the omen, and would fulfil *the decree of* the fates

condita ac dicata ara. Ibi tum primum
by building and consecrating an altar. There then for the first time

factum sacrum Herculi eximia bove capta
was performed a sacrifice to Hercules of a chosen heifer taken

de grege, Potitiis ac Pinariis, maxime
from the herd, the Potitii and Pinarii, the most

inclytæ familiæ quæ tum incolebant ea loca,
distinguished families, which then inhabited these parts,

adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque.
having been invited to the service and the entertainment.

Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii præsto essent ad tempus,
It so happened, that the Potitii were at hand in *due* time,

extaque apponerentur his; extis adesis, Pinarii
and the entrails were served up to them; these being eaten, the Pinarii

venirent ad ceteram dapem: inde mansit institutum
came to the remainder of the feast: hence it continued a rule

donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne vescerentur
as long as the Pinarian family existed, that they should not eat

extis sollemnium. Potitii edocti
of the entrails of the solemn sacrifices. The Potitii, instructed

ab Evandro fuerunt antistites ejus sacri per
by Evander, were directors of that sacred function for

multas ætates, donec sollemni ministerio familiæ
many ages, until, the solemn office of their family

tradito publicis servis, Potitiorum omne genus
being delegated to public servants, their whole race

interiit. Hæc una ex omnibus peregrina sacra,
became extinct. These *were* the only foreign religious rites, *which*

Romulus tum suscepit, fautor jam tum
Romulus then adopted, *being* an abettor, even then,

immortalitatis partæ virtute, ad quam sua fata
of immortality obtained by merit, to which his own destinies

ducebant eum.
were conducting him.

VIII.—Rebus divinis rite perpetratis,
The duties of religion having been duly performed

multitudineque vocata ad concilium,
and the multitude summoned to an assembly,

quæ poterat coalescere in populi unius corpus
as they could be incorporated into one people

nulla re præter quam legibus, dedit jura;
by no other method than fixed rules, he gave them *a body of* laws;

ratus, si ipse fecisset se venerabilem
and judging, that, if he made himself dignified

insignibus imperii, quæ fore ita sancta
by the ensigns of sovereignty, they would thus be held sacred

agresti generi hominum, fecit se augustiorem
among *this* uncultured class of men, he rendered himself more majestic

cum cetero habitu, tum maxime sumptis
both in his other appointments, and especially by taking

duodecim lictoribus. Alii putant, eum
twelve lictors *as attendants*. Some think, that he

secutum numerum ab numero avium, quæ augurio
chose this number from that of the birds, which in the augury

portenderant regnum: me haud pœnitet
had portended the kingdom *to him*: I have no objection

esse sententiæ eorum, quibus placet, et
to be of the opinion of those, who hold, that both

apparitores et hoc genus,
the apparitors *in general* and this *particular* class *of them*,

quoque ipsum numerum ductum ab Etruscis
as well as their number, were taken from their Etrurian

finitimis, unde curulis sella unde toga prætexta
neighbors, from whom the curule chair and the gown edged with purple

sumpta est; et Etruscos ita habuisse,
were borrowed; and that the Etrurians had such an arrangement,

quod rege creato communiter ex duodecim
because, their king being elected in common from twelve

populis, singuli populi dederint singulos lictores
states, each state gave him one lictor.

Interim urbs crescebat appetendo
Meanwhile the city increased by *their* taking in

alia atque alia loca munitionibus, cum munirent
various lots *of ground* for buildings, whilst they built

magis in spem futuræ multitudinis, quam
rather with a view to future numbers. than

ad id hominum, quod tum erat. Deinde, ne
for the population, which then was *at hand*. Then, lest

magnitudo urbis esset vana, causa
the size of the city might be of no avail, for the purpose

adjiciendæ multitudinis vetere consilio
of augmenting the population according to the ancient policy

condentium urbes, qui, conciendo ad se
of the founders of cities, (who, after collecting to them

obscuram atque humilem multitudinem,
an obscure and mean multitude,

ementiebantur, sibi prolem natam e terra,
used to pretend, that their offspring sprung out of the earth,)

aperit asylum locum, qui nunc septus est
he opened *as* a sanctuary a place, which is now enclosed,

descendentibus inter duos lucos. Eo perfugit
as *you* go down to the two groves. Hither fled

ex finitimis populis, sine discrimine
from the neighboring states, without distinction, *whether*

liber an servus esset, turba omnis, avida
freeman or bondman, a crowd of all sorts, eager

novarum rerum, idque fuit primum roboris
for a change, and this was the first *addition* of strength

ad cœptam magnitudinem. Cum jam haud pœniteret
to their rising greatness. When he was now not dissatisfied with

virium, deinde parat consilium
is strength, he next provided *a means of* direction

viribus: creat centum senatores, sive quia
for *that* strength: he creates one hundred senators, either because

is numerus erat satis, sive quia erant soli
that number was sufficient, or because there were only

centum, qui possent creari patres.
one hundred, who could name their fathers.

Certe appellati patres ab honore, que
They were certainly called fathers through respect, and
eorum progenies patricii.
their descendants, patricians.

IX.—Jam Romana res erat adeo valida,
And now the Roman state was *become* so powerful,
ut esset par bello cuilibet finitimarum civitatum:
that it was a match in war for any of the neighboring nations;
sed penuria mulierum magnitudo duratura erat
but from the paucity of women its greatness was likely to last
ætatem hominis; quippe quibus essent
but one age of man; for they had
nec spes prolis domi, nec connubia
no hope of issue at home, nor *had they any* intermarriages
cum finitimis. Tum, ex consilio patrum,
with their neighbors. Therefore, upon the advice of the fathers,
Romulus misit legatos circa vicinas gentes,
Romulus sent ambassadors round to the adjoining states,
qui peterent societatem connubiumque
who were to solicit an alliance and *the privilege of* intermarriage
novo populo: urbes quoque, ut
for his new subjects: *he intimated to them* that cities, too, like
cetera, nasci ex infimo; dein,
every thing *else*, rose from low *beginnings*; that, in time,
quas dii ac sua virtus juvent,
those, which the gods and their own merit supported,
facere sibi magnas opes magnumque nomen;
procured to themselves great power and great renown;
satis scire et deos adfuisse origini
that he knew full well, both that the gods had favored the founding
Romanæ, et virtutem non defuturam: proinde
of Rome, and that merit would not be wanting: wherefore,
homines ne gravarentur miscere sanguinem
as men they should feel no reluctance to mix their blood
ac genus cum hominibus. Nusquam
and race with men. Nowhere

legatio benigne audita est: adeo
was the embassy favorably heard: so much

simul spernebant, simul metuebant sibi ac
did they at the same time despise, and dread for themselves and

suis posteris, tantam molem crescentem in medio:
their posterity, so great a power growing up in their midst;

ac dimissi a plerisque rogitantibus,
accordingly they were dismissed by the greater part with the question,

ecquod aperuissent asylum feminis quoque,
whether they had opened an asylum for women also,

enim id fore demum compar connubium,
for that this would be the only suitable *plan for* intermarriage.

Romana pubes passa id ægre, et
The Roman youth resented this *conduct* bitterly, and

res haud dubie cœpit spectare ad
the matter evidently began to point towards

vim. Romulus, ut daret aptum
violence. Romulus, in order that he might afford a favorable

tempus locumque cui, dissimulans
time and place for this, dissembling

ægritudinem animi, ex industria parat sollemnes
his displeasure, purposely prepares solemn

ludos equestri Neptuno Consualia:
games *in honor* of the equestrian Neptune; *he calls them* Consualia:

deinde jubet spectaculum indici finitimis;
he then orders the spectacle to be proclaimed among their neighbors;

concelebrantque, quanto
and they (*i. e. his people*) prepare for the celebration with all

apparatu tum sciebant, aut poterant,
the magnificence they then knew of, or were capable of *doing*,

ut facerent rem claram exspectatamque.
that they might render the matter famous and an object of expectation.

Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndæ
Great numbers of people assembled, from a desire also of seeing

novæ urbis; maxime quique proximi,
the new city; especially their nearest *neighbors*,

Caninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates
th Caninenses, Crustumini, *and* Antemnates.

Jam omnis multitudo Sabinorum venit
Moreover the whole multitude of the Sabines came

cum conjugibus ac liberis: hospitaliter invitati
with their wives and children: having been hospitably invited

per domos, cum vidissent situm
to the *different* houses, when they had viewed the situation

mœniaque, et urbem frequentem tectis,
and fortifications, and the city crowded with houses,

mirantur Romanam rem crevisse
they were astonished that the Roman power had increased

tam brevi.
so rapidly.

Ubi tempus spectaculi venit,
When the time for the spectacle arrived, [U. C. 4; B. C. 748,]

que mentes cum oculis deditæ erant eo,
and *while* their minds and eyes were intent upon it,

tum, ex composito, vis orta; signoque dato,
then, according to concert, a tumult began; and upon a signal given,

Romana juventus discurrit ad rapiendas
the Roman youth ran different ways to carry off

virgines. Magna pars raptæ forte,
the young women. A great number were borne away at hap-hazard,

in quem quæque inciderat; homines ex plebe,
according as they fell into their hands; persons from the common people,

quibus negotium datum erat, deferebant domos
to whom the task had been assigned, conveyed to their houses

quasdam excellentes forma, destinatas
some *women* of surpassing beauty, being designed

primoribus patrum. Ferunt unam, longe
for the principal senators. They say that one, highly

insignem ante alias specie ac pulchritudine
distinguished above the rest for her stature and beauty,

raptam a globo cujusdam Thalassii
was carried off by the party of one Thalassius,

multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam ferrent eam,
and whilst many inquired, to whom they were carrying her,

clamitatum identidem, ne quis violaret,
they cried out every now and then, in order that no one might molest her.

ferri Thalassio; inde hanc vocem
that she was being taken to Thalassius; whence the cry

factam nuptialem. Ludicro turbato per metum,
became a nuptial one. The festival being disturbed by *this* alarm,

parentes virginum profugiunt mœsti,
the parents of the young women retired full of grief,

incusantes fœdus violati hospitii, que
inveighing against the compact of violated hospitality, and

invocantes deum, ad cujus sollemne ludosque
invoking the god, to whose solemn festival and games

venissent, decepti per fas ac fidem.
they had come, deceived under *color of* religion and *good* faith.

Nec aut est melior spes de se,
Neither were better hopes with regard to themselves,

aut minor indignatio raptis;
or less indignation *entertained* by the ravished *virgins;*

sed Romulus circumibat ipse docebatque,
however, Romulus went about in person and declared,

id factum superbia patrum,
"that this *proceeding* had been occasioned by the pride of their fathers,

qui negassent finitimis connubium;
who had denied their neighbors *the privilege of* intermarriage;

tamen, illas fore in matrimonio,
that notwithstanding *this* they should be *joined* in *lawful* wedlock,

in societate omnium fortunarum
be admitted to the common enjoyment of all their possessions

civitatisque, et, quo nihil sit carius
and civil rights, and, than which nothing can be dearer

humano generi, liberûm: modo mollirent
to the human heart, of their *common* children: they should now soften

iras, et darent animos, quibus
their resentment, and bestow their affections *upon those* to whom

fors dedisset corpora; ex
fortune had consigned their persons." *He added* that from

injuria sæpe ortam gratiam postmodum;
harsh treatment often sprung mutual regard before long;

que usuras melioribus viris eo,
and that they should find them better husbands on this account,

quod quisque adnisurus sit pro se, cum
because every one would strive to his utmost, after

functus sit suam vicem officio,
having performed his duty in *the conjugal* office,

ut expleat etiam desiderium parentium
to make up also for the loss of their parents

patriæque. Accedebant blanditiæ
and native country. *To this* were added the caresses

virorum purgantium factum cupiditate
of the husbands excusing *their* conduct on *the plea of* passion

atque amore,— preces, quæ sunt maxime
and love, arguments, which are particularly

efficaces ad muliebre ingenium.
forcible with woman's heart.

X.—Animi raptis et erant jam admodum
The minds of the ravished *virgins* were soon very much

mitigati; at raptarum parentes tum maxime
soothed; but their parents then most of all

concitabant civitates veste sordida
sought to rouse the states by *putting on* mourning apparel,

lacrimisque et querelis. Nec continebant
and tears and complaints. Nor did they confine

indignationes tantum domi, sed congregabantur
their resentment merely to their *own* homes, but they flocked

undique ad Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum;
from all quarters to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines:

et, quod nomen Tatii erat maximum
and, because the name of Tatius was the most powerfu

in iis regionibus, legationes conveniebant ea
in those parts, embassies were addressed to him

Cæninenses, Crustuminique et Antemnates
The Cæninenses, Crustumini and Antemnates

erant, ad quos pars ejus injuriæ
were *people*, to whom a portion of the outrage

pertinebat; his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt
extended; to them Tatius and the Sabines seemed

designavit fines templo Jovis, addiditque
he marked out the bounds for a temple of Jupiter, and gave

cognomen deo: "Jupiter Feretri," inquit,
a surname to the god: "Jupiter Feretrius," he says,

"rex Romulus, victor, fero tibi hæc
"I, king Romulus, *upon my* victory, offer to thee these

regia arma, que dedico templum
royal arms, and *to thee* I dedicate a temple

his regionibus, quas modo metatus sum animo,—
within those regions, which I have now measured out in my mind,

sedem opimis spoliis, quæ posteri
as a repository for the grand spoils, which *my* successors

sequentes me auctorem, ferent cæsis regibus
following my example, shall offer on slaying the kings

ducibusque hostium." Hæc est origo templi,
and generals of their enemies." This is the origin of *that* temple,

quod primum omnium sacratum est Romæ.
which was the first consecrated in Rome.

Deinde ita visum diis, nec vocem
It afterwards so pleased the gods, *that* neither the prediction

conditoris templi, qua nuncupavit posteros
of the founder of the temple, by which he intimated that future

laturos spolia eo, irritam esse,
generals would carry spoils thither, should prove erroneous,

nec laudem ejus doni vulgari
nor that the glory of that offering should be rendered common

multitudine compotum. Postea, inter tot
by the great number of those sharing *it*. In after times, during so many

annos, tot bella, opima spolia bina parta sunt,—
years, *and* so many wars, the grand spoils have been *but* twice obtained,

adeo rara fuit fortuna ejus decoris.
so rare has been the fortun*ate attainment* of that honor.

XI.—Dum Romani ibi gerunt ea,
Whilst the Romans are there achieving these *exploits*,

exercitus Antemnatium, per occasionem
the army *of* the Antemnates, in *view of* the favorable conjuncture

ac solitudinem facit incursionem
and the absence *of their military,* makes an incursion

in Romanos fines hostiliter. Romana legio
into the Roman borders in a hostile manner. A Roman legion,

ducta raptim ad hos et oppressit
being marched out in haste against these also, surprised

palatos in agris; igitur hostes
them *while* straggling through the fields; accordingly the enem

fusi primo clamore et impetu, oppidum captum;
were routed at the first shout and charge; their town taken;

ovantemque duplici victoria, conjux Hersilia
and *as he was* exulting for *this* double victory, his consort Hersilia,

fatigata precibus raptarum orat
importuned by the entreaties of the captured *women,* petitions

Romulum, ut det veniam earum parentibus,
Romulus, to show favor to their parents,

et accipiat in civitatem; ita rem
and admit them to the privilege of citizens; that thus *his* power

posse coalescere concordia.
might be strengthened by a reconciliation. *Her request*

Facile impetratum. Inde profectus contra
was readily granted. Thereupon he marched against

Crustuminos, inferentes bellum; fuit
the Crustumini, *who were* carrying on hostilities; *but* there was

etiam minus certaminis ibi, quod animi
even less resistance there, because their spirits

ceciderant cladibus alienis. Coloniæ missæ
were sunk by the defeats of their allies. Colonies were sent

utroque; plures inventi, qui darent nomina
to both places, *but* more were found to give in their names

in Crustuminum, propter ubertatem terræ.
for Crustuminum, on account of the fertility of the soil

Migratum est frequenter et inde Romam,
Migrations in great numbers were also made from thence to Rome,

maxime a parentibus ac propinquis raptarum.
chiefly by the parents and relatives of the ravished *women*

Novissimum bellum ortum ab Sabinis,
The last war broke out on the part of the Sabines,

que id fuit multo maximum: enim nihil
and it was by far the most formidable: for nothing

actum est per iram aut cupiditatem; nec
was done through rage or cupidity; nor

ostenderunt bellum, priusquam intulerunt.
did they make a show of war, before they *actually* began it.

Consilio dolus etiam additus. Spurius Tarpeius
To prudence stratagem also was added. Spurius Tarpeius

præerat Romanæ arci; Tatius corrumpit
commanded the Roman citadel; Tatius bribes

hujus virginem filiam auro, ut accipiat
his maiden daughter with gold, to admit

armatos in arcem: ea ierat forte extra
armed soldiers into the citadel: she had gone by chance without

mœnia tum petitum aquam sacris.
the fortifications at the time, to bring water for the sacred rites

Obrutam armis accepti
Buried beneath their armour, they *who were* admitted

necavere; seu ut arx videretur potius
crushed her to death; either that the citadel might seem rather

capta vi, seu causa prodendi
to have been taken by storm, or for the purpose of establishing

exempli, ne quid fidum usquam esset
a precedent, that no faith should, under any circumstances, be *kept*

proditori. Additur fabulæ, quod
with a traitor. There is an addition to the story, that, as

Sabini vulgo habuerint lævo brachio
the Sabines commonly wore on their left arm

aureas armillas magni ponderis, annulosque
golden bracelets of great weight, and rings

magna specie gemmatos, eam pepigisse
of a large size set with gems, she bargained for

quod haberent in sinistris manibus
what they had on their left hands;

eo scuta congesta illi pro
hence that their shields were thrown upon her instead of

aureis donis. Sunt, qui dicant
the golden presents. There are *some* who say,

ex pacto tradendi quod esset in
Sent in pursuance of the agreement to deliver up what was on

sinistris manibus eam de recto petisse arma;
their left hands, she expressly demanded their shields;

et, visam agere fraude, ipsam peremptam
and that, appearing to act with treachery, she was killed

mercede sua.
by the reward *of* her own *choosing*.

XII.—Sabini tamen tenuere arcem;
The Sabines, however, kept *possession of* the citadel;

atque die postero, cum Romanus exercitus
and on the day after, when the *Roman* army,

instructus complesset quod campi est inter
in order of battle, filled the whole plain that lies between

Palatium Capitolinumque collem, non
the Palatine and Capitoline hills, they did not

descenderunt inde in æquum prius quam,
come down from thence to the level *ground* until,

ira et cupiditate recuperandæ arcis
resentment and a desire to retake the citadel

stimulante animos, Romani subiere in adversum.
firing their spirits, the Romans advanced to an assault.

Principes utrimque ciebant pugnam,
Two chiefs one on each side animated the battle, viz.

Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis, Hostius Hostilius
Mettius Curtius on the part of the Sabines, Hostus Hostilius

ab Romanis. Hic ad prima signa
on that of the Romans. The latter, in the front ranks,

animo atque audacia sustinebat Romanam rem
by his spirit and intrepidity supported the Roman cause

iniquo loco; ut Hostius cecidit,
on disadvantageous ground; *but* when Hostus fell,

Romana acies confestim inclinatur, fusaque est
the Roman line immediately gave way, and was beaten

ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus,
to the old gate of the Palatium. Romulus,

et ipse actus fugientium turba, tollens arma
himself too being forced along by the flying crowd, raising his arms

ad cœlum, inquit, "Jupiter, jussus tuis avibus,
towards heaven, says, "O Jupiter, directed by thy birds,

hic in Palatio jeci prima fundamenta urbi:
I here on the Palatine *hill* laid the first foundation of *my* city.

Sabini jam habent arcem
The Sabines already have *possession of* the citadel,

emptam scelere: inde tendunt huc armati,
purchased by fraud: from thence they are *now* advancing hither in arms,

superata media valle. At tu,
having *already* passed the middle *of the* valley. But do thou,

pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes,
father of gods and men, from hence at least repel the foe,

deme terrorem Romanis, sisteque
remove dismay from *the minds of* the Romans, and stop

fœdam fugam. Voveo templum hic tibi,
their shameful flight. I vow a temple here to thee,

Jovi Statori, quod sit monumentum posteris,
as Jupiter Stator, which shall be a testimony to posterity,

urbem servatam esse tua præsenti ope."
that *this* city was preserved by thy immediate aid.

Hæc precatus, velut si sensisset preces
Having prayed thus, as if he had perceived that his supplications

auditas, inquit, "hinc, Romani, Jupiter
were heard, he cries out, "here, Romans, Jupiter,

optimus maximus jubet resistere atque
supremely good *and* great, orders you to halt, and

iterare pugnam." Romani restitere, tamquam
renew the fight." The Romans halted as if

jussi voce cœlesti; ipse Romulus provolat
commanded by a voice from heaven; *and* Romulus himself flew forward

ad primores. Ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius
to the front. On the side of the Sabines, Mettius Curtius

decucurrerat princeps ab arce,
had rushed down at the head *of his army* from the citadel,

et egerat Romanos effusos quantum spatium est
and driven the Romans in disorder through all that space which is

toto foro ; jam erat nec procul
now occupied by the [whole] forum ; he was already not far

a porta Palatii, clamitans, " vicimus
from the gate of the Palatium, crying aloud, " We have conquered

perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes. Jam sciunt,
these perfidious strangers, *these* dastardly enemies. They now feel

aliud esse rapere virgines, aliud longe pugnare
that it is one thing to ravish virgins, another, far different, to fight

cum viris." In eum, hæc gloriantem,
with men." On him, thus vaunting,

Romulus facit impetum cum globo
Romulus makes an attack with a band

ferocissimorum juvenum. Mettius forte
of the most courageous youths. Mettius, as it happened,

tum pugnabat ex equo : eo fuit facilius pelli ;
was then fighting on horseback : hence he was the more easily repulsed ;

Romani persequuntur pulsum, et alia
the Romans pursue him when repulsed, and the rest

Romana acies, accensa audacia regis,
of the Roman army, animated by the gallantry of their king,

fundit Sabinos. Mettius, equo trepidante
routs the Sabines. Mettius, his horse taking fright

strepitu sequentium, conjecit sese in paludem :
at the din of his pursuers, threw himself into a lake ;

eaque res averterat Sabinos
and this circumstance drew *the attention of* the Sabines

periculo tanti viri. Ille et equidem,
at the risk of so important a person. He, however,

suis adnuentibus ac vocantibus, addito
his own *party* beckoning and calling to him, acquired fresh

animo favore multorum, evadit.
courage from the affection of the multitude, *and* made his escape.

Romani Sabinique redintegrant prœlium
The Romans and Sabines renew the battle

in convalle media duorum montium, sed
in the valley between the two hills, but

Romana res erat superior.
Roma valor was ahead.

XIII.—Tum Sabinæ mulieres, ex injuria quarum
At this *crisis* the Sabine women, from the outrage on whom

bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis
the war was begun, with hair dishevelled

scissaque veste, muliebri pavore victo
and garments torn, their woman's timidity being overcome

malis, ausæ inferre se
by the *sight of such* disasters, had the courage to throw themselves

inter volantia tela, facto impetu ex transverso
amid the flying weapons, *and* making a rush across,

dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras; orantes
to part the incensed armies, *and* to assuage their fury; beseeching

hinc patres, hinc viros,
on the one hand their fathers, on the other their husbands

soceri generique, ne respergerent
that, as fathers-in-law and sons-in-law, they would not pollute

se nefando sanguine, ne macularent
themselves with impious blood, nor stain

suos partus parricidio,— illi nepotum progeniem
their offspring with parricide, the one their grandchildren,

hi liberum. "Si piget affinitatis
the other their children. "If you are displeased with the affinity

inter vos, si connubii, vertite iras in nos;
between you, if with our intermarriages, turn your rage against us;

nos sumus causa belli, nos vulnerum
we are the cause of the war, we *the cause* of wounds

ac cædium viris ac parentibus: melius peribimus,
and death to our husbands and parents; better we perish,

quam vivemus viduæ aut orbæ sine
than live widowed or fatherless without

alteris vestrûm." Res movet cum multitudinem,
one or the other of you." The circumstance affects both the multitude

tum duces; silentium et repentina quies fit. Inde
and the leaders; silence and a sudden suspension ensue. Upon this

duces prodeunt ad fœdus faciendum;
the leaders come forward to concert a treaty; [U. C. 7; B. C. 745.]

nec modo faciunt pacem, sed
and they not only conclude a peace, but *form*

unam civitatem ex duabus. Consociant regnum,
one state out of two. They associate the regal power,

conferunt omne imperium Romam. Urbe
and transfer the entire sovereignty to Rome. The city

ita geminata, ut tamen aliquid daretur
being thus doubled, that at least some *compliment* might be pai

Sabinis, appellati Quirites a Curibus.
to the Sabines, they were called Quirites from Cures.

Monumentum ejus pugnæ, appellarunt
As a memorial of this battle, they called *the place*

ubi equus emersus ex profunda palude
where the horse, *upon* getting out of the deep marsh

primum statuit Curtium in vado, Curtium lacum.
first set Curtius in shallow water, the Curtian lake.

Læta pax repente ex bello tam tristi,
The happy peace *following* suddenly upon a war so distressing,

fecit Sabinas cariores viris ac parentibus,
rendered the Sabine women still dearer to their husbands and parents,

et ante omnes Romulo ipsi. Itaque
and above all, to Romulus himself. Accordingly,

cum divideret populum in triginta curias,
when he divided the people into thirty curiæ,

imposuit earum nomina curiis. Cum haud dubie
he conferred their names upon them. Since, without doubt,

numerus mulierum fuerit aliquanto major hoc,
the number of women was considerably greater than this,

id non traditur, quæ darent nomina
it is not recorded *whether* those, who gave *their* names

curiis, lectæ sint ætate,
to the curiæ, were selected on account of their age,

an suis virorumve dignitatibus, an sorte.
or their own or their husbands' dignity, or by lot.

Eodem tempore et tres centuriæ equitum
At the same time, also, three centuries of knights

conscriptæ sint, appellati Ramnenses ab Romulo,
were enrolled, called Ramnenses from Romulus,

Titienses ab T. Tatio; causa nominis et originis
Titienses from Titus Tatius; the reason of the name and origin

Lucerum incerta est. Inde regnum
of the Luceres is uncertain. Thenceforward the government

fuit non modo commune, sed concors etiam
was *conducted* not only in common, but *in* concord also

duobus regibus.
by the two kings.

XIV.—Post aliquot annos, propinqui regis Tatii
Several years after, *some* relatives of king Tatius

pulsant legatos Laurentium, cumque Laurentes
beat the ambassadors of the Laurentes, and when the Laurentes

agerent jure gentium, gratia suorum
took action according to the law of nations, the influence of his *friends*

et preces plus poterant apud Tatium.
and their importunities had more weight with Tatius.

Igitur vertit in se pœnam illorum;
He therefore drew upon himself the punishment *due* to them;

nam interficitur Lavinii, concursu facto,
for he is slain at Lavinium in a tumult raised

cum eo venisset ad sollemne sacrificium. Eam rem
on his going thither to an anniversary sacrifice. This proceeding,

ferunt Romulum tulisse minus ægre quam
they say, Romulus regarded with less resentment than

dignum erat; seu ob societatem
was becoming *to him*, either because of their association

regni infidam, seu quia credebat
in the kingly power lacking cordiality, or because he believed

haud injuria cæsum. Itaque quidem abstinuit
that he was deservedly killed. For this very reason, he declined *going*

bello; ut tamen injuriæ legatorum
to war; in order, however, that the ill-treatment of the ambassadors

regisque cædes expiarentur, fœdus inter
and the murder of the king might be expiated, the league between

urbes Romam Laviniumque renovatum est.
the cities *of* Rome and Lavinium was renewed.

Et cum his quidem pax erat insperata;
With this party, indeed, peace continued contrary to expectation·

aliud bellum ortum multo propius, atque
another war broke out much nearer *home* and

prope in ipsis portis. Fidenates, rati opes
almost at the very gates. The Fidenates, thinking that a power

nimis vicinas prope se convalescere, occupabant
too near to themselves was growing formidable, determine

facere bellum, priusquam esset tantum
to make war before there should be such a degree

roboris, quantum apparebat futurum.
of strength, as it was evident there would be.

Armata juventute immissa, quod agri
An armed body of young men being sent in, all the land, *that*

inter urbem ac Fidenas est vastatur. Inde
lies between the city and Fidenæ is laid waste. Then

versi ad lævam, quia Tiberis arcebat dextra,
turning to the left, because the Tiber confined them on the right.

populantur cum magna trepidatione
they continued *their* depredations to the great consternation

agrestium, repensque tumultus illatus ex agris
of the peasantry; and the sudden excitement, spreading from the country

in urbem fuit pro nuntio. Romulus
into the city, served as the *first* announcement. Romulus

excitus,— enim bellum tam vicinum
taking alarm, (for a war so near *home*

neque poterat pati dilationem,— educit exercitum,
could not admit of delay,) leads out his army.

locat castra mille passuum a Fidenis.
and pitches his camp a mile from Fidenæ.

Ibi relicto modico præsidio, egressus omnibus
Having left there a small garrison, marching out with all

copiis, jussit partem militum
the rest of his forces, he ordered a party of his soldiers

subsidere in insidiis obscuris locis circa
to lie in ambush in concealed places about

densa obsita virgulta; profectus cum
thick-set bushes; *then* advancing with

parte majore atque omni equitatu, adequitandc
the greater part *of the foot* and all the horse, by riding up

prope ipsis portis, tumultuoso et minaci genere
almost to the very gates, in an irregular and menacing mode

pugnæ excivit hostem,— id quod quærebat.
of attack he drew out the enemy,— the very thing he wanted.

Eadem pugna equestris quoque
The same *mode of* fighting *on the part* of the cavalry likewise

dedit causam fugæ, quæ simulanda erat,
rendered the cause of the flight, which was to be counterfeited,

minus mirabilem : et cum, equitatu trepidante
less surprising : and when, the cavalry wavering,

velut inter consilium pugnæ fugæque,
as it were, between the resolutions of fight and flight,

pedes quoque referret gradum, hostes
the infantry also retreated, the enemy

repente effusi plenis portis, impulsa
suddenly rushed from the crowded gates, *and*, having broken

Romana acie, trahuntur ad locum insidiarum
the Roman line, are drawn on to the place of ambuscade

studio instandi sequendique. Inde
in their eagerness to press on and pursue. Upon thi

Romani exorti subito invadunt hostium aciem
the Romans, rising suddenly, attack the enemy's line

transversam. Signa eorum, qui relicti fuerant
in flank. The ensigns of those, who had been left behind

in præsidio, mota e castris, addunt pavorem :
on guard, advancing from the camp, further increase the panic

Fidenates ita perculsi multiplici terrore,
the Fidenates, thus dismayed with multiplying terrors,

vertunt terga pæne prius quam Romulus,
turn their backs almost sooner than Romulus,

quique erant cum eo equites,
and those who had *gone* with him on horseback,

circumagerent equos frenis ; que qui
could wheel their horses round [by the reins;] and those, who

paulo ante secuti erant simulantes,
a little before had pursued *men* pretending *to fly*,

repetebant oppidum multo effusius,—
now ran back to town in much greater disorder

quippe fuga vera. Non tamen eripuere se
for their flight *was in* earnest. They did not, however, rid themselves

hosti; Romanus hærens in tergo
of the enemy; the Roman *host*, pressing on their rear,

irrumpit velut uno agmine, priusquam
rush in as it were in one body, before

fores portarum objicerentur.
the gates could be shut.

XV.—Animi Veientium irritati
The minds of the Veientes being excited

contagione Fidenatis belli,
by the contagious influence of the Fidenatian war,

et consanguinitate,— nam Fidenates quoque
both from *a tie of* consanguinity, (for the Fidenates also

fuerunt Etrusci,— et quod ipsa propinquitas
were Etrurians,) and because the very proximity

loci, si Romana arma infesta essent
of situation, in case the Roman arms should be turned against

omnibus finitimis, stimulabat, excucurrerunt
all their neighbors, urged them on, they made an incursion

in Romanos fines more populabundi magis quam
on the Roman borders, in the manner of a predatory, rather than

justi belli; itaque non castris positis,
of a regular war; and thus without pitching a camp,

non exspectato hostium exercitu, rediere Veios
or waiting the approach of the enemy's army, they returned to Veii,

portantes prædam raptam ex agris.
carrying *with them* the booty collected from the lands

Contra Romanus, postquam non invenit
On the other side, the Roman (*army*) when they did not find

hostem in agris, instructus intentusque
the enemy in the country, being prepared for and detemined on

ultimæ dimicationi, transit Tiberim.
a decisive action, crossed the Tiber.

Postquam Veientes audiverc, quem
And when the Veientes heard, that they

ponere castra, et accessurum ad urbem,
were forming a camp, and intended to advance to their city,

egressi obviam, ut potius decernerent
they came out to meet them, that they might rather decide *the matter*

acie, quam inclusi dimicarent
in the *open* field, than, being shut up, fight

de tectis mœnibusque. Ibi Romanus rex vicit,
from their houses and walls. Here the Roman king got the victory,

viribus adjutis nulla arte, tantum robore
his power being unassisted by any stratagem, merely by the strength

veterani exercitus; persecutusque fusos hostes
of his veteran army; and having pursued the routed enemies

ad mœnia, abstinuit urbe, valida
to their walls, he made no attempt on the city, strong *as it was*

muris ac munita ipso situ:
by its fortifications and well defended by its very situation

rediens vastat agros, magis studio
on returning, he lays waste their lands, more from a desire

ulciscendi, quam prædæ. Que Veientes
of revenge, than of booty. And the Veientes,

subacti ea clade haud minus quam
being humbled by that loss no less than

adversa pugna, mittunt oratores Romam
by the unsuccessful battle, send deputies to Rome

petitum pacem. Induciæ in centum annos datæ
to sue for peace. A truce for a hundred years was granted

multatis parte agri. Hæc
them *after* being fined a part of their land. These *are*

ferme gesta domi militiæque Romulo regnante,
the principal transactions in peace and war during Romulus' reign,

nihil quorum fuit absonum fidei
none of which was at variance with the belief

divinæ originis, divinitatisque creditæ post mortem,
in his divine origin and his supposed divinity after death;

non animus in recuperando avito regno, non
neither his spirit in recovering his grandfather's kingdom, nor

consilium condendæ urbis, non firmandæ
his project of building a city, nor *that* of strengthening *it*

bello ac pace ; enim viribus datis
by *the arts of* war and peace ; for by the strength attained

ab illo profecto, tantum valuit, ut in
from that outset *under him*, it became so powerful, that, during

quadraginta annos deinde haberet
forty years after, it enjoyed

tutam pacem. Fuit tamen gratior multitudini
undisturbed peace. He was, however, more in favor with the people,

quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus
than with the senate, *and* much above *all* others most beloved

animis militum ; trecentosque, quos
by the soldiers ; and three hundred *of them*, whom

appellavit Celeres, habuit armatos
he called Celeres, he kept armed

ad custodiam corporis, non solum in bello, sed
as a body guard, not only in war, but

in pace etiam.
in peace [also].

XVI.—Editis his immortalibus operibus, cum
After performing these immortal achievments, while

haberet concionem in campo ad paludem
he was holding an assembly in the plain near the lake

Capræ ad recensendum exercitum, subito
of Capra for *the purpose of* reviewing his army, on a sudden

tempestas coorta cum magno fragore tonitribusque
a storm, having arisen with great thunder and lightning,

operuit regem tam denso nimbo, ut abstulerit
enveloped the king in so dense a mist, that it took

conspectum ejus concioni : nec fuit Romulus
all sight of him from the assembly : nor was Romulus

deinde in terris. Pavore
after this seen on earth. [B. C. 37 ; B. C. 715.] The consternation

tandem sedato, serena et tranquilla lux
having at length subsided, *and* calm and serene weather

rediit postquam ex tam turbido die, ubi
returned in succession to so turbulent a day, when

Romana pubes vidit regiam sedem vacuam,
the Roman youth saw the royal seat empty,

etsi satis credebat patribus, qui steterant
though they readily believed the senators, who had stood

proximi, raptum sublimem procella;
nearest *him*, that he was carried up on high by the storm,

tamen icta metu velut orbitatis,
yet struck with the dread, as it were, of orphanage,

obtinuit mœstum silentium aliquamdiu.
they observed a sorrowful silence for quite a time.

Deinde, initio facto a paucis,
Then, a commencement having been made by a few,

universi jubent salvere Romulum deum,
the whole *assembly* salute Romulus *as* a deity,

deo natum, regem parentemque Romanæ urbis;
the son of a deity, the king and parent of the Roman city;

exposcunt pacem precibus, ut volens
they implore his favor with prayers, that he would *be* pleased

semper propitius sospitet suam progeniem.
always propitiously *to* preserve his own offspring.

Credo tum quoque fuisse aliquos,
I believe that even then there were some,

qui taciti arguerent regem discerptum
who silently surmised, that the king had been torn in pieces

manibus patrum; enim hæc fama
by the hands of the senators; for this rumor

quoque manavit sed perobscura; admiratio
also spread, but *was* little credited; their admiration

viri et pavor præsens
of the man, and the consternation *prevailing* at the time,

nobilitavit illam alteram.
attached importance to the other *report*.

Et consilio etiam unius hominis
By the contrivance, also, of one individua.

addita fides dicitur rei; namque
additional credit is said to have been *gained* to the matter; for

Proculus Julius,— civitate sollicita desiderio
Proculus Julius, (*while* the state *was* troubled with regret

regis et infensa patribus,— auctor gravis,
for the king, and *felt* incensed against the senators,) a person of weight,

ut traditur, rei quamvis magnæ,
as we are told, in *any* matter however important,

prodit in concionem, "Quirites," inquit,
comes forward to the assembly, "Romans," he says,

"Romulus, parens hujus urbis repente delapsus
"Romulus, the father of this city, suddenly descending

cœlo prima luce hodierna dedit se
from heaven at early dawn to-day, presented himself

obvium mihi. Cum adstitissem, perfusus
before me. While I stood covered

horrore venerabundus, petens precibus,
with awe *in a* worshiping *posture*, addressing *him* with prayers,

ut fas esset intueri contra, inquit,
that *I* might be allowed to behold *him* face to face, he said,

'Abi, nuntia Romanis, cœlestes ita velle
'Go, tell the Romans, that the gods so will,

ut mea Roma sit caput orbis terrarum.
that my Rome should become the capital of the world.

Proinde colant rem militarem, sciantque
Therefore let them cultivate the art of war, and be assured

et ita tradant posteris, nullas humanas
and hand this *assurance* down to posterity, that no human

opes posse resistere Romanis armis.'
power shall be able to withstand the Roman arms.'

Locutus hæc," inquit, "abiit sublimis."
Speaking thus," [said he,] "he ascended up to heaven."

Mirum, quantum fidei fuerit illi viro,
It is surprising, how much credit was *given* to the man,

nuntianti hæc; quamque desiderium
in making this announcement; and how *much* the regret

Romuli apud plebem exercitumque
for *the loss of* Romulus, on the part of the people and the army,

lenitum sit fide immortalitatis facta.
was assuaged upon the belief in his immortality being established

XVII.—Interim cupido ac certamen regni
Meanwhile ambition and contention for the sovereignty

versabat animos patrum; necdum
actuated the minds of the senators; and yet no *struggle*

a singulis pervenerat, quia in novo
on the part of individuals had proven successful, because, among a new

populo nemo magnopere eminebat:
people, no one *person* was eminently distinguished *above the rest*

certabatur factionibus inter ordines.
It was a contest of factions between *the different* orders.

Oriundi ab Sabinis volebant regem creari
The descendants of the Sabines wished a king to be elected

sui corporis, ne, quia non erat regnatum
out of their body, lest, (because there had been no king

ab sua parte post mortem Tatii, amitterent
on their side since the death of Tatius,) they might lose

possessionem imperii in æqua societate.
their claim to the crown according to *the* equal participation-*treaty*

Romani veteres aspernabantur peregrinum
The old Romans spurned *the thought of* a foreign

regem. In variis voluntatibus, tamen
prince. Amid *this* diversity *of* views, however,

omnes volebant regnari,
they were all anxious that there *should* be a king,

dulcedine libertatis nondum experta. Timor
the sweets of liberty being as yet untasted. Fear

deinde incessit patres, ne animis multarum
then came upon the senators, lest, the minds of many

circa civitatium irritatis aliqua
of the neighboring states being incensed *against them*, some

externa vis adoriretur civitatem
foreign power might attack the state *now*

sine imperio, exercitum sine duce;
without a government, *and* the army without a leader

et igitur placebat esse aliquod caput,
and it was therefore their wish, that there *should* be some head

et nemo inducebat in animum concedere alteri.
but no one could prevail upon himself to give way to another

Ita centum patres consociant rem
Thus the hundred senators shared the government

inter se, decem decuriis factis, singulisque
among themselves, ten decuries being formed, and one

creatis in singulas decurias, qui præessent
selected from each decury, who was to have

summæ rerum. Decem imperitabant, unus
the chief direction of affairs. Ten governed; one only

erat cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus.
was *attended* with the ensigns of sovereignty and the lictors:

imperium finiebatur spatio quinque dierum,
their power was limited to the space of five days,

ac ibat per omnes in orbem, intervallumque
and it passed through all in rotation; and the interval between

regni fuit annuum. Ab
a kingly government lasted a year. [U. C. 38; B. C. 714.] From

id re appellatum interregnum, nomen
this circumstance it was called an Interregnum,— a term

quod tenet nunc quoque. Deinde plebs
which holds *good* even now. By this time the people

fremere, servitutem multiplicatam,
began to murmur, that their slavery was multiplied,

centum dominos factos pro uno;
that a hundred masters were set *over them* instead of one

nec videbantur passuri ultra nisi regem,
and it seemed they would suffer nothing but a king,

et creatum ab ipsis. Cum patres sensissent
and *that too* elected by themselves. When the senators perceived

ea moveri, rati offerendum
that such *schemes* were in agitation, judging it prudent to offer *them*,

ultro, quod amissuri erant, ineunt
of their own accord, what they would have to lose, they conciliate

gratiam, permissa populo summa potestate
their favor, by granting the people the supreme power,

ita, ut darent non plus juris,
yet in such a way as to allow them no more privilege,

quam detinerent: enim decreverunt, ut,
than they reserved *for themselves*: for they decreed that

cum populus jussisset regem, id
when the people should choose a king, that *election*

ratum esset sic, si patres auctores fierent.
should be valid on *this* condition, if the senate approved

Hodie quoque idem jus usurpatur
To this day, even, the same right is observed

in legibus rogandisque magistratibus vi
in *enacting* laws and electing magistrates, *though* its force

adempta; nisquam populus ineat
has been destroyed; *for* before the people begin

suffragium, patres auctores fiunt in
their voting, the senators pronounce their approbation in *advance of*

incertum eventum comitiorum. Tum interrex,
the yet uncertain result of the elections. Then the interrex,

advocata concione, inquit, "Quirites,
having called an assembly, said, "Romans,

create regem. quod sit bonum, faustum,
elect a king, and may it prove prosperous, fortunate

felixque: ita visum est patribus. Deinde
and happy: so it has pleased the fathers. Then,

si crearitis dignum, qui numeretur secundus
if ye choose a person worthy to be esteemed a *fit* successor

ab Romulo, patres auctores fient." Id
to Romulus, the fathers will confirm *the choice.*" This *proceeding*

fuit adeo gratum plebi, ut, ne viderentur
was so pleasing to the people, that, lest they might appear

victi beneficio, sciscerent juberentque modo id,
to be outdone in generosity, they voted and ordered only this,

ut senatus decerneret, qui regnaret Romæ.
that the senate should determine, who should be king of Rome.

XVIII.—Justitia religioque Numæ Pompilii
The justice and piety of Numa Pompilius

erat ea tempestate inclyta. Habitabat Curibus
were at that time celebrated. He dwelt at Cures,

Sabinis, vir consultissimus, ut quisquam
a *city* of the Sabines, *being* a man as largely experienced, as any one

illa ætate poterat, omnis juris humani atque
in that age could be, in all laws human and

divini. Falso edunt, Pythagoram Samium
divine. They falsely represent, that Pythagoras of Samos *was*

ejus auctorem doctrinæ, quia exstat non alius;
his teacher in philosophy, because there appears no other person

constat amplius centum annos
to refer to; certain it is, *however,* that more than a hundred years

post, Servio Tullio regnante Romæ, quem
after *this,* *while* Servius Tullius *was* king of Rome, he,

(*Pythagoras,*) habuisse cœtus juvenum æmulantium
held assemblies of young men, zealously devoted to

studia in ultima ora Italiæ, circa Metapontum
his teachings, in the remotest part of Italy, about Metapontus,

Heracleamque et Crotonam. Ex quibus locis,
Heraclea and Croton. *But* from these places,

etsi fuisset ejusdem ætatis, quæ fama
even if he had lived at the same time, what fame of his *could have*

in Sabinos, aut quo commercio linguæ
come to the Sabines, or by what intercourse of language

excivisset quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi;
have aroused any one to a desire of learning;

quove præsidio unus pervenisset per
or with what safety could a single man have made his way through

tot gentes, dissonas sermone moribusque?
so many nations, differing in their language and manners?

Igitur magis opinor, animum fuisse
I, therefore, rather believe, that his mind was

suopte ingenio temperatum virtutibus,
by its very nature furnished with virtuous dispositions,

non tam instructumque peregrinis artibus, quam
and that he was not so much versed in foreign sciences, as

tetrica ac tristi disciplina veterum Sabinorum,
in the coarse and severe discipline of the ancient Sabines,

quo genere nullum fuit quondam incorruptius.
than which class none was in former times more uncorrupted

Audito nomine Numæ, quamquam Romani
On hearing the name of Numa, although the Roman

patres videbantur opes inclinari ad Sabinos,
fathers saw that *the balance of* power would incline to the Sabines,

rege sumpto inde, tamen, neque quisquam ausi
if a king *were* chosen from them, yet, no one presuming

præferre se, nec alium suæ factionis, nec denique
to prefer himself, or any other of his own party, or, in short,

quemquam patrum aut civium, illi viro, omnes
any one of the fathers or citizens, to that person, they all,

d unum decernunt regnum deferendum
to a man, resolved that the kingdom should be conferred on

Numæ Pompilio. Accitus jussit,
Numa Pompilius. [U. C. 39, B. C. 713.] Being sent for he ordered that

sicut Romulus condenda urbe adeptus est
as Romulus, on *the* founding *of* the city, had obtained

regnum augurato, deos consuli
the sovereign power by an augury, so the gods should be consulted

quoque de se. Inde deductus
in like manner concerning himself. Upon this, being conducted

in arcem ab augure,— cui id sacerdotium
into the citadel by an augur, (to which *profession* that office

fuit deinde publicum perpetuumque
was then *made* a public one and perpetual

ergo honoris,— consedit in lapidem
by way of honor,) he sat down on a stone

versus ad meridiem ; augur cepit sedem
facing the south ; the augur took his seat

ad lævam ejus, capite velato, tenens
on his left, with his head covered, holding

dextra manu aduncum baculum sine nodo,
in his right hand a crooked wand free from knots,

quem appellarunt lituum. Inde, capto prospectu
which they called "lituus." Then, taking a view

in urbem agrumque, ubi precatus deos,
owards the city and country, after praying to the gods,

determinavit regiones ab oriente ad occasum,
he marked out the regions from east to west,

partes ad meridiem dixit esse dextras,
the parts toward the south he called the right.

ad septemtrionem lævas; contra
those toward the north the left; *and* in front *of him*

finivit animo signum, quo longissime
he set out in his mind a sign as far as ever

oculi ferebant conspectum. Tum
his eyes could measure the prospect. Then

translato lituo in lævam manum, imposita dextra
having shifted the lituus into his left hand, laying his right han

in caput Numæ, precatus ita est:
on the head of Numa, he prayed in this manner

"Jupiter pater, si est fas, hunc
"O father Jupiter, if it is thy will, that this

Numam Pompilium, cujus caput ego teneo,
Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold.

esse regem Romæ, uti tu adclarassis nobis
should be king of Rome, do thou, *I beseech thee*, display to us

certa signa inter eos fines, quos feci."
clear tokens *of the same* within those limits, which I have marked."

Tum peregit verbis auspicia,
Then he stated in *set* terms the omens

quæ vellet mitti; quibus missis, Numa
which he wished to be sent; and on their being sent, Numa

declaratus rex descendit de templo.
was declared king *and* came down from the consecrated stand.

XIX.—Ita potitus regno qui parat
Being thus put in possession of the kingdom, he sets about

condere de integro, jure legibusque
establishing anew, upon *the basis of* justice and laws

ac moribus, eam urbem novam conditam
and morals, the city, recently established

vi et armis. Cum videret animos,
by violence and arms. When he saw that their minds,

quippe efferari militia non posse assuescere
as being rendered ferocious by military life, could not grow accustomed

quibus inter bella, ratus
to these *principles* in the midst of wars, *he* concluded

ferocem populum mitigandum desuetudine armorum
that a fierce people should be mollified by the disuse of arms.

Fecit Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem
He built the Janus, *therefore,* at the foot of Argiletum, *as* an index

pacis bellique, ut apertus significaret
of peace and war, that, *when* open, it might show

civitatem esse in armis, clausus omnes
the state was *engaged* in war, *when* shut, that all

circa populos pacatos. Bis
the neighboring nations were at peace *with it.* Twice

deinde post regnum Numæ fuit clausus, semel
only since the reign of Numa has it been shut, once

T. Manlio consule, post perfectum primum
when T. Manlius *was* consul, on the conclusion of the first

Punicum bellum; iterum, quod dii dederunt
Punic war; and a second time, which the gods granted

nostræ ætati ut videremus, ab imperatore
our age to see, by the Emperor

Augusto Cæsare, post bellum Actiacum,
Augustus Cæsar, after the battle of Actium,

pace parta terra marique. Eo clauso, cum
peace being established on land and sea. This being shut, after

junxisset animos omnium finitimorum circa
he had secured the friendship of all the adjoining states around

societate ac fœderibus, curis periculorum
by alliance and treaties, *all* apprehension of dangers

externorum positis, ne animi, quos
from abroad being removed, lest their dispositions, which

metus hostium que militaris disciplina
the fear of enemies and military discipline

continuerat, luxuriarent otio,
had *hitherto* restrained, should grow licentious by tranquillity,

ratus est, primum omnium metum deorum
e considered, that, first of all, an awe of the gods

injiciendum,— rem efficacissimam
should be instilled *into them,*— a principle of the greatest efficacy

ad multitudinem imperitam, et rudem
with a multitude, ignorant and uncivilised

illis sæculis. Qui cum non posset descendere
as in those times. But as it could not sink deeply

ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi,
into their minds without some fiction of a miracle,

simulabat sibi esse nocturnos congressus cum
he pretends that he has nightly meetings with

dea Egeria; ejus monitu se instituere
the goddess Egeria; that by her direction he instituted

sacra, quæ essent acceptissima diis;
the sacred rites, which would be most acceptable to the gods

præficere suos sacerdotes cuique deorum.
and appointed proper priests for each of the deities.

Atque primum omnium describit annum in
And, first of all he divides the year into

duodecim menses ad cursus lunæ;
twelve months according to the course of the moon;

quia luna non explet tricenos dies
and, because the moon does not make up thirty days

singulis mensibus, diesque desunt
in each month, and *some* days are wanting

solido anno, qui circumagitur solstitiali orbe,
to the complete year as constituted by the solstitial revolution,

ita quem dispensavit interponendo intercalares
he so portioned it out, by inserting intercalary *days*

mensibus, ut vicesimo anno, spatiis
between the months, that in the twentieth year, the lengths

omnium annorum plenis, dies congruerent
of all the *intervening* years being completed, the days should correspond

ad eandem metam solis, unde orsi essent.
to the same position of the sun *in the heavens*, whence they had set out.

Idem fecit dies fastos nefastosque,
He also appointed days of business and *days* of cessation *therefrom*,

quia aliquando futurum erat utile
because, on some, it was likely to be expedient

nihil agi cum populo.
that no *business* be transacted with the people.

XX.—Tum adjecit animum creandis sacerdotibus,
Next he turned his attention to the appointment of priests,

quamquam obibat ipse plurima sacra,
though he performed in person the greatest part of the sacred rites,

maxime ea quæ nunc pertinent
especially those which now belong

ad flaminem Dialem. Sed, quia putabat
to the flamen of Jupiter. But, as he imagined that

in bellicosa civitate fore plures reges
in a warlike nation there would be more kings

similes Romuli quam Numæ, iturosque ad bella
resembling Romulus than Numa, and that they would go to war

ipsos, ne sacra regiæ vicis
in person, lest the sacred functions of the royal office

desererentur, creavit assiduum sacerdotem
should be neglected, he appointed a residentiary priest

flaminem Jovi, adornavitque eum insigni veste,
as flamen to Jupiter, and decorated him with a splendid dress,

et regia curuli sella: huic adjecit duos flamines,—
and a royal curule chair: to him he added two other flamines,

unum Marti, alterum Quirino. Virginesque legit
one for Mars, another for Quirinus. He also selected virgins

Vestæ, sacerdotium oriundum Alba,
for Vesta,— a priesthood derived from Alba,

et haud alienum genti conditoris: iis
and not foreign to the family of the founder: for these

statuit stipendium de publico,
he fixed a stipend *to be paid* out of the public treasury,

ut essent assiduæ antistites templi;
that they might be constant attendants in the temple;

virginitate aliisque cærimoniis
and by *a vow of* virginity, and other religious observances

fecit sanctas ac venerabiles. Item legit
he made them sacred and venerable. At the same time he selected

duodecim Salios Marti Gradivo, deditque insigne
twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and gave them the distinction

pictæ tunicæ, et super tunicam æneum tegimen
of a flowered tunic, and over the tunic a brazen covering

pectori; jussitque ferre cœlestia arma,
for the breast; and he ordered *them* to carry the celestial shields,

quæ appellantur ancilia, ac ire per urbem
which are called "Ancilia," and to march through the city,

canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu.
singing songs, with leaping and solemn dancing.

Deinde legit ex patribus pontificem,
He then chose out of the senators a pontiff,

Numam Marcium, filium Marci, eique attribuit
Numa Marcius, son of Marcus, and to him he consigned

exscripta exsignataque omnia sacra,
a written and sealed *copy of* all the religious rites,

quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quæ templa
showing with what victims, upon what days, *and* in what temples

sacra fierent; atque unde
the sacred ceremonies should be performed; and whence

pecunia erogaretur in eos sumptus.
the money should be paid out for these expenses.

Quoque subjecit omnia cetera sacra
He also subjected all other religious performances,

publica privataque scitis pontificis,
public and private, to the determination of the pontiff,

ut esset, quo plebes
to the end that there might be *some place*, where the people

veniret consultum, ne quid turbaretur
should come to consult, that there might be no confusion

divini juris negligendo ritus
in the divine worship *brought on* by neglecting the rites

patrios, adsciscendoque peregrinos.
of their *own* country, and introducing foreign ones.

Ut idem pontifex edoceret
He ordained that the same pontiff should give directions,

nec modo cœlestes cærimonias, sed quoque
not only in respect of the celestial ceremonies, but also

funebria justa, placandosque manes;
of funeral solemnities, and *of* appeasing the manes *of the dead*;

quæque prodigia, missa fulminibus aliove quo visu,
and what prodigies, sent by lightning or any other phenomenon

susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad elicienda ea
were to be admitted and expiated. To elicit such *knowledge*

ex divinis mentibus dicavit aram in Aventino
from the divine mind, he dedicated an altar on the Aventine

Jovi Elicio, consuluitque deum auguriis,
to Jupiter Elicius, and consulted the god by auguries,

quæ suscipienda essent.
as to what *prodigies* ought to be admitted *for expiation*.

XXI.—Omni multitudine conversa a vi
The whole multitude having been diverted from violence

et armis ad consultanda procurandaque hæc,
and arms to the considering and adjusting these matters,

et animi occupati erant agendo aliquid,
both their minds had been engaged in doing something,

et assidua cura deorum insidens,
and the constant watchfulness of the gods, *now* impressed *upon them*,

cum numen cœleste videretur interesse
as the deity of heaven seemed to interest itself

humanis rebus, imbuerat pectora omnium
in human concerns, had filled the breasts of all

ea pietate, ut fides ac jusjurandum regerent
with such piety, that faith and *religious* obligations governed

civitatem, proximo metu legum ac pœnarum:
the state, no less than the dread of the laws and of punishment:

et cum ipsi homines formarent se
and while the people were moulding themselves

in mores regis velut unici exempli.
after the morals of the king as *their* best example.

finitimi populi etiam, qui antea crediderant,
the neighboring nations also, who had formerly thought

castra non urbem positam in medio
that it was a camp, not a city, situate in the midst *of them*

ad sollicitandam omnium pacem, tum
to disturb the general peace, were thereupon

adducti sunt in eam verecundiam, ut ducerent
brought to *cherish* such high regard *for them*, that they considered it

nefas violare civitatem totam versam
an impiety to molest a state, wholly occupied

in cultum deorum. Lucus erat, quem fons
in the worship of the gods. There was a grove, which a spring

perenni aqua ex opaco specu rigabat medium
of running water from out of a dark cave irrigated at its centre:

quia Numa persæpe inferebat se quo
and as Numa frequently repaired thither

sine arbitris, velut ad congressum deæ,
without attendants, under pretence of a conference with the goddess,

sacravit eum lucum Camenis,
he dedicated the grove to the Muses,

quod earum concilia cum sua conjuge Egeria
because their meetings with his wife Egeria

ibi essent. Et instituit sollemne
were *held* there. He also instituted an anniversary festival

Fidei soli; jussit flamines vehi
to "Faith alone;" *and* commanded the priests to be carried

ad id sacrarium arcuato curru bigis,
to her temple in an arched chariot drawn by two horses,

facereque divinam rem manu involuta
and to perform the divine service with their hands covered

usque ad digitos, significantes fidem
close down to the fingers, intimating, that faith

tutandam, sedemque ejus etiam in dexteris
ought to be protected, and that her seat even in the right hand

sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia
was to be held sacred. *He appointed* many other sacrifices

dedicavitque loca faciendis sacris, quæ pontifices
and dedicated places for performing them, which the priests

vocant Argeos. Tamen maximum omnium
cal. Argei. But the greatest of all

ejus operum fuit tutela pacis per omne
his works was the maintenance of peace during the whole

tempus regni, haud minor quam regni.
period of his reign, no less than of his royal authority

Ita duo reges deinceps, alius alia via,
Thus two kings in succession, each one by a different method

ille bello hic pace, auxerunt civitatem.
the one by war, the other by peace, aggrandized the state.

Romulus regnavit septem et triginta annos, Numa
Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, Numa

tres et quadraginta. Civitas erat cum valida
forty-three. The state was both strong

tum temperata artibus et belli et pacis.
and well-versed in the arts of war and peace.

XXII.—Morte Numæ res rediit
On the death of Numa the administration returned *again*

ad interregnum. Inde populus
to an interregnum. [U. C. 82; B. C. 670.] After that the people

jussit regem Tullum Hostilium,
appointed, *as* king, Tullus Hostilius,

nepotem Hostilii, cujus pugna adversus Sabinos
grandson of *that* Hostilius, whose stand against the Sabines,

in infima arce fuerat clara: patres
at the foot of the citadel, was a matter of celebrity: the fathers

auctores facti. Hic fuit non solum dissimilis
gave their approbation. He was not only unlike

proximo regi, sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus.
the preceding king, but more war-thirsty even than Romulus.

Cum ætas viresque. tum quoque
Both his youth and vigor, and at the same time

gloria avita stimulabat animum.
the renown of his grandfather stimulated his *native* courage.

Ratus igitur civitatem senescere
Thinking, therefore, that the state was growing languid

otio, quærebat undique materiam
through inactivity, he sought on all sides for an occasion

excitandi belli. Forte evenit, ut Romani
of stirring up war. It happened, that *some* Roman

agrestes agerent prædas ex Albano, Albani
peasants had driven plunder from the Alban, *and* Alban *peasants*

ex Romano agro in vicem. Gaius Cluilius
from the Roman territory, *each* in their turn. Gaius Cluilius

tum imperitabat Albæ. Utrimque legati missi
at that time governed Alba. From both sides ambassadors were sent

fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas. Tullus
almost at the same time, to demand restitution. Tullus

præceperat suis, ne quid agerent prius quam
gave orders to his, that they should attend to nothing before

mandata: satis sciebat Albanum
their instructions: he well knew, that the Alban

negaturum; ita bellum posse indici pie.
would refuse; *and* that so war might be proclaimed on just grounds.

Res acta socordius ab Albanis:
Their business was executed more remissly by the Albans:

blande ac benigne excepti hospitio ab Tullo,
being courteously and kindly entertained by Tullus,

comiter celebrant regis convivium. Tantisper
they cheerfully participated in the king's banquet. Meanwhile

Romani et priores res repetiverant,
the Romans had both been first *in* demanding restitution,

et neganti Albano indixerant bellum
and, upon the refusal of the Albans, had declared war, *to commence*

in tricesimum diem. Hæc renuntiant Tullo.
on the thirtieth day *after*. This they reported to Tullus.

Tullus tum fecit legatis potestatem dicendi,
He then gave the ambassadors an opportunity of stating

quid venerint petentes. Illi, ignari omnium,
what they came to demand. They, ignorant of all,

terunt tempus primum purgando:
waste *some* time, at first, in apologising:

se invitos dicturos quidquam,
"that they would with *the utmost* reluctance say anything,

quod minus placeat Tullo; sed subigi
that was not pleasing to Tullus; but that they were compelled

imperio: se venisse res repetitum;
by their orders: that they had come to demand restitution;

ni reddantur, jussos indicere bellum.
and if this be not made, *they were* commanded to declare war."

Ad hæc Tullus inquit, "nuntiate vestro regi,
To this Tullus makes answer: "Tell your king,

regem Romanum facere deos testes, uter
that the king of Rome takes the gods to witness, which of the two

populus prius dimiserit aspernatus legatos
states first dismissed, with contempt, the ambassadors

res repetentes, ut in eum expetant omnes clades
demanding restitution, that on it may fall all the calamities

hujusce belli."
of this war."

XXIII.—Hæc Albani nuntiant domum
These tidings the Albans carry home.

Et bellum parabatur utrimque
[U. C. 85; B. C. 667.] And war was prepared for on both sides

summa ope, simillimum civili bello, prope
with the utmost vigor, very like to a civil war, in a manner

inter parentes natosque, utramque Trojanam prolem
between parents and children: both *being* Trojan offspring;

cum ab Troja Lavinium, ab Lavinio Alba,
for from Troy *came* Lavinium, from Lavinium, Alba,

ab stirpe Albanorum regum Romani oriundi essent
and from the race of the Alban kings the Romans were descended.

Tamen eventus belli fecit dimicationem minus
But the issue of the war rendered the dispute less

miserabilem; quod nec certatum est acie,
grievous, for there was no fighting in *a general* engagement,

et, tectis modo alterius urbis dirutis,
and, upon the houses of only one *of the two* cities being demolished

duo populi confusi sunt in unum.
the two peoples were incorporated into one.

Albani priores ingenti exercitu fecere
The Albans first, with a large army, made

impetum in Romanum agrum. Locant
an irruption into the Roman territories. They pitch

castra haud plus quinque millia passuum
their camp not above five miles

ab urbe, circumdant fossa: ab nomine
from the city, *and* surround it with a trench, *which* from the name

ducis per aliquot sæcula appellata est
of their leader was for several ages called

fossa Cluilii, donec vetustate nomen quoque
the Cluilian trench, till, in process of time, the name together

cum re abolevit. In his castris
with the thing *itself* fell into oblivion. In that camp

Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; Albani creant
Cluilius the Alban king dies; the Albans create

Mettium Fufetium dictatorem. Interim Tullus
Mettius Fufetius dictator. In the mean time Tullus,

ferox, præcipue morte regis,
impatient *for action*, especially after the death of the king,

dictitansque magnum numen deorum,
and giving out that the supreme power of the gods,

prorsum ab ipso capite, expetiturum in omne nomen
having begun at the head, would inflict on the whole body

Albanum pœnas ob impium bellum,
of the Albans the penalty for this impious war,

præteritis hostium castris nocte, pergit
having passed the enemy's camp in the night, marches

infesto exercitu in Albanum agrum. Ea res
with a hostile army into the Alban territory. This procedure

excivit Mettium ab stativis; ducit,
drew out Mettius from the camp *where he lay;* he leads *his forces*

quam proxime potest ad hostem. Inde
as near as he can to the enemy. From thence

jubet legatum præmissum nuntiare Tullo,
he commands a herald, dispatched by him, to tell Tullus,

colloquio opus esse, priusquam
that a conference was expedient before

dimicent; si congressus sit secum,
they came to an engagement; *and* that if he would confer with him,

satis scire, se allaturum ea, quæ pertineant
he was confident he should adduce matters, which pertained

ad rem Romanam nihilo minus quam ad Albanam.
to the interest of Rome not less than to *that of* Alba.

Tullus haud aspernatus, tametsi afferebantur
Tullus not slighting *the proposal*, although *the* advances made

vana educit in aciem. Albani
were of little consequence, marched out in order of battle. The Albans

contra et exeunt. Postquam utrimque stabant
on their part come out also. When both *armies* were standing

structi, duces cum paucis procerum
in battle array, the chiefs with a few of the principal officers

prodeunt in medium. Ibi Albanus infit:
advance into the middle *space*. Then the Alban commences *thus*:

"injurias et non redditas res ex fœdere
That injuries and a non-restitution of property according to treaty,

quæ repetitæ sint, esse causam hujusce belli,
when demanded, were the cause of this war,

et ego videor audisse nostrum Cluilium; nec dubito
methinks I both heard our Cluilius *assert*, and I doubt not

te, Tulle, ferre præ te eadem. Sed,
but that you, Tullus, allege on your part the same *grounds*. But,

si vera dicenda sunt, potius quam speciosa dictu,
if the truth is to be told rather than what is plausible in statement,

cupido imperii stimulat duos cognatos vicinosque
a thirst for dominion stimulates two kindred and neighboring

populos ad arma. Neque interpretor
states to arms. Nor do I examine

recte an perperam: fuerit ista ejus deliberatio,
whether rightly or wrongly: be that his consideration,

qui suscepit bellum. Albani creavere me ducem
who commenced the war. The Albans have made me their leader

gerendo bello. Illud, Tulle.
for carrying on the war. *Of* this, Tullus,

velim monitum te: quanta Etrusca res sit
I would wish to warn you: how powerful the Etruscan state is

circa nos teque maxime, hoc scis magis,
around us and *around* you particularly, that you know better *than we*,

quo propior es Tuscis. Illi multum pollent terra,
inasmuch as you are nearer them. They are very powerful by land,

plurimum mari. Memor esto, cum dabis signum
extremely so by sea. Remember, when you shall give the signal

pugnæ, has duas acies jam fore spectaculo,
for battle, these two armies will presently be a spectacle *to them*,

ut aggrediantur fessos confectosque,—
so that they may fall on *us* fatigued and exhausted,

victorem ac victum simul. Itaque, quoniam
victor and vanquished together. Therefore, since,

non contenti certa libertate, imus in dubiam aleam
not content with certain liberty, we are entering on a dubious cast

imperii servitiique, si nos dii amant ineamus
for dominion and slavery, let us, in the name of the gods, pursue

aliquam viam, qua, sine magna clade,
some method, whereby, without great loss,

sine multo sanguine utriusque populi,
without much blood of either nation,

decerni possit, utri imperent utris."
it may be decided, which shall have dominion over the other."

Res haud displicet Tullo, quamquam, cum
The proposal is not displeasing to Tullus, though both

indole animi, tum spe victoriæ,
from the natural bent of his mind, as well as from the hope of victory,

erat ferocior. Ratio initur utrimque
he was rather inclined to violence. A plan is adopted on both sides

quærentibus, cui et fortuna ipsa
after *some* consideration, for which, indeed, fortune herself

præbuit materiam.
afforded the materials.

XXIV.—Forte erant in duobus exercitibus
There chanced to be in *each of* the two armies

tum trigemini fratres, dispares
at the time three twin-brothers, unequal

nec ætate nec viribus. Fuisse Horatios
neither in age nor in strength. That they were *called* Horatii

Curiatiosque satis constat, nec ferme est
and Curiatii is certain enough; and there is hardly

alia res antiqua nobilior; tamen
any other circumstance of antiquity more celebrated; yet,

in re tam clara error manet nominum,
in a matter so well ascertained, a doubt remains respecting their names

utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii
to which nation the Horatii, *and* to which the Curiatii

fuerint: auctores trahunt utroque; tamen
belonged: authors claim them for both sides; yet

invenio plures, qui vocent Horatios Romanos.
I find more, who call the Horatii Romans.

Animus inclinat, ut sequar hos. Reges agunt
My inclination leads me to follow them. The kings confer

trigeminis, ut dimicent ferro quisque
with the three brothers, that they should fight with their swords, each

pro sua patria, imperium
in defence of their *respective* country, *assuring them* that dominion

fore ibi, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur;
would be on that side, where victory should be. No objection is made;

tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent,
time and place are agreed on. Before they engaged,

fœdus ictum est inter Romanos at Albanos
a league is made between the Romans and Albans

his legibus, ut, cujusque populi cives
on these conditions, that, of whichever nation the champions

vicissent eo certamine, is
should come off victorious in the combat, that *nation*

cum bona pace imperitaret alteri populo.
should without further dispute possess dominion over the other.

Alia fœdera fiunt aliis legibus, ceterum omnia
Different treaties are made on different terms, but all

eodem modo. Accepimus
are concluded in the same *general* method. We have heard

tum factum ita, nec est vetustior
that it was then concluded as follows, (nor is there a more ancient

memoria ullius fœderis: fetialis rogavit
record of any treaty:) a herald asked

regem Tullum ita: "jubesne me, rex,
King Tullus thus: "Do you command me, O king.

ferire fœdus cum patre patrato Albani populi?"
to strike a league with the pater patratus of the Alban nation?"

rege jubente, inquit, "posco
After the king *had* given command, he said, "I demand

sagmina te, rex." Rex ait: "tollito puram."
vervain of thee, O king." The king replied: "Take it pure."

Fetialis attulit puram herbam graminis ex arce.
The herald brought a pure blade of grass from the citadel

Postea rogavit regem ita, "tu, rex, facisne me
He afterwards asked the king thus, "Dost thou, O king, appoint me

regium nuntium Romani populi Quiritium,
the royal delegate of the Roman people, the Quirites,

vasa, meos comitesque?" rex respondit:
including my implements, and my attendants?" The king answered:

"quod fiat sine fraude mea
"That which may be done without detriment to me

Romanique populi Quiritium, facio."
and the Roman people, the Quirites, I do."

Fetialis erat M. Valerius. Is fecit
The herald was M. Valerius. He appointed

Spurium Fusium patrem patratum, tangens caput
Spurius Fusius pater patratus, touching his head

capillosque verbena. Pater patratus fit
and hair with the vervain. The pater patratus is appointed

ad jusjurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum
"*ad jusjurandum patrandum*," that is, to ratify

fœdus; peragitque id multis verbis,
the league; and he goes through it in a great many words,

quæ effata longo carmine
which, being expressed in a long set form,

non operæ est referre. Deinde recitatis legibus,
it is not worth while to repeat. Then, after reciting the conditions,

inquit, "audi, Jupiter; audi, pater patrate
he says, "Hear, O Jupiter; hear, pater patratus

Albani populi; tu, Albanus populus audi:
of the Alban people; *and* ye, Alban people hear;

ut illa prima postrema recitata sunt palam
as those *conditions*, *from* first *to* last, have been recited openly,

ex illis tabulis cerave, sine malo dolo, utique
from those tablets or *that* wax, without wicked fraud, and as

ea rectissime intellecta sunt hic hodie,
they have been most correctly understood here this day,

illis legibus Romanus populus non prior deficiet:
from those conditions the Roman people will not first depart:

si prior defexit publico consilio, malo dolo,
if they first swerve by public concert, by wicked fraud,

tum tu Jupiter illo die sic ferito
then do thou, O Jupiter, on that day, so strike

Romanum populum, ut ego hic hodie feriam
the Roman people, as I shall here this day strike

hunc porcum; feritoque tanto magis,
this swine; and do thou strike *them* so much the more,

quanto magis potes pollesque." Ubi dixit id,
as thou art more able and more powerful." When he said this,

percussit porcum silice saxo. Albani item
he struck down the swine with a flint stone. The Albans, likewise,

peregerunt sua carmina suumque jusjurandum
went through their own form and oath

per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes.
by their own dictator and priests.

XXV.—Fœdere icto, trigemini,
The league being concluded, the twin-brothers,

sicut convenerat, capiunt arma. Cum sui
as had been agreed, take arms. Whilst their *respective* friends

adhortarentur utrosque, patrios deos,
exhortingly reminded each party, "that their country's gods,

patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi,
their country and parents, the whole of their countrymen at home,

quidquid sit in exercitu, tunc intueri
and [all that were] in the army, had their eyes then fixed on

illorum arma, illorum manus, et suopte ingenio
their arms, their hands;" *being* both naturally

feroces, et pleni vocibus adhortantium,
courageous, and animated by the words of those encouraging *them*,

procedunt in medium inter duas acies.
they advance into the midst between the two lines.

Duo exercitus consederant pro utrimque castris,
The two armies sat down before their respective camps,

expertes magis præsentis periculi, quam curæ ;
free rather from present danger, than from anxiety

quippe imperium agebatur, positum in virtute
for the sovereign power was at stake, depending on the valor

atque fortuna tam paucorum. Itaque ergo
and success of so few. Accordingly, therefore,

erecti suspensique animo intenduntur
eager and anxious, they have their *whole* attention *intensely* riveted

in minime gratum spectaculum. Signum datur,
on the by no means pleasing spectacle. The signal is given,

ternique juvenes velut acies
and the three youths *on each side,* as if in battle array,

concurrunt infestis armis, gerentes
rush forward *to the fight* with death-dealing weapons, bearing

animos magnorum exercituum. Nec
in their breasts the spirits of mighty armies. Nor

suum periculum his nec illis ;
is their own *personal* peril *regarded* by the one or the other ;

publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur
public dominion or slavery is present.

animo, fortunaque patriæ
to their mind, and the fortune of their country,

deinde futura ea, quam ipsi fecissent.
ever after destined to be such, as they should *now* establish it

Ut statim arma increpuere primo concursu,
As soon as their arms clashed on the first encounter,

micantesque gladii fulsere, ingens horror
and their burnished swords glittered, great horror

perstringit spectantes, et, spe inclinata neutro,
strikes the spectators, and, hope inclining to neither side,

vox spiritusque torpebat. Deinde
their voice and breath were suspended. Then,

consertis manibus, cum non tantum motus
having engaged hand to hand, when not only the movements

corporum, agitatioque armorum telorumque
of their bodies, and the *brisk* brandishings of arms and weapons

anceps, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis
on both sides, but wounds also and blood

jam essent spectaculo, duo Romani
were now *exhibited* to view, two *of the* Romans

corruerunt exspirantes, alius super alium,
fell lifeless, one upon the other,

tribus Albanis vulneratis. Cum Albanus exercitus
the three Albans being wounded. *And* when the Alban army

conclamasset gaudio ad quorum casum, spes
raised a shout of joy at their fall, hope

jam tota, cura tamen nondum, deseruerat
now entirely, anxiety, however, not yet, deserted

Romanas legiones, exanimes vice unius,
the Roman legions, alarmed for the lot of the one,

quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Is forte fuit
whom the three Curiatii surrounded. He happened to be

integer, ut solus nequaquam par
unhurt, so that, though alone *he was* by no means a match

universis, sic ferox adversus singulos.
for them collectively, yet *he was* confident against each singly.

Ut ergo segregaret eorum pugnam,
In order, therefore, to separate their attack,

capessit fugam, ratus secuturos ita,
he takes to flight, judging that they would pursue *him* at such a rate,

ut corpus affectum vulnere sineret quemque.
as his body enfeebled by wounds would suffer each

Jam aufugerat aliquantum spatii ex eo loco,
He had now fled a considerable distance from the place,

ubi pugnatum est, cum respiciens videt
where they had fought, when, looking back, he perceives

sequentes magnis intervallis;
them pursuing him at great intervals *from each other;*

unum haud procul abesse ab sese: in eum
and that one *of them* was not far distant from him: on him

rediit magno impetu, et, dum
he turned round with great fury, and, whilst

Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis,
the Alban army shouts out to the Curiatii,

uti ferant opem fratri, Horatius, victor
to succor their brother, Horatius, victorious

cæso hoste, jam petebat
in having slain his antagonist, was now proceeding

secundam pugnam. Tunc Romani adjuvant
to a second attack. Then the Romans encourage

suum militem clamore, qualis solet
their champion with a shout such as is usually *given*

faventium ex insperato:
by persons cheering in consequence of unexpected *success*:

et ille festinat defungi prœlio. Itaque
he also hastens to put an end to the combat. Wherefore,

prius quam alter, qui nec procul aberat,
before the other, who was not far off,

posset consequi, conficit et alterum Curiatium.
could come up, he despatches the second Curiatius also.

Jamque, Marte æquato,
And now, the combat being brought to an equality *of numbers*,

singuli supererant, sed pares nec spe
one on each side remained, but *they were* equal neither in hope

nec viribus: alterum corpus intactum ferro,
nor in strength: the one his body, untouched by a weapon,

et geminata victoria dabat ferocem in tertium
and a double victory made courageous for a third

certamen, alter, trahens corpus fessum
contest; the other, dragging along his body exhausted

vulnere fessum cursu, victusque
from the wound, exhausted from running, and being dispirited

strage fratrum ante se, objicitur
by the slaughter of his brethren before his eyes, meets

victori hosti. Nec fuit illud prœlium.
his victorious antagonist. Nor was that a fight.

Romanus exsultans inquit, "duos dedi
The Roman, exulting, says, "Two I have offered

Manibus fratrum; tertium dabo causæ
to the shades of my brothers; the third I will offer to the cause

hujusce belli, ut Romanus imperet Albano."
of this war, that the Roman may rule over the Alban."

Defigit gladium superne jugulo male sustinenti
He thrusts his sword down into his throat, *while* faintly sustaining

arma; spoliat jacentem. Romani
the *weight of his* armor; he strips him *as he lies* prostrate. The Romans

accipiunt Horatium ovantes ac gratulantes,
receive Horatius with triumph and congratulation;

cum eo majore gaudio, quo res fuerat
with so much the greater joy, as success had *followed*

prope metum. Inde vertuntur ad sepulturam suorum
so close on fear. They then turn to the burial of their friends

animis nequaquam paribus; quippe alteri
with dispositions by no means alike for the one side

aucti imperio, alteri
was elated with *the acquisition of* empire, the other

facti alienæ ditionis. Sepulchra exstant
placed under foreign jurisdiction. Their sepulchres still remain

loco quo quisque cecidit, duo Romana uno loco
in the place where each fell; the two Roman ones in one place

propius Albam, tria Albana versus Romam
nearer to Alba, the three Alban ones towards Rome,

sed distantia locis, et ut pugnatum est.
but distant in situation *from each other*, and just as they fought.

XXVI.—Priusquam digrederentur inde,
Before they parted from thence,

Mettio, ex fœdere icto,
when Mettius, in conformity to the treaty *that had been* contracted,

roganti quid imperaret, Tullus imperat,
asked what commands he had to give, Tullus orders him,

uti habeat juventutem in armis; se usurum
to keep the youth in arms; that he intended to make use

eorum opera, si bellum foret cum Veientibus.
of their services, in case a war should break out with the Veientes.

Ita inde exercitus abducti domos.
So then *both* armies returned to their homes.

Horatius ibat princeps, gerens præ se spolia
Horatius marched foremost, carrying before him the spoils

trigemina: soror virgo, quæ desponsa fuerat
of the three brothers: his sister, a maiden who had been betrothed

uni ex Curiatiis, fuit obvia cui ante portam Capenam:
to one of the Curiatii, met him before the gate of Capena:

cognitoque super fratris humeros
and having recognized, upon her brother's shoulders,

sponsi paludamento, quod ipsa confecerat,
her lover's military robe, which she herself had wrought,

solvit crines et flebiliter appellat nomine
she tore her hair, and with mournful outcries called by name on

mortuum sponsum. Comploratio sororis
her deceased lover. The lamentations of his sister

in sua victoria tantoque publico gaudio
in *the midst of* his own victory and of such great public rejoicing,

movet animum feroci juveni:
roused the indignation of the excited youth:

stricto itaque gladio, transfigit puellam,
having therefore drawn his sword, he run the damsel through *the body*,

simul increpans verbis: "abi hinc
at the same time upbraiding her in *these* words: "Go hence

cum immaturo amore ad sponsum," inquit,
with thy unseasonable love to thy spouse," [said he,]

"oblita mortuorum fratrum vivique,
"forgetful of thy dead brothers, and of *him* who survives,

oblita patriæ. Sic eat, quæcumque Romana
forgetful of thy native country. So perish every daughter of Rome who

lugebit hostem." Id facinus visum atrox
shall mourn for its enemy." This action seemed shocking

patribus plebique; sed recens meritum
to the senate and the people; but his recent merit

obstabat facto. Tamen raptus ad regem
stood opposed to the deed. Nevertheless he was carried before the king

in jus. Rex, ne ipse auctor esset
for judgment. The king, that he himself might not be the author

judicii tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus,
of a decision so melancholy, and so disagreeable to the people,

ac supplicii secundum judicium,
or of the punishment consequent upon *that* decision,

advocato concilio populi, inquit.
having summoned an assembly of the people, says,

"facio secundum legem duumviros,
"I appoint, according to law, *two* commissioners,

qui judicent Horatio perduellionem." Lex erat
to pass sentence on Horatius for murder." The law was

horrendi carminis: "duumviri judicent
of dreadful import: "Let *two* commissioners pass sentence

perduellionem: si provocarit a duumviris,
for murder: if he appeal from the commissioners,

certato provocatione; si vincent,
let him contend by appeal; if they shall gain *the cause*,

obnubito caput, suspendito reste infelici arbori,
cover his head, hang him by a rope from the gallows,

verberato vel intra Pomerium vel
scourge him either within the Pomerium or

extra Pomerium." Cum duumviri creati
without the Pomerium." When the commissioners, appointed

hac lege, qui non rebantur, ea lege
by this law, who did not consider, that, according to that law,

se posse absolvere, ne quidem innoxium
they could acquit him, even if innocent,

condemnassent, tum alter ex his inquit,
had found him guilty; one of them then says,

"Publi Horati, judico tibi perduellionem: lictor,
"Publius Horatius, I pass sentence on thee for murder: lictor,

colliga manus." Lictor accesserat
bind his hands." The lictor had approached him,

injiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo,
and was fixing the rope. Then Horatius by the advice of Tullus,

clemente interprete legis, inquit, "provoco."
a lenient interpreter of the law, says, "I appeal."

Ita certatum est de provocatione
Accordingly *the matter* was contested by appeal

ad populum. In eo judicio homines moti sunt,
to the people. On that trial persons were deeply affected,

maxime Publio Horatio patre proclamante,
especially by Publius Horatius the father declaring,

se judicare filiam jure cæsam: ni ita esset,
that he considered his daughter deservedly slain: were it not so.

fuisse jure patrio animadversurum in filium.
he would, by his authority as father, have inflicted punishment on his son.

Deinde orabat, ne facerent se orbum liberis,
He then entreated, that they would not leave him childless,

quem paulo ante conspexissent
whom *but* a little while ago they had beheld

cum egregia stirpe. Inter hæc senex,
with a fine progeny. During these words the old man

amplexus juvenem, ostentans spolia Curiatiorum
having embraced the youth, pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii

fixa eo loco, qui nunc appellatur Pila Horatia,
fixed up in that place, which is now called Pila Horatia,

"Quirites," aiebat, "potestis videre
"Romans," said he, "can you *bear to* see,

vinctum sub furca inter verbera et cruciatus
bound beneath a gallows amidst scourges and tortures,

hunccine eum, quem modo vidistis
even him whom you just now beheld

incedentem decoratum ovantemque victoria,
marching decorated *with spoils* and exulting in victory,—

spectaculum tam deforme quod vix oculi Albanorum
a sight so shocking, that scarcely the eyes of the Albans

possent ferre? i, lictor, colliga manus,
could endure it? Go, lictor, bind *those* hands,

quæ paulo ante armatæ pepererunt imperium
which, but a little while since, being armed, acquired dominion

Romano populo: i, obnube caput liberatoris
to the Roman people: go, cover the head of the liberator

hujus urbis: suspende infelici arbori; verbera
of this city: hang him on the gallows; scourge him

vel intra pomerium— modo inter illa pila
either within the Pomerium, *so it be* only amidst those javelin

et spolia hostium,— vel extra pomerium—
and spoils of the enemy; or without the Pomerium,

modo inter sepulchra Curiatiorum. Enim quo
only between the tombs of the Curiatii For whither

potestis ducere hunc juvenem, ubi sua decora
can you lead this youth, where his own glories

non vindicent eum a tanta fœditate supplicii?"
would not redeem him from such ignominy of punishment?

Populus non tulit nec lacrimas patris, nec
The people could not withstand either the tears of the father, or

animum ipsius parem in omni periculo;
the resolution of *the youth* himself, unappalled in every danger;

absolveruntque magis admiratione virtutis,
and acquitted him more out of admiration of his bravery

quam jure causæ. Itaque, ut manifesta cædes
than for the justice of his cause. Wherefore, that *such* manifest murder

lueretur aliquo tamen piaculo, imperatum
might be atoned for by some expiation at least, orders were given

patri, ut expiaret filium publica pecunia.
to the father, to make satisfaction for his son, at the public expense.

Is factis quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis, quæ
He, having offered certain expiatory sacrifices, which

deinde tradita sunt Horatiæ genti, transmisso tigillo
were ever after continued in the Horatian family, *and* laid a beam

per viam, misit juvenem velut sub jugam,
across the street, made the youth pass, as it were, under the yoke,

capite adoperto. Id manet quoque hodie,
with his head covered. This remains even to this day,

semper refectum publice; vocant
being constantly repaired at the public *charge;* they call it

sororium tigillum. Sepulchrum quadrato saxo
the Sister's beam. A tomb of square stone

constructum est Horatiæ, quo loco
was erected to Horatia, in the place where

icta corruerat.
she *was* stabbed *and* fell.

XXXII.—Mortuo Tullo, res
[U. C. 114; B. C. 638.] Upon the death of Tullus, the government

redierat ad patres, ut institutum erat
devolved *once more* upon the senate, as was the practice

jam inde ab initio; hique nominaverant interregem
from the very beginning; and they nominated an interrex:

quo habente comitia, populus creavit
and on his holding the comitia, the people elected

Ancum Martium regem. Patres fuere auctores.
Ancus Martius king. The fathers gave their approbation.

Ancus Martius erat nepos Numæ Pompilii,
Ancus Martius was the grandson of Numa Pompilius,

ortus filia: ut cœpit regnare,
by his daughter: as soon as he assumed the government,

et memor avitæ gloriæ, et quia
both in consideration of his grandsire's renown, and because

proximum regnum— egregium cetera—
the late reign, highly honorable in other respects,

haud fuerat ab una parte satis prosperum,
had not been in one particular sufficiently prosperous,

religionibus aut neglectis, aut prave
the affairs of religion having been either *quite* neglected or improperly

cultis, ratusque longe antiquissimum,
managed, and deeming it a matter of the utmost consequence,

facere publica sacra, ut instituta erant
to perform the public ceremonies of religion, as they had been instituted

ab Numa, qui jubet pontificem elata omnia ea
by Numa, he orders the pontiff, *after* having transcribed them all

ex regis commentariis in album proponere
from the king's commentaries on white *tables*, to expose them

in publico. Inde et civibus
to public view. Hence, both in *the minds of* his subjects

cupidis otii, et finitimis civitatibus, spes facta,
desirous of peace, and the neighboring nations, the hope was kindled,

regem abiturum in mores atque instituta
that the king would conform to the manners and institutions

avi. Igitur Latini, cum quibus
of his grandfather Accordingly the Latins with whom

fœdus ictum erat regnante Tullo,
a treaty had been concluded in the reign of Tullus,

sustulerant animos; et, cum fecissent incursionem
assumed *new* courage; and, after they had made an incursion

in Romanum agrum, superbe reddunt responsum
into the Roman territory, they in a contemptuous manner return answer

Romanis repetentibus res, rati
to the Romans on their demanding restitution, imagining

Romanum regem acturum esse regnum desidem
that the Roman king would spend his reign in indolence

inter sacella et aras. Ingenium in Anco
among chapels and altars. The genius of Ancus

erat medium, memor et Numæ et Romuli:
was of a middle kind, reminding *one* both of Numa and Romulus

et, præterquam quod credebat pacem fuisse
and, besides that he thought that peace was

magis necessariam avi regno in populo
more necessary in his grandfather's reign among a people

cum novo tum feroci, etiam,
both new and uncivilized, *he thought* also,

se haud facile sine injuria habiturum otium,
that he could not easily without injury preserve the tranquility,

quod contigisset illi; patientiam tentari,
which had fallen to his (*i. e. Numa's*) lot; that his patience was tried,

et tentatam contemni; temporaque
and, being tried, was *now* despised; and that the times

esse aptiora regi Tullo quam Numæ.
were more suited to a king Tullus than to a Numa.

Ut tamen, quoniam Numa institutisset
In order, however, *that*, as Numa had instituted

religiones in pace, cærimoniæ bellicæ
religious rites in peace, ceremonies relative to war

proderentur a se; bella
might be transmitted by him; *and* that wars

nec solum gererentur, sed etiam indicerentur
might not only be waged, but proclaimed also

aliquo ritu, descripsit ab antiqua gente
according to some rite. he borrowed from an ancient nation,

Æquicolis jus, quod fetiales nunc habent,
the Æquicolæ, the form, which the heralds still preserve,

quo res repetuntur. Legatus,
according to which restitution is demanded. The ambassador,

ubi venit ad fines eorum, unde res repetuntur,
when he comes to the frontiers of those, from whom satisfaction is demanded

capite velato filo— velamen est lanæ,—
having his head covered with a fillet, (the fillet is of wool,)

inquit, "audi, Jupiter, audite, fines,"—
says, "Hear, O Jupiter, hear, ye confines,"

nominat gentis cujuscumque sunt,—
(making mention of the nation to which they belong,)

"fas audiat: ego sum publicus nuntius
"let justice hear: I am a public messenger

Romani populi; venio juste pieque legatus,
of the Roman people; I come, justly and religiously deputed,

fidesque sit meis verbis." Deinde peragit
and let credit be *given* to my words." He then makes

postulata. Inde facit testem Jovem:
his demands; *and* afterwards appeals to Jupiter:

"si ego injuste impieque exposco illos homines
"If I unjustly or impiously demand those persons

illasque res dedier mihi, tum numquam sîris me
and those effects to be given up to me, then never let me

esse compotem patriæ." Hæc peragit,
enjoy my native country." These words he repeats,

cum suprascandit fines, hæc quicumque vir
when he passes over the boundaries, the same *to* whatever person

primus fuerit obvius ei, hæc, ingrediens portam,
first meets him; the same, *on* entering the gate;

hæc, ingressus forum, paucis verbis carminis
the same, *on* entering the forum, some few words in the form

concipiendi jusjurandique mutatis. Si,
of the declaration and oath being changed. If *the persons*

quos exposcit, non deduntur, peractis
whom he demands are not delivered up, *then* on the expiration of

tribus et triginta diebus,— enim tot
thirty-three days, (for so many

sunt sollemnes,— indicit bellum ita: "Audi,
are *enjoined by the* rule,) he declares war in this manner: "Hear,

Jupiter et tu Juno, Quirine omnesque
Jupiter, and thou, Juno, Romulus, and all

dii cœlestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni
ye gods of heaven, and ye of earth, and ye *of the* infernal *regions*,

audite: ego testor vos, illum populum—
give ear! I call you to witness, that this people,

nominat, quicumque est,— injustum esse
(naming them, whoever they are,) is unjust

neque persolvere jus. Sed consulemus
and does not act with equity; but we will consult

majores natu in patria de istis rebus,
the elders in our country concerning these matters,

quo pacto adipiscamur nostrum jus."
by what means we may obtain our right."

Cum his nuntius redit Romam ad consulendum.
After this the messenger returns to Rome to consult.

Rex confestim consulebat patres ferme
The king immediately used to consult the fathers almost

ex his verbis: "quarum rerum, litium,
in these words: "Concerning such matters, controversies,

causarum pater patratus Romani populi
and arguments as the pater patratus of the Roman people,

Quiritium condixit patri patrato
the Quirites, has conferred with the pater patratus

Priscorum Latinorum Priscisque Latinis hominibus,
of the ancient Latins, and with the ancient Latin people,

quas res oportuit dari solvi
which matters ought to be given up, performed,

fieri, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt
discharged, which matters they have neither given up, performed,

nec fecerunt, dic," inquit ei, quem sententiam
nor discharged, declare," says he to him, whose opinion

primum rogabat, "quid censes?" Tum ille,
he first asked, "what think you?" Then he *said*,

"Censeo quærendas puro pioque duello,
"I think, they should be demanded by a just and regular war,

itaque consentio consciscoque." Alii inde rogabantur
wherefore I consent to and vote for it." The rest were then asked

ordine, quandoque major pars eorum
in order, and when the majority of those,

qui aderant, ibat in eandem sententiam
who were present, agreed in the same opinion,

bellum erat consensum. Solitum fieri,
the war was resolved on. It was a customary practice,

ut fetialis ferret hastam ferratam aut præustam
for the herald to carry a spear, pointed with steel, or burnt at the end

sanguineam ad fines eorum, et,
and dipped in blood, to the confines of the *enemy's country*, and

præsentibus non minus tribus puberibus diceret:
in presence of at least three grown-up persons, *to* say,

"quod populi Priscorum Latinorum
"Forasmuch as the states of the ancient Latins

hominesque Prisci Latini fecerunt adversus,
and the ancient Latin people have acted against,

deliquerunt, Romanum populum Quiritium,
and behaved unjustly *towards*, the Roman people, the Quirites;

quod Romanus populus Quiritium jussit
forasmuch as the Roman people, the Quirites, have ordered,

esse bellum cum Priscis Latinis,
that there *should* be war with the ancient Latins;

senatusque Romani populi Quiritium
and the senate of the Roman people, the Quirites,

censuit consensit conscivit,
have given *their* opinion, consented, *and* voted,

ut bellum fieret cum Priscis Latinis, ob eam rem
that war should be made with the ancient Latins; on this account

ego populusque Romanus indico facioque bellum
I and the Roman people declare and make war

populis Priscorum Latinorum Priscisque Latinis
on the states of the ancient Latins, and on the ancient Latin

hominibus." Ubi dixisset id, emittebat hastam
people." When he had said this, he threw the spear

in eorum fines. Hoc modo res repetitæ
within their confines. In this manner was satisfaction demanded

ab Latinis tum ac bellum indictum;
from the Latins, at that time, and war declared;

eumque morem posteri acceperunt.
and that usage posterity have adopted.

XXXIII.—Cura sacrorum demandata
The care of sacred things being committed

flaminibus aliisque sacerdotibus, Ancus,
to the flamens and the other priests, Ancus,

profectus novo exercitu conscripto,
having set out with a new army, *which he had* enrolled,

cepit Politorium urbem Latinorum vi,
took Politorium, a city of the Latins, by storm;

secutusque morem priorum regum, qui auxerant
and, following the example of former kings, who had increased

Romanam rem accipiendis hostibus in civitatem,
the Roman state by receiving enemies into the *number of the* citizens,

traduxit omnem multitudinem Romam; et, cum
transplanted the whole multitude to Rome; and since

Sabini implessent Capitolium atque arcem,
the Sabines occupied the Capitol and citadel,

Albani Cœlium montem circa Palatium,
and the Albans, the Cœlian mount around the Palatium,

sedem veterum Romanorum, Aventinum datum
the residence of the old Romans, the Aventine was assigned

novæ multitudini. Haud ita multo post,
to the new people. Not very long after

Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi cives additi
on Telleni and Ficana being taken, new citizens were added

eodem. Politorium inde repetitum rursus
in the same *quarter*. Politorium was soon after attacked, a second time,

bello, quod Prisci Latini
by force of arms, because the ancient Latins

occupaverant vacuum: eaque fuit causa
had taken possession of it *when* vacated: and this was the cause

diruendæ ejus urbis Romanis,
of the destruction of that city by the Romans

ne semper esset receptaculum hostium.
that it might not ever after serve *as* a receptacle to the enemy.

Postremo, omni bello Latino compulso
At last, the whole war with the Latins being concentrated in

Medulliam, pugnatum est varia victoria,
Medullia, they fought with various success,

Marte ibi aliquamdiu incerto, nam urbs
the contest there being for some time undecided, for the city

erat et tuta munitionibus, firmataque
was both *well* secured by fortifications, and strengthened

valido præsidio, et exercitus Latinus,
by an effectual garrison; and the army of the Latins,

positis castris in aperto, contulerat signa
having pitched their camp in the open country, had fought

cum Romanis aliquoties cominus. Ad ultimum,
the Romans several times in close engagement. At last

Ancus connisus omnibus copiis
Ancus, making an effort with all his forces,

primum vincit acie,
gained a complete victory *over them* in a pitched battle, *and*,

potens ingenti præda, inde redit Romam,
having got an immense booty, returned thence to Rome;

multis millibus Latinorum tum quoque acceptis
many thousands of the Latins being then also admitted

in civitatem; quibus, ut Aventinum
into *the number of* citizens; to whom, in order that the Aventine

jungeretur Palatio, sedes datæ
might be joined to the Palatine, a settlement was assigned

ad Murciæ. Janiculum quoque adjectum
near *the temple of* Murcia. The Janiculum was likewise added,

non inopia loci, sed ne quando
not for want of room, but lest, at any time,

ea esset arx hostium. Placuit conjungi id
it should become a lodgement for the enemy. It was determined to join it

urbi, non solum muro, sed etiam,
to the city, not only by a wall, but likewise,

ob commoditatem itineris, sublicio ponte, tum
for the convenience of passage, by a wooden bridge, then

primum facto in Tiberi. Quiritium fossa
for the first time built across the Tiber. The Quiritian trench

quoque, haud parvum munimentum
also, no inconsiderable defence against

[illegible]litu a planioribus locis, est opus
the easy access to the city from the low grounds, is the work

regis Anci. Rebus auctis ingenti incremento,
of king Ancus. The state being augmented by so vast accessions,

cum in tanta multitudine hominum,
seeing that amid such a multitude of persons,

discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso,
the distinction of right and wrong being *as yet* confounded,

clandestina facinora fierent, carcer ædificatur
clandestine crimes were committed, a prison is built

media urbe, imminens foro, ad terrorem
in the heart of the city, overlooking the forum, for the intimidation

increscentis audaciæ. Nec tantum urbs crevit
of the growing licentiousness. And not only *was* the city increased

hoc rege, sed etiam ager finesque.
under this king, but also the territory and the boundaries.

Mæsia sylva adempta Veientibus, imperium
The Mæsian forest taken from the Veientes, the *Roman* dominion

prolatum usque ad mare, et urbs Ostia
was extended as far as the sea, and the city *of* Ostia

condita in ore Tiberis; salinæ factæ
built at the mouth of the Tiber; salt-pits were formed

circa, egregieque rebus gestis bello,
around it, and in view of the glorious achievements in war,

ædis Jovis Feretrii amplificata.
the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.

XXXIV.—Regnante Anco, Lucumo vir impiger
In the reign of Ancus, Lucumo, a man of enterprise

ac potens divitiis commigravit Romam,
and possessed of *great* wealth, came to settle at Rome,

maxime cupidine ac spe magni honoris,
led principally by ambition and the hope of *gaining* great preferment,

cujus non fuerat facultas adipiscendi Tarquiniis,
which he had no means of acquiring at Tarquinii,

(nam ibi quoque oriundus erat peregrina stirpe.)
(for there also he was descended from an alien stock.)

Erat filius Demarati Corinthii, qui,
He was the son of Demaratus, a Corinthian, who,

profugus domo ob seditiones, cum forte consedisset
flying his country for sedition, *and* having chanced to settle

Tarquiniis, ducta uxore ibi, genuit duos filios.
at Tarquinii, taking a wife there, had two sons.

His nomina fuerunt Lucumo atque Arruns.
Their names were Lucumo and Arruns.

Lucumo superfuit patri, heres omnium bonorum;
Lucumo survived his father, inheriting all his property;

Arruns moritur prior quam pater,
Arruns died before his father,

relicta uxore gravida. Pater nec diu manet superstes
leaving a wife pregnant. The father did not long survive

filio; cum qui, ignorans nurum
the son; *and* as he, not knowing that *his* daughter-in-law

ferre ventrem, decessisset immemor nepotis
was with child, died without notice of a grandson

in testando, puero nato post mortem avi
in his will, to the boy, *that was* born after the death of his grandfather,

in nullam sortem bonorum nomen Egerio inditum
without any share in his fortune, the name of Egerius was given

ab inopia. Cum Lucumoni contra,
on account of his poverty. When in *the mind of* Lucumo, on the other hand,

heredi omnium bonorum, divitiæ jam facerent animos,
the heir of all the property, his riches already engendered pride,

Tanaquil ducta in matrimonium auxit,
Tanaquil, *who was* married to him, *further* increased *such feeling*,

nata summo loco, et quæ
she being descended from a very high family, and one who

haud facile sineret ea, quibus innupsisset,
would not readily brook the circumstances, into which she had married,

humiliora his, in quibus nata erat.
to be inferior to those, in which she had been born.

Etruscis spernentibus Lucumonem, ortum
As the Etrurians despised Lucumo, *because* sprung

advena exsule, non potuit ferre indignitatem,
from a foreign exile, she could not support the indignity,

oblitaque ingenitæ caritatis erga patriam,
and regardless of the innate love towards her country,

dummodo videret virum honoratum,
provided only she might see her husband promoted,

cepit consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis.
she formed the design of removing from Tarquinii.

Roma visa est potissimum ad id:
Rome seemed best suited to the purpose:

in novo populo, ubi omnis nobilitas
she thought in a new state, where all nobility

sit repentina atque ex virtute, futurum locum viro
was of late date and *the result* of merit, there would be room for a man

forti ac strenuo: Tatium Sabinum regnasse,
of courage and activity. Tatius, a Sabine, had been king;

Numam arcessitum in regnum a Curibus,
Numa had been called to the crown from Cures;

et Ancum ortum Sabina matre,
and Ancus was sprung from a Sabine mother,

nobilemque esse una imagine Numæ.
and derived his nobility from the single statue of Numa.

Facile persuadet, ut cupido honorum,
She easily persuades him, as *being* ambitious of honors,

et cui Tarquinii esset patria
and one to whom Tarquinii was his country

tantum materna: itaque sublatis rebus,
only on the mother's side. Accordingly, removing their effects,

commigrant Romam. Forte ventum erat
they set out together for Rome. They happened to have reached

ad Janiculum; ibi aquila suspensis alis
the Janiculum; there an eagle, suspended on her wings,

leviter demissa ei, sedenti carpento
gently stooping towards him, *as he was* sitting in the chariot

cum uxore, aufert pileum, volitansque
with his wife, took off his cap, and hovering

super carpentum cum magno clangore, apte
over the chariot with loud screams, orderly

rursus reponit capiti, velut missa divinitus
replaced it on his head, as if sent by *some* deity

ministerio; inde abit sublimis.
to *perform* that office: *and* then flew aloft.

Tanaquil dicitur accepisse id augurium læta,
Tanaquil is said to have received this omen with *great* joy,

mulier perita, ut Etrusci vulgo,
being a woman well skilled, as the Etrurians generally *are*,

cœlestium prodigiorum; complexa virum
in celestial prodigies; embracing her husband

jubet sperare alta et excelsa:
he bids him hope for high and magnificent *fortune*

eam alitem venisse ex regione cœli
that such bird had come from such a quarter of the heavens,

et nuntiam ejus dei, fecisse auspicium
and the messenger of such a god that it had exhibited the omen

circa summum culmen hominis, levasse
around the highest part of man; that it had lifted up

decus superpositum capiti humano,
the ornament placed on the head of man,

ut redderet eidem divinitus. Portantes secum
to restore it to the same by direction of the gods. Carrying with them

has spes cogitationesque, ingressi sunt urbem,
these hopes and thoughts, they entered the city,

comparatoque domicilio ibi, edidere nomen
and having purchased a house there, they gave out the name *of*

L. Tarquinium Priscum. Novitas
Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. The *fact of his* being *a* stranger

divitiæque faciebant eum conspicuum Romanis,
and his wealth *soon* made him an object of notice to the Romans;

et ipse adjuvabat fortunam benigno alloquio,
and himself promoted his *good* fortune by his affable address,

comitate invitandi, conciliandoque sibi
by the courteousness of his invitations, and by winning to himself

quos poterat beneficiis; donec fama de eo
those whom he could by generous acts; until a report of him

perlata est quoque in regiam: obeundoque officia
reached even to the palace: and by paying court

apud regem liberaliter dextereque, brevi
to the king with politeness and dexterity, he in *a* short *time*

adduxerat eam notitiam in jura familiaris amicitiæ,
so improved the acquaintance to the footing of intimate friendship

ut interesset consiliis pariter publicis
that he was present at *all* deliberations both public

ac privatis, bello domique; et, expertus
and private, foreign and domestic; and, being *now* tried

per omnia, postremo testamento regis,
in every *trust*, he was at length, by the will of the king,

institueretur tutor etiam liberis.
appointed guardian [also] to his children.

XXXV.—Ancus regnavit quattuor et viginti
Ancus reigned twenty-four

annos, par cuilibet superiorum regum
years, equal to any of the former kings

et artibus et gloria belli pacisque. Filii
both in the arts and renown of war and peace. His sons

jam erant prope ætatem puberem: eo
were now nigh the age of puberty: for this reason

Tarquinius magis instare, ut comitia
Tarquin was more urgent, that the assembly

creando regi fierent quam primum.
for the election of the king should be held as soon as possible.

Quibus indictis, ablegavit pueros venatum
Upon its being proclaimed, he sent away the boys to hunt,

sub tempus: isque dicitur
about the time *of the meeting*: and he is said

primus et petisse ambitiose regnum,
to have been the first [both] to sue obsequiously for the crown,

et habuisse orationem compositam ad conciliandos,
and to have made a speech composed for *the purpose of* gaining

animos plebis, cum, "se petere
the affections of the populace, saying, "that he solicited

non novam rem, quippe qui non primus
no new favor, inasmuch as he *was* not the first

peregrinus, quod quisquam posset indignari
foreigner, (a thing at which any one might feel indignation

mirarive, sed tertius affectet regnum Romæ;
or surprise,) but the third, *who* aspired to the sovereignty of Rome;

et Tatium non solum ex peregrino, sed etiam
[and] that Tatius not only from *being* an alien, but even

ex hoste, factum regem; et Numam,
an enemy. was made king; and Numa,

ignarum urbis, non petentem,
unacquainted with the city, *and* without soliciting *it*,

ultro accitum in regnum: se,
had from their own choice been invited to the throne: that he,

ex quo fuerit sui potens, commigrasse Romam
as soon as he was his own master, had removed to Rome

cum conjuge ac omnibus fortunis; se vixisse
with his wife and whole fortune, *and* had spent

majorem partem ejus ætatis Romæ, quam
a greater part of that age at Rome, in which

omines fungantur civilibus officiis,
men are employed in civil offices,

quam in vetere patria: domi militiæque
han *he had* in his native country: that *both* in peace and war

se didicisse Romana jura,
he had thoroughly learned the Roman laws,

Romanos ritus, sub magistro haud pœnitendo,—
the Roman ceremonies *of religion*, under a master not to be objected to,

rege Anco ipso: obsequio et observantia in regem
king Ancus himself: that in duty and loyalty to the king

certasse cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios
he had vied with all *men*, in kindness toward others,

cum rege ipso." Memorantem hæc haud falsa
with the king himself." *While* recounting these undoubted *facts*

Romanus populus jussit eum regnare
the Roman people elected him to the throne

ingenti consensu. Ergo ambitio,
by a large majority; [U. C. 138; B. C. 614.] wherefore *the* ambition,

quam cetera egregium virum habuerat
which he, in other respects an excellent man, had used

in petendo, secuta est etiam regnantem;
in suing *for the crown*, followed him also through his reign;

nec minus memor firmandi sui regni quam
and *being* no less mindful of strengthening his own power, than

augendæ reipublicæ, legit centum
of increasing *that of* the commonwealth, he elected a hundred

in patres, qui deinde appellati sunt
into the fathers, who from that time were called

minorum gentium, factio
Minorum Gentium (*i. e.* of the younger families), a party

aaud dubia regis, cujus beneficio venerant
in favor of the king, by whose kindness they had got

in curiam. Primum bellum gessit cum Latinis,
into the senate. His first war he waged with the Latins,

et ibi cepit oppidum Appiolas vi ;
and in it he took the town of Appiola by storm ;

revectaque inde majore præda
and having brought back from thence a larger booty

quam fama belli quanta
than the character of the war, being *of* such *small consequence*

fuerat, fecit ludos opulentius
had *promised*, he exhibited games in a more costly

instructiusque quam priores reges. Locus circo,
and splendid manner than former kings. The place for the circus,

qui nunc dicitur maximus, tunc primum
which is now called "Maximus," was then first

designatus est ; loca divisa patribus
marked out ; *and* spaces were parted off for the senators

equitibusque, ubi quisque facerent spectacula sibi ;
and knights, where they might each erect seats for themselves ;

appellati fori : spectavere
they were called fori (benches) : they viewed *the games*

furcis sustinentibus spectacula
from scaffolding which supported seats

duodenos pedes alta ab terra : ludicrum fuit ;
twelve feet high from the ground. The show took place ;

equi pugilesque acciti maxime ex Etruria :
horses and boxers were sent for, chiefly from Etruria.

sollemnes ludi deinde mansere annui,
These solemn games afterwards continued annual,

varie appellati Romani magnique. *
being variously called the Roman and Great *games*.

XXXIX.—Eo tempore prodigium fuit
At that time a prodigy occurred

in regia mirabile visu eventuque:
in the palace, wonderful *both* in the appearance and in the event:

ferunt caput puero, cui nomen fuit
they relate, that the head of a boy, whose name was

Servio Tullio, dormienti, arsisse
Servius Tullius, *as he lay* asleep, blazed with fire

in conspectu multorum. Plurimo clamore
in the sight of many people. That by the very great noise,

orto inde ad tantæ rei miraculum
which arose at *the instance of* so miraculous a phenomenon,

reges igitur excitos: et,
the king and queen were [in consequence] awakened: and,

cum quidam familiarium ferret aquam
when one of the servants was bringing water

ad restinguendum, retentum ab regina:
to extinguish *it*, that he was kept back by the queen;

jam tumultuque sedato vetuisse puerum
and *after* the confusion *was* over, that she forbade the boy

moveri, donec experrectus esset sua sponte:
to be disturbed, till he should awake of his own accord

mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum
that as soon as sleep *left him* the flame also disappeared. Then

Tanaquil abducto viro in secretum inquit,
Tanaquil, taking her husband into a private place, said,

"viden' tu hunc puerum, quem educamus
"Do you observe this boy, whom we are educating

tam humili cultu? licet scire, hunc
in so humble a style? Be assured, that he

quondam futurum lumen nostris dubiis rebus
will hereafter prove a light to us in *our* adversity,

præsidiumque regiæ afflictæ: proinde
and a protector to our palace in distress: from henceforth

omni nostra indulgentia nutriamus materiam
let us, with all our care, train up *this youth* capable of

ingentis decoris publice privatimque.'
becoming a great ornament, publicly and privately"

Inde puerum cœptum haberi loco liberum,
From this time the boy began to be treated as their *own* son,

erudirique artibus, quibus ingenia excitantur
and instructed in those arts, by which *men's* minds are qualified

ad cultum magnæ fortunæ. Facile evenit,
for the maintenance of high rank. *That* is easily brought to pass

quod cordi esset diis: juvenis evasit
which is pleasing to the gods. The young man turned out *to be*

indolis vere regiæ, nec,
of a disposition truly royal; nor,

cum gener Tarquinio quæreretur, potuit quisquam
when a son-in-law for Tarquin was looked for, could any

Romanæ juventutis conferri ulla arte,
of the Roman youth be compared *to him* in any accomplishment.

que rex despondit suam filiam ei. Hic
and *so* the king betrothed his own daughter to him. This

tantus honos habitus illi, de quacumque causa,
high honor conferred on him, from whatever cause,

prohibet credere, eum natum serva
forbids *our* believing, that he was the son of a slave,

que ipsum servisse parvum. Sum magis
and that he had himself been a slave *when* young. I am rather

sententiæ eorum, qui ferunt, capto Corniculo,
of the opinion of those, who say, that, on the taking of Corniculum,

uxorem Servii Tullii,— qui fuerat princeps
the wife of Servius Tullius, who had been the leading man

in illa urbe,— gravidam viro occiso,
in that city, *being* pregnant *when* her husband *was* slain,

cum cognita esset inter reliquas captivas,
being known among the rest of the prisoners,

ob unicam nobilitatem prohibitam
and, in consequence of her high rank, exempted

servitio ab Romana regina, edidisse partum
from servitude by the Roman queen, was delivered of a child

Romæ, domo Tarquinii Prisci. Inde
at Rome, in the house of Tarquinius Priscus. Upon this,

et familiaritatem inter mulieres auctam
that both the intimacy between the ladies was improved

tanto beneficio, et puerum, ut eductum
by so great a kindness, and that the boy, having been brought up

in domo a parvo, fuisse in caritate
in the house from his infancy, was *regarded* with affection

atque honore; matris fortunam, quod venerit
and respect; that his mother's lot in having fallen

in manus hostium, capta patria,
into the hands of the enemy, on the taking of her native city,

fecisse, ut crederetur natus serva.
caused him to be considered the son of a slave.

XL.—Ferme duodequadragesimo anno, ex quo
About the thirty-eighth year after

Tarquinius cœperat regnare, Servius Tullius erat
Tarquin had commenced his reign, Servius Tullius was

longe maximo honore non modo apud regem
in the highest esteem not only with the king,

sed apud patres plebemque. Tum
but *also* with the senate and people. At this time

duo filii Anci, etsi antea semper habuerant
the two sons of Ancus, although they had before that always considered *it*

pro indignissimo se pulsos
as the greatest indignity, that they should be deprived

patrio regno fraude tutoris, advenam
of their father's throne by the perfidy of their guardian, that a stranger

regnare Romæ non modo vicinæ sed
should be king of Rome, *who was* not only *not* of a civic, but

ne quidem Italicæ stirpis, tum iis indignitas
not even of an Italian family; *yet* now *felt* their indignation

crescere impensius, si regnum ne quidem
rise to a *still* higher pitch, seeing that the kingdom would not even

ab Tarquinio rediret ad se, sed caderet præceps
after Tarquin revert to them, but would go on sinking

inde porro ad servitia, ut in eadem civitate
even lower to a slave, so that in the same state,

fere centesimum annum post quam Romulus,
about the hundredth year after Romulus,

prognatus deo, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum,
descended from a deity, *and* a deity himself, had occupied the throne

donec fuerit in terris, Servius natus serva
as long as he lived on earth, a slave, the son of a slave,

id possideat. Id fore dedecus cum
should *now* possess it. That it would be a disgrace both

commune Romani nominis, tum præcipue
common to the Roman name, and more especially

suæ domus, si, virili stirpe Anci regis
to their own family, if, *whilst* male issue of king Ancus

salva, regnum Romæ pateret
was still living, the sovereignty of Rome should be accessible

non modo advenis sed etiam servis. Igitur statuunt
not only to strangers but even to slaves. They determine, therefore

arcere eam contumeliam ferro: sed et
to prevent that disgrace by the sword. But both

dolor injuriæ stimulabat eos magis
resentment for the injury *done them* incensed them more

in Tarquinium ipsum quam in Servium; et
against Tarquin himself, than against Servius; and

quia rex futurus erat
the consideration that a king was likely to prove

gravior ultor cædis, si superesset, quam
a more severe avenger of the murder, if he should survive, than

privatus: tum Servio occiso,
a private person; *and*, moreover, *in case of* Servius being slain,

quemcumque alium delegisset generum,
whatever other person he might select *as* his son-in-law,

videbatur facturus eundem heredem regni.
it seemed likely that he would make him his successor in the throne.

Ob hæc insidiæ parantur regi ipsi:
For these reasons the plot is formed against the king himself

duo ferocissimi ex pastoribus delecti
Two *of the* most undaunted of the shepherds, being selected

ad facinus, agrestibus ferramentis quibus uterque
for the *daring* deed, with the rustic implements to which each

consueti erant, tumultuosissime
had been accustomed, *by conducting themselves* as boisterously

quam potuere in vestibulo regiæ, specie rixæ
as they could in the porch of the palace, under pretence of a quarrel

convertunt omnes regios apparitores in se:
draw the attention of all the king's attendants to themselves

inde, cum ambo appellarent regem,
then, when both appealed to the king

eorumque clamor pervenisset penitus in regiam,
and their clamor reached even the interior of the palace,

vocati pergunt ad regem. Primo
they are called in, *and* proceed before the king. At first

uterque vociferari, et alter certatim obstrepere alteri,
both bawled aloud, and each furiously abused the other,

coerciti ab lictore, et jussi dicere in vicem,
until being restrained by the lictor, and commanded to speak in turns,

tandem desistunt obloqui: ex composito
they at length cease railing. According to concert

unus orditur rem: dum rex intentus in eum
one begins *to state* the matter; when the king, attentive to him,

averteret se totus, alter elatam securim
turned himself quite *that way*, the other, raising up his axe,

dejecit in caput, relictoque telo in vulnere
struck it into his head, and leaving the weapon in the wound,

ambo ejiciunt se foras.
they both rush out of the house.

XLI.—Cum, qui circa erant, excepissent
When those, who were around, had raised up

Tarquinium moribundum, lictores comprehendunt
Tarquinius in a dying state, the lictors seize on

illos fugientes. Inde clamor
the men *who were* endeavoring to escape. Upon this *ensued* an uproar

concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei esset.
and concourse of people, wondering what the matter was.

Tanaquil inter tumultum jubet regiam claudi,
Tanaquil, during the tumult, orders the palace to be shut,

ejecit arbitros: simul
turns out all who were present: at the same time

sedulo comparat, quæ opus sunt
she sedulously prepares such things as were necessary

curando vulneri, tamquam spes subesset:
for the dressing of the wound, as if a hope still remained:

simul, si spes destituat molitur
at the same time, in case her hopes should fail, she projects

alia præsidia. Accito propere Servio, cum
other means of safety. Sending immediately for Servius, after

ostendisset virum pæne exsanguem,
she had showed *to him* her husband almost expiring,

tenens dexteram orat, ne sinat
holding his right hand, she entreats *him*, not to suffer

mortem soceri inultam, ne socrum
the death of his father-in-law to go unavenged, nor his mother-in-law

esse ludibrio inimicis: "Servius," inquit,
to be an object of insult to their enemies. "Servius," she said,

"si es vir, regnum est tuum, non eorum
"if you are a man, the kingdom is yours, not theirs

qui manibus alienis fecere pessimum facinus:
who by the hands of others have perpetrated the basest *of* crimes.

erige te, sequereque duces deos, qui portenderunt
Exert yourself, and follow the guidance of the gods, who portended

hoc caput fore clarum quondam circumfuso
that this head would be illustrious, by having formerly shed around *it*

divino igni: nunc illa cœlestis flamma excitet te,
a divine fire. Now let that heavenly flame arouse you.

nunc expergiscere vere: et nos peregrini
Now awake in earnest. We too, *though* foreigners,

regnavimus: reputa, qui sis, non unde natus sis:
have reigned. Consider, who you are, not whence you are sprung.

si tua consilia torpent
if your own plans are not matured,

subita re, at tu sequere mea consilia."
by reason of the sudden*ness of this* event, then follow mine."

Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis
When the uproar and violence of the multitude

vix posset sustineri, Tanaquil alloquitur populum
could hardly be withstood, Tanaquil addresses the populace

ex superiore parte ædium per fenestras
from the upper part of the palace through the windows

versus in novam viam— enim rex habitabat
facing the new street, (for the king resided

ad Jovis Statoris: jubet esse bono animo:
near *the temple* of Jupiter Stator). She bids *them* "be of good cheer;

regem sopitum fuisse subito ictu, ferrum
that the king had been stunned by the sudden blow; that the weapon

haud descendisse alte in corpus: jam redisse
had not sunk deep into his body; that he was already come

ad se: vulnus inspectum
to himself again; that the wound had been examined,

cruore absterso, omnia salubria esse:
the blood having been wiped off; that all *the symptoms* were favorable;

confidere, eos visuros ipsum prope diem.
that she hoped, they would see him in a day or so;

Interim jubere populum audientem esse
and that in the mean time he commanded the people to obey

dicto Servio Tullio: eum reddituram esse jura
the orders of Servius Tullius, who would administer justice,

obiturumque alia munia regis.
and perform all the other functions of the king."

Servius prodit cum trabea et lictoribus, ac
Servius comes forth with the robe of state and the lictors, and,

sedens regia sede decernit alia,
seating himself on the king's throne, decides some *cases*;

de aliis simulat se consulturum esse regem:
with respect to others, pretends that he will consult the king.

itaque morte celata per aliquot dies, cum
Therefore the death being concealed for several days, though

Tarquinius jam exspirasset, per speciem
Tarquin had already expired, he, under pretence

fungendæ vicis alienæ firmavit suas opes.
of discharging the duty of another, strengthened his own interest.

Tum demum palam factum, et comploratione
Then at length *the matter* being made public, and lamentations

orta in regia, Servius, munitus firmo præsidio,
being raised in the palace, Servius, supported by a strong guard,

regnavit voluntate patrum primus
assumed the throne by the consent of the senate, *being* the first *who did so*

injussu populi. Liberi
without the orders of the people. [U. C. 176, B. C. 576.] The children

Anci ministris sceleris jam tum comprehensis,
of Ancus, the instruments of their villainy having been already seized,

ut nuntiatum est regem vivere et
as soon as it was announced that the king *still* lived, and that

opes Servii esse tantas, ierant exsulatum
the power of Servius was so great, had gone into exile

Suessam Pometiam.
to Suessa Pometia.

XLV. Civitate aucta magnitudine urbis,
The state being increased by the enlargement of the city,

omnibus formatis domi ad usus
and everything modeled at home *and abroad* for the exigencies

et pacis et ad belli, ne opes semper
both of peace and of war, that power might not always

acquirerentur armis, conatus est
be appropriated by *force of* arms, he endeavored

augere imperium consilio, simul et addere
to extend his empire by policy, and at the same time to add

aliquod decus urbi. Fanum Dianæ Ephesiæ
some ornament to the city. The temple of Diana at Ephesus

jam tum erat inclytum. Fama ferebat
was even at that time in *high* renown. Fame represented it

factum a civitatibus Asiæ communiter.
to have been built by *all* the states of Asia in common.

Servius inter proceres Latinorum,
Servius, in the presence of the chief men of the Latins,

cum quibus de industria junxerat
with whom he had purposely formed connexions

hospitia amicitiasque publice privatimque,
of hospitality and friendship *both in his* public and private *capacity*,

laudare mire eum consensum consociatosque deos:
extolled in high terms such concord and association of their gods;

saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem,
and by often repeating the same sentiments, prevailed so far at last,

ut Latini populi facerent cum
that the Latin people agreed to build, in conjunction with

Romano populo fanum Dianae Romae.
the Roman people, a temple to Diana at Rome.

Ea erat confessio, Romam esse caput rerum,
This was an acknowledgment, that Rome was the head of both nations,

de quo toties certatum fuerat armis.
concerning which they had so often disputed in arms.

Quamquam id videbatur jam omissum
Though that object seemed to have been at the time left

ex cura omnium Latinorum, ob rem
out of consideration by all the Latins, in consequence of the matter

toties tentatam infeliciter armis, fore visa est
having been so often attempted unsuccessfully by arms, the chance seemed

dare se uni ex Sabinis recuperandi imperii
to present itself to one of the Sabines of recovering independence

privato consilio. Bos dicitur nata
by his own address. A cow is said to have been calved

cuidam patrifamilias in Sabinos,
to a certain person, the head of a family among the Sabines,

miranda magnitudine ac specie. Cornua
of extraordinary size and beauty. Her horns

fixa in vestibulo templi Dianae
which were hung up in the porch of the temple of Diana,

fuere per multas aetates monumentum ei miraculo.
remained for many ages a monument of this wonder.

Res habita est loco prodigii, ut erat,
The thing was looked upon in the light of a prodigy, as it was,

et vates cecinere, imperium fore,
and the soothsayers declared that sovereignty would reside

ibi civitatis cujus civis immolassent
in that state of which a citizen should sacrifice

eam Dianae: idque carmen pervenerat
this heifer to Diana: and that prediction had come

ad antistitem Dianae fani. Sabinusque,
to the ears of the priest of Diana's temple. The Sabine

ut prima visa est apta dies sacrificio, actam bovem
as soon as it was deemed a proper day for the sacrifice, drove the cow

Romam deducit ad fanum Dianæ
to Rome, brought her to the temple of Diana,

et statuit ante aram. Ibi Romanus antistes,
and set her before the altar. There the Roman priest,

magnitudo victimæ celebrata fama
he *uncommon* size of the victim *so much* celebrated by fame

cum movisset, memor respons, ita alloquitur
having struck him, remembering the prediction, thus accosted

Sabinum : "hospes, quidnam tu paras ?"
the Sabine : "Stranger, what are you preparing *to do* ?"

inquit ; "facere sacrificium Dianæ inceste ?
says he; "to perform sacrifice to Diana with impure hands ?

quin tu ante perfunderis vivo flumine ?
Why do you not first dip yourself in a running stream ?

Tiberis præfluit infima valle." Hospes tactus
The Tiber flows along in the bottom of *that* valley." The stranger, touched

religione, qui cuperet omnia facta rite,
by the scruple, and desirous of *having* everything done in due order,

ut eventus responderet prodigio, extemplo descendit
that the event might answer to the prodigy, immediately went down

ad Tiberim : interea Romanus immolat
to the Tiber. In the meantime the Roman sacrificed

bovem Dianæ. Id fuit mire gratum regi
the heifer to Diana, which was eminently satisfactory to the king

atque civitati.
and to the *whole* state.

XLVI.—Servius, quamquam usu
Servius, although by *long* possession

jam possederat haud dubium regnum, tamen,
he had already gained an undisputed *title to the* throne, yet,

quia audiebat voces interdum jactari
as he heard that expressions were sometimes thrown out

a juvene Tarquinio, se regnare
by young Tarquin, 'that he held the government

injussu populi, prius conciliata
without the order of the people,' having first secured

voluntate plebis, diviso viritim
the good-will of the commons, by dividing *among them*, man by man,

agro capto ex hostibus, ausus est ferre
the lands taken from their enemies, ventured to propose

ad populum, vellent juberentne
to the people, *whether* "they wished and ordered

se regnare: declaratusque est rex
that he should be king," and was declared king

tanto consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante.
with such unanimity, as *was* no other one before *him*.

Neque ea res diminuit Tarquinio spem
But this circumstance diminished not Tarquin's hope

affectandi regni: immo, quia senserat
of obtaining the throne; nay, because he had observed

agi de agro plebis
that the proceedings relative to the lands for the commons

adversa voluntate patrum,
were contrary to the wishes of the patricians,

eo impensius ratus est occasionem
he was the more strongly convinced that an opportunity

datam sibi criminandi Servii apud patres
was *now* presented to him of arraigning Servius before the fathers,

crescendique in curia,— et ipse
and of increasing *his own influence* in the senate, he *being* himself

juvenis ardentis animi, et uxore Tullia
a youth of a fiery temper, and his wife, Tullia,

domi stimulante inquietum animum.
at home stimulating his restless spirit.

Enim et Romana regia tulit exemplum
For the Roman palace also afforded an instance

tragici sceleris, ut tædio regum libertas
of tragical villainy, so that, through *their* disgust of kings liberty

veniret maturior, regnumque, quod
might come more matured, and the throne, which

partum foret scelere, ultimum esset.
should be attained through crime, might be the last.

Hic L. Tarquinius— fuerit filius neposne
This L. Tarquinius, (whether he was the son or grandson

Tarquinii Prisci regis, parum liquet;
of Tarquinius Priscus, the king, is not clear;

pluribus auctoribus tamen ediderim filium—
with the greater number of authorities, however, I would say, his son),

habuerat fratrem Arruntem Tarquinium
had a brother, Arruns Tarquinius,

juvenem mitis ingenii. His duobus,
a youth of a mild disposition. To these two,

ut ante dictum est, duæ Tulliæ filiæ regis
as has been already stated, the two Tulliæ, daughters of the king,

nupserant, et ipsæ longe dispares moribus
had been married, they also *being* of widely different tempers.

Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia
It had so happened, that the two violent dispositions

jungerentur matrimonio, fortuna, credo,
were not united in wedlock, through the *good* fortune, I presume,

Romani populi, quo regnum Servii
of the Roman people, in order that the reign of Servius

esset diuturnius, moresque civitatis
might be more protracted, and the morals of the community

possent constitui. Ferox Tullia angebatur
be firmly established. The haughty Tullia was chagrined

nihil materiæ esse in viro neque ad cupiditatem
that there was no material in her husband either for ambition

neque ad audaciam : aversa tota
or bold enterprise. Devoting herself entirely

in alterum Tarquinium, eum mirari,
to the other Tarquinius, him she admired

eum dicere virum ac ortum regio sanguine,
him she called a man and one *truly* descended of royal blood;

sororem spernere, quod nacta virum
her sister she despised, because, having got a man

cessaret audacia muliebri. Similitudo
she was deficient in the spirit becoming a woman. Similarity *of mind*

celeriter contrahit eos, ut malum fere fit
soon draws them together, as wickedness is generally

aptissimum malo: sed initium
most congenial to wickedness: but the commencement

turbandi omnia ortum est a femina.
of creating general confusion originated with the woman.

Ea assuefacta secretis sermonibus alieni viri,
She, accustomed to the secret conversations of the other's husband,

parcere nullis contumeliis verborum
refrained not from *using* *the most* contumelious language

de viro ad fratrem, de sorore
concerning her husband to his brother, concerning her sister

ad virum: et contendere
to her (*i. e.* her sister's) husband, and contended

futurum fuisse rectius se viduam
that it had been better that she *herself* were unmarried,

et illum cælibem, quam jungi
and he single, than that they should be matched

cum compari, ut elanguescendum esset
unsuitably, so that they must languish away *through life*

ignavia aliena: si dii dedissent
by *reason of* the stupidity of others. If the gods had granted

sibi eum virum, quo digna esset
her the husband, of whom she was worthy,

se prope diem visuram fuisse regnum domi,
she should soon see the crown in her *own* house,

quod videat apud patrem. Celeriter imple
which she *now* saw at her father's. She soon inspires

adolescentem suæ temeritatis: Lucius Tarquiniu
the young man with her own daring *notions*. Lucius Tarquinius

et minor Tullia, cum prope continuati
and the younger Tullia, when they had, by almost successive

funeribus fecissent domos vacuas novo matrimonio
deaths, made their houses vacant for new nuptials,

junguntur nuptiis— Servio magis non prohibente
are joined in matrimony, Servius rather not obstructing

quam approbante.
than approving of *the match*.

XLVII.—Tum vero senectus Tullii cœpit
Then indeed the old age of Tullus began

esse in dies infestior, regnum infestius:
to be every day more disquieted, his authority more precarious;

jam enim mulier spectare ab scelere
for now the woman looked from *one* crime

ad aliud scelus, nec pati virum conquiescere
to another, and suffered not her husband to rest

nocte nec interdiu, ne præterita parricidia
by night or by day, lest their past murders

gratuita essent: non sibi defuisse
might go for nothing. "That she wanted not *a person*

cui innupta diceretur, nec cum quo
whose wife she might be called, or *one* with whom

tacita serviret: defuisse
she might in silence live a slave: *what* she desired was one

qui putaret se dignum regno, qui meminisset
who would consider himself worthy of the throne, who would remember

se esse filium Tarquinii Prisci, qui mallet habere
that he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus; who would rather possess

regnum quam sperare: "si tu, cui arbitror
a kingdom than hope *for it*. If you, to whom I consider

me nuptam esse, es is, appello
myself married, are such *a one*, I address you

et virum et regem: sin minus, res mutata est
both as husband and king: but if not, our condition has been changed

eo nunc pejus, quod istic est scelus
so far for the worse, because here is guilt

cum ignavia. Quin accingeris? non necesse est
together with cowardice. Why not prepare yourself? it is not necessary

tibi, ut tuo patri ab Corintho,
for you, as for your father *coming here* from Corinth

nec Tarquiniis, moliri peregrina regna: penates
or Tarquinii, to strive for foreign thrones. Your household

patriique dii, et patris imago, et regia domus,
and country's gods, and your father's image, and the royal palace,

et regale solium in domo, et nomen Tarquinium
and the royal throne in *that* palace, and the name *of* Tarquinius

creat vocatque te regem. Aut si parum est
constitute and call you king. Or if you have too little

animi ad hæc— quid frustraris civitatem?
spirit for this, why do you disappoint the nation?

quid sinis te conspici ut juvenem regium?
Why do you suffer yourself to be looked up to as a youth *of* royal *blood*?

facesse hinc Tarquinios aut Corinthum,
Get you hence to Tarquinii or Corinth;

devolvere retro ad stirpem, similior fratris
sink back again to your *original* race, more like your brother

quam patris." Increpando iis aliisque
than your father." By chiding him in these and other *terms*,

instigat juvenem, nec ipsa potest conquiescere,
she spurs on the young man, nor can she herself rest,

si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier,
seeing that, when Tanaquil, a foreign woman,

potuisset animo moliri tantum, ut dedisset
could, by her resolution, achieve so great *a project*, as *to* bestow

duo continua regna viro, ac deinceps
two successive thrones on her husband, and then

genero, ipsa, orta regio semine,
on her son-in-law, she, sprung from royal blood,

faceret nullum momentum in dando
should have no influence in bestowing

adimendoque regno. Tarquinius instinctus
and taking away a kingdom. Tarquinius, driven on

his furiis muliebribus circumire et prensare
by these frenzied instigations of the woman, went round and solicited

patres, maxime minorum gentium,
the patricians, especially *those* of the younger families;

admonere paterni beneficii ac repetere
put them in mind of his father's kindness, and demanded

gratiam pro eo, allicere juvenes donis,
a requital of it; enticed the young men by presents;

crescere cum pollicendo ingentia
increased *his interest* both by promising magnificent *gifts*

de se, tum criminibus regis omnibus locis:
on his part, and by inveighing against the king at every opportunity.

postremo, ut jam tempus visum est
At length as soon as the time seemed *convenient*

agendæ rei, irrupit in forum, stipatus
for accomplishing his object, he rushed into the forum, accompanied

agmine armatorum: inde, omnibus perculsis
by a party of armed men; then, *whilst* all *were* struck

pavore, sedens in regia sede pro curia,
with dismay, seating himself on the throne before the senate-house,

jussit patres citari in curiam
he ordered the fathers to be summoned to the senate-house

per præconem ad regem Tarquinium. Convenere
by a herald, to *attend* their king Tarquinius. They assembled

extemplo, alii jam præparati ad hoc,
immediately, some being already prepared for the *occasion*,

alii metu, ne non venisse
some through fear, lest their not having come

esset fraudi, attoniti novitate ac miraculo
might be to their detriment, astounded at the novelty and strangness

et rati jam actum de Servio.
of the matter, and considering that it was now all over with Servius.

Ibi Tarquinius, orsus maledicta
Then Tarquinius, commencing his invectives

ab ultima stirpe: servum natumque serva
against his immediate ancestors: "that a slave, and born of a slave

post indignam mortem sui parentis, non interregno
after the untimely death of his parent, without an interregnum

inito ut antea, non comitiis habitis,
being appointed as on former occasions, without an election being held.

non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus—
without the suffrages of the people, or the approbation of the senate,

occupasse regnum dono muliebri:
he had taken possession of the kingdom *as* the gift of a woman

ita natum ita creatum regem, fautorem
That so born, so created king, a favorer

infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit,
of the lowest class of people, to which he himself belonged,

odio honestatis alienæ ereptum
through a hatred of the high rank of others, he had taken away

agrum primoribus divisisse
their land from the chief men *in the state,* *and* distributed it

cuique sordidissimo: omnia onera, quæ quondam
among the very meanest; all the burdens, which heretofore

fuerint communia, inclinasse in primores
had been *borne in* common, he had thrown on the leading members

civitatis: instituisse censum, ut
of the community; that he had instituted the census, in order that

fortuna locupletiorum esset insignis
the fortunes of the more wealthy might be conspicuous

ad invidiam et parata, unde,
to *excite* envy, and be *a* ready *fund,* out of which he could,

ubi vellet, largiretur egentissimis.
when he chose, give bribes to the most needy."

XLVIII.—Cum Servius, excitatus
When Servius, aroused

trepido nuntio, intervenisset huic orationi,
by the alarming announcement, came in during this harangue,

extemplo a vestibulo curiæ inquit magna voce,
immediately from the porch of the senate-house, he says with a loud voice,

"quid hoc rei est, Tarquini? qua audacia tu ausus es
"What is the matter here, Tarquin? By what audacity hast thou dared

vocare patres, me vivo, aut considere
to summon the fathers, *while* I *am still* alive, or to sit

in mea sede?" ad hæc cum ille ferociter,
on my throne?" To this when he fiercely *replied,*

se filium regis tenere sedem sui patris,
"that he, the son of a king, occupied the throne of his father,

multo potiorem heredem regni, quam servum,
a much fitter successor to the kingdom, than a slave;

illum insultasse dominis satis diu
that he, *Servius,* had insulted his masters full long enough

per eludentem licentiam: clamor oritur
with his arbitrary insolence," a shout arises

ab fautoribus utriusque: et concursus populi
from the partisans of both, and a rush of the people

in curia fiebat, apparebatque,
into the senate-house took place, and it became evident, that

qui vicisset, regnaturum. Tum Tarquinius,—
whoever came off victor, would have the throne. Then Tarquin,

necessitate ipsa jam etiam cogente audere ultima,—
necessity itself now obliging him to proceed to the last extremity,

multo validior et ætate et viribus,
having much the advantage both in years and strength,

arripit Servium medium, elatumque e curia
seizes Servius by the middle, and carrying him out of the senate-house

dejecit per gradus in inferiorem partem: inde
throws him down the steps to the bottom. He then

rediit in curiam ad cogendum senatum.
returns to the senate-house to assemble the senate.

Regis apparitorum atque comitum fuga fit:
The king's officers and attendants fly.

ipse prope exsanguis, cum reciperet se domum
He himself, almost lifeless, when he was returning home

sine regio comitatu, interficitur ab iis, qui
without his royal retinue, is slain by those, who

missi ab Tarquinio consecuti erant
had been sent by Tarquin, and had overtaken

fugientem. Creditur, quia non abhorret
him in his flight. It is believed that, because not inconsistent

a scelere cetero, id factum
with her impious conduct in other respects, this was done

admonitu Tulliæ: certe —id quod satis constat—
by the advice of Tullia: certain it is, (for there is sufficient proof,)

invecta in forum carpento, nec reverita cœtum
that driving into the forum in her chariot, and not abashed at the crowd

virorum, evocavit virum e curia,
of persons there, she called her husband out of the senate-house,

primaque appellavit regem: cum
and was the first to style him king; and when,

jussa a quo facessere ex tanto tumultu
on being ordered by him to retire from so great a tumult,

reciperet se domum, pervenissetque ad summum
she was returning home, and had arrived at the top of

Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit,
the Cyprian street, where Diana's temple lately was,

is, qui agebat jumenta, pavidus, restitit
the person, who drove the horses, struck with horror, stopped

atque inhibuit frenos, ostenditque dominæ,
and drew in the reins, and pointed out to his mistress,

flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum,
who was turning the chariot to the right towards the Urbian hill,

ut eveheretur in collem Esquiliarium,
in order to ride up to the Esquiline,

trucidatum Servium jacentem. Inde
the murdered Servius lying on the ground. On this *occasion*

fœdum inhumanumque scelus traditur,
a revolting and inhuman crime is stated *to have been committed,*

locusque est monumento,— vocant Sceleratum vicum,—
and the place is a monument *of it.* They call it the Wicked Street,

quo Tullia, amens, agitantibus furiis
where Tullia, frantic *and* urged on by the furies

sororis ac viri, fertur egisse carpentum
of her sister and husband, is reported to have driven her chariot

per patris corpus, tulisseque cruento vehiculo
over her father's body, and to have carried, on her bloody vehicle,

partem cædis ac sanguinis paternæ ad suos
a portion of the body and blood of that parent to her own

suique viri penates, ipsa
and her husband's household gods, herself *also*

contaminata respersaque, quibus iratis,
being stained and sprinkled *with it;* through whose vengeance

sequerentur prope diem exitus similes
followed shortly after *a train of* events corresponding

malo principio regni. Servius Tullius
to the inauspicious commencement of *this* reign. Servius Tullius

regnavit quattuor et quadraginta annos ita, ut
reigned forty-four years in such a manner, that

æmulatio esset difficilis etiam bono
a competition *with him* would prove difficult even for a good

moderatoque succedenti regi: ceterum id quoque
and moderate successor on the throne. But this also

accessit ad gloriam, quod simul cum illo
has been an accession to his glory, that, together with him

occiderunt justa ac legitima regna:
perished *all* just and legitimate reigns.

id ipsum imperium tam mite ac tam moderatum
This authority, so mild and so moderate,

tamen, quia unius esset, quidam auctores sunt,
yet, because vested in one, some authors tell *us*,

habuisse eum in animo deponere, ni scelus
that he had it in contemplation to resign, had not the wickedness

intestinum intervenisset agitanti consilia
of his family interfered with him *whilst* planning

liberandæ patriæ.
for the liberation of his country.

XLIX.—Inde L. Tarquinius occepit regnare,
After this *period* Lucius Tarquinius began his reign,

cui facta indiderunt cognomen
[U. C. 220; B. C. 522,] whose actions procured him the surname

Superbo, quia gener prohibuit socerum sepultura,
of the Proud, for [a son-in-law] he refused his father-in-law burial,

dictitans Romulum quoque perisse insepultum,
alleging that Romulus likewise died without sepulture;

primoresque patrum, quos credebat favisse
and the principal senators, whom he suspected of having favored

rebus Servii, interfecit. Deinde conscius,
the interest of Servius, he put to death. Then, conscious

exemplum quærendi regni male
that the precedent of acquiring the crown by wicked means

posse capi ab se ipso adversus se, circumsæpsit
might be adopted from him against himself, he surrounded

corpus armatis; enim habebat
his person with armed men; for he had

neque quidquam ad jus regni præter vim,
no kind of title to the throne except force,

ut qui regnaret neque jussu populi, neque
inasmuch as he reigned neither by order of the people nor

auctoribus patribus. Eo accedebat ut
with the approbation of the senate. To this was added *the fact* that,

reponenti nihil spei in caritate civium
as he reposed no hope in the affection of his subjects,

tutandum esset regnum metu: quem ut incuteret
he was obliged to secure his kingdom by terror; and in order to strike this

pluribus, exercebat cognitiones
into the greater number, he took cognizance

capitalium rerum solus per se sine consiliis,
of capital cases solely by himself without assessors;

perque eam causam poterat occidere,
and under that pretext he had *it in his* power to put to death,

in exsilium agere, multare bonis, non modo
banish, *or* impose fines, not only

suspectos aut invisos, sed unde
on those *whom he* suspected or disliked, but *on those* from whom

posset sperare nihil aliud, quam prædam.
he could expect nothing else but plunder.

Numero patrum præcipue ita imminuto,
The number of the senators especially being thus diminished,

statuit legere nullos in patres, quo
he determined to elect none into the senate, *to the end* that

ordo esset contemptior ipsa paucitate,
the order might be the more contemptible by their very paucity

minusque indignarentur nihil agi
and that they might feel the less resentment at no *business* being transacted

per se. Enim hic primus regum solvit morem
by them. For he *was* the first king *who* violated the custom,

traditum a prioribus consulendi senatum
derived from his predecessors, of consulting the senate

de omnibus, administravit rem publicam
on all subjects; he administered public affairs

domesticis consiliis: bellum, pacem, fœdera,
by domestic counsels: war, peace, treaties,

societates ipse per se fecit diremitque,
alliances he of himself contracted and dissolved

cum quibus voluit, injussu populi
with whom*soever* he pleased, without the sanction of the people

ac senatus. Gentem Latinorum maxime
and the senate. The nation of the Latins in particular

conciliabat sibi, ut
he was eager to attach to himself, so that

peregrinis opibus quoque esset tutior
by foreign influence also he might be more secure

inter cives, jungebat neque modo
among his *own* subjects; *and* he formed not only

hospitia sed affinitates quoque
ties of hospitality but affinities also

cum eorum primoribus: Octavio Mamilio
with their leading men. To Octavius Mamilius

Tusculano— is erat princeps longe Latini nominis,
of Tusculum, (he was the *most* illustrious by far of the Latin name,

oriundus, si credimus famæ, ab Ulixe
being descended, if we may give credit to fame, from Ulysses

deaque Circa— ei Mamilio dat filiam
and the goddess Circe,) [to this Mamilius] he gives his daughter

nuptum, perque eas nuptias conciliat sibi
in marriage, and by this match secures to himself

ejus multos cognatos amicosque.
his numerous kinsmen and friends.

LIII.—Nec fuit, ut injustus rex in pace,
Nor was he, though an iniquitous prince in peace,

ita pravus dux belli: quin ea arte
equally reprehensible *as* a general in war; nay, in that capacity

æquasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum
he would have equalled former kings, had not his degeneracy

in aliis quoque offecisset decori huic.
in other respects likewise detracted from his merit here.

Is primus movit bellum Volscis in amplius
He began the war against the Volsci, *which lasted* for more than

ducentos annos post suam ætatem, cepitque
two-hundred years after his time; and took

ex his Suessam Pometiam vi. Ubi
from them Suessa Pometia by storm; *and* when

cum divendita præda — refecisset
by the sale of the spoils — he had amassed

quadraginta talenta argenti, — concepit animo
forty talents of silver *and of gold*, — he designed

eam amplitudinem templi Jovis, — quæ esset digna
such magnificence for a temple to Jupiter, — as should be worthy

rege deûm hominumque, — quæ Romano imperio,
of the king of gods and men, — *worthy* of the Roman empire,

quæ etiam majestate loci ipsius: — in ædificationem
and [also] of the dignity of the place itself: — for the building

ejus templi — seposuit pecuniam captivam. *******
of this temple — he set apart the money *arising* from the spoils.

LVI.—Intentus perficiendo templo, — accitis
Intent on finishing the temple, — having sent for

fabris undique ex Etruria, — usus est ad id
workmen from all parts of Etruria, — he employed on it

non solum publica pecunia, — sed etiam — operis
not only the public money, — but also — the manual labor

ex plebe. Cum qui labor — haud parvus et ipse
of the people; and when this labor, — by no means inconsiderable in itself,

adderetur — militiæ, — tamen plebs
was added — to their military service, — still the people

gravabatur minus, — se exædificare
murmured less — at their building

templa deûm — suis manibus, — quam
the temples of the gods — with their own hands, — than *when*

postquam — et traducebantur ad alia opera,
afterwards — they were transferred also to other works,

ut minora specie, — sic aliquanto majoris
which, though less in show, — were yet *attended* with considerably more

laboris, — faciendos foros in circo, — agendamque
toil; — the erecting seats in the circus, — and conducting

sub terram — maximam cloacam, — receptaculum
under ground — the principal sewer, — the receptacle

omnium purgamentorum urbis: quibus duobus operibus
of all the filth of the city; — to which two works

hæc magnificentia nova potuit vix
the magnificence *of* modern *times* can scarcely

quidquam adæquare. Plebe exercita
produce anything equal. The people having been employed

his laboribus, quia et rebatur
in these works, because he both considered

multitudinem esse oneri urbi, ubi esset
that *such* a multitude was a burden to the city, when there was

non usus, et volebat fines
no employment *for them*, and was anxious that the frontiers

imperii latius occupari
of the empire should be more extensively occupied

mittendis colonis, misit colonos Signiam
by sending colonists, he sent colonists to Signia

Circeiosque, futura præsidia urbi
and Circeii, *to serve* hereafter *as defensive* barriers to the city

terra marique. Hæc agenti terribile portentum
by land and sea. *While* thus employed a frightful prodigy

visum: anguis, elapsus ex lignea columna,
appeared *to him*; a serpent, sliding out of a wooden pillar,

cum fecisset terrorem fugamque in regiam,
after causing dismay and a run into the palace,

non tam perculit pectus regis ipsius
not so much struck the heart of the king [himself

subito pavore, quam implevit anxiis curis.
with sudden terror, as filled him with anxious apprehensions

Itaque cum Etrusci vates tantum adhiberentur
Accordingly, when Etrurian soothsayers only were employed

ad publica prodigia, exterritus hoc velut
for public prodigies, terrified at this as it were

domestico visu, statuit mittere Delphos
domestic apparition, he resolved to send to Delphi

ad maxime inclytum oraculum in terris:
to the most celebrated oracle in the world;

neque ausus committere responsa sortium
and not venturing to entrust the responses of the oracle

ulli alii, misit duos filios in Græciam
to any other person, he dispatched his two sons to Greece

per terras ignotas ea tempestate, maria
through lands unknown at that time, *and* seas,

ignotiora. Titus et Arruns profecti:
still more unexplored. Titus and Arruns set out;

iis additus comes L. Junius Brutus,
to them was added, *as* a companion, L. Junius Brutus,

natus Tarquinia sorore regis, juvenis
the son of Tarquinia sister to the king, a young man

ingenio longe alius, quam simulationem cujus
of capacity widely different from that the disguise of which

induerat. Cum audisset primores civitatis,
he had assumed. Having heard that the principal men of the state,

in quibus suum fratrem interfectum
and among others his own brother had been put to death

ab avunculo, statuit relinquere neque quidquam
by his uncle, he resolved to leave nothing

in suo animo timendum regi, neque
in his intellects *that* might be dreaded by the king, nor *anything*

in fortuna concupiscendum, que
in his fortune to be coveted, and *thus*

esse tutus contemptu, ubi esset
to be secure in contempt, where there was

parum præsidii in jure. Ergo
but little protection in justice. Therefore

ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiæ,
designedly fashioning *himself* to the semblance of foolishness,

cum sineret se suaque esse prædæ regi,
after he suffered himself and *all* his goods to become a prey to the king,

haud abnuit quoque cognomen Bruti,
he did not refuse *to take* even the surname of Brutus,

ut, latens sub obtentu ejus cognominis,
that, concealed under the cover of that appellation,

ille animus liberator Romani populi
the genius, *which was to be* the deliverer of the Roman people

opperiretur sua tempora.
might await its proper time.

Tum ductus Delphos ab Tarquiniis,—
At this time carried to Delphi by the Tarquinii.

verius ludibrium quam comes— is dicitur
rather as a subject of sport than as a companion, he is said

tulisse donum Apollini
to have brought *with him* as an offering to Apollo

aureum baculum, inclusum baculo corneo
a golden wand, enclosed in a staff of cornel-wood

cavato ad id, per ambages effigiem
hollowed out for that *purpose*,— a mystical emblem

sui ingenii. Postquam quo ventum est,
of his own capacity. When they arrived there,

patris mandatis perfectis, cupido incessit
their father's commission being executed, a desire entered

animos juvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum
the minds of the young men of inquiring on which of them

regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ferunt
the kingdom of Rome was to devolve. They say

vocem redditam ex infimo specu:
that a voice was returned from the bottom of the cave,

"O juvenes, qui vestrum primus tulerit osculum
"Young men, whichever of you shall first kiss

matri, habebit summum imperium Romæ."
his mother shall enjoy the sovereign power at Rome."

Jubent rem taceri
They, (*the Tarquinii*,) order the matter to be kept secret

summa ope, ut Tarquinius Sextus, qui
with the utmost care, that Sextus, who

relictus fuerat Romæ, esset ignarus
had been left behind at Rome, might be ignorant

responsi expersque imperii:
of the response, and have no share in the kingdom;

ipsi permittunt sorti inter se, uter
they cast lots among themselves, *as to* which of them

prior daret osculum matri, cum redissent Romam.
should first kiss his mother, after they had returned to Rome.

Brutus, ratus Pythicam vocem spectare
Brutus, thinking that the Pythian answer looked

alio, velut si prolapsus cecidisset,
in a different *direction*, as if he had stumbled *and* fallen,

contigit terram osculo, scilicet, quod ea esset
touched the earth with his lips, considering, that she was

communis mater omnium mortalium. Inde
the common mother of all mankind. After this

reditum Romam, ubi parabatur
they *all* returned to Rome, where preparations were being made

summa vi bellum adversus Rutulos.
with the greatest vigor for a war against the Rutulians.

LVII.—Rutuli, gens, ut in ea regione
The Rutulians, a nation, for that country

atque in ea ætate præpollens divitiis,
and that age, very distinguished for opulence,

habebant Ardeam : eaque ipsa
were *at that time* in possession of Ardea ; and this very *opulence*

fuit causa belli, quod rex Romanus,
was the occasion for war ; for the king *of the* Romans,

exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum,
being exhausted *of money* by the magnificence of his public works,

studebat cum ipse ditari, tum
was desirous both to enrich himself, and

præda delenire animos popularium,
by means of the spoils to soothe the minds of his subjects, *who*,

præter aliam superbiam infestos etiam
besides other *instances of his* tyranny, were incensed [also]

regno, quod indignabantur se
against his government, because they were indignant that they

habitos tam diu ab rege in ministerio
had been kept so long a time by the king in the employments

fabrorum ac opere servili. Res tentata est,
of mechanics, and in labor fit for slaves. A plan was tried,

si Ardea posset capi primo impetu : ubi
whether Ardea could be taken at the first assault ; when

id parum processit, hostes cœpti premi
that did not succeed, the enemy began to be distressed

obsidione munitionibusque. In his
by a blockade. and [illegible] works *thrown up around them*. In this

stativis— ut fit bello magis longo
fixed post, as is usual in a war rather tedious

quam acri— commeatus erant satis liberi,
than violent, furloughs were quite readily *obtained*,

magis primoribus tamen quam
more *so* by the officers, however, than

militibus: juvenes regii quidem
by the *common* soldiers; the young princes in particular

interdum terebant otium conviviis
frequently spent their leisure time in feasting

inter se comisationibusque. Forte
and mutual entertainments. It happened *that*

his potantibus apud Sex. Tarquinium,
while these were drinking at the quarters of Sextus Tarquin

ubi Collatinus Tarquinius, filius Egerii,
where Collatinus Tarquinius, son of Egerius,

et cenabat, mentio incidit de uxoribus
also supped, mention was made of their wives;

quisque laudare suam miris modis: inde
each extolled his own in an extravagant manner: on this

certamine accenso Collatinus negat,
a dispute arising, Collatinus said

"opus esse verbis, id quidem posse sciri
"there was no need of words: it could easily be known

paucis horis, quantum sua Lucretia
in a few hours, how far his Lucretia

præstet ceteris: quin, si vigor juventæ inest,
excelled the rest. Why not, if the vigor of youth is ours,

conscendimus equos invisimusque præsentes
mount our horses and inspect in person

ingenia nostrarum? Id sit spectatissimum cuique,
the behavior of our *wives?* That must be most satisfactory to each,

quod occurrerit oculis necopinato adventu viri."
which shall meet his eyes on the unexpected arrival of the husband."

Incaluerant vino: "Age sane," omnes:
They were heated with wine: "Come on, then," *say* all.

citatis equis avolant Romam
At full gallop they fly to Rome.

Cum pervenissent quo, primis tenebris
Having arrived there as the first shades *of night*

se intendentibus, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi
were spreading *round*, they proceeded thence to Collatia, where

inveniunt Lucretiam, haudquaquam ut
they find Lucretia, not like

regias nurus, quas viderant terentes tempus
the king's daughters-in-law, whom they had seen spending their time

in luxu convivioque cum æqualibus, sed
in luxurious entertainments with their equals, but

deditam lanæ sera nocte sedentem
busily employed at her wool, *though* at that late hour, sitting

in medio ædium inter ancillas lucubrantes.
in the middle of the house amid her maids working *around her*.

Laus certaminis muliebris fuit penes
The merit of the contest about the ladies was assigned

Lucretiam. Vir adveniens
to Lucretia. Her husband, on *his* arrival,

Tarquiniique benigne excepti: maritus
and the Tarquinii were kindly received: the husband

victor comiter invitat
proud of his victory, politely extends an invitation to

regios juvenes. Ibi mala libido
the young princes. There the villainous passion

stuprandæ Lucretiæ per vim capit
for violating Lucretia by force seizes

Sex. Tarquinium: cum forma, tum
Sextus; both her beauty and

spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem
her approved purity serve as incentives. And then [indeed]

ab juvenali ludo nocturno redeunt in castra.
after *this* youthful frolic of the night, they return to the camp.

LVIII.—Paucis diebus interjectis, inscio
A few days after, without the knowledge

Collatino, Sex. Tarquinius venit Collatiam
of Collatinus, Sextus came to Collatia

cum uno comite. Ubi benigne exceptus
with *but* a single attendant, where, being kindly received

ab ignaris consilii, cum deductus esset
by them *as being* ignorant of his design, when he had been conducted

post cenam in hospitale cubiculum, ardens amore,
after supper into the guests' chamber, burning with passion,

—postquam circa videbantur satis tuta
as soon as *everything* around seemed sufficiently secure,

omnesque sopiti— venit gladio stricto
and all *the family* at rest, he comes with his sword drawn

ad Lucretiam dormientem, sinistraque manu
to Lucretia *as she lay* asleep, and with his left hand

oppresso mulieris pectore inquit,
pressing down the woman's breast, he says,

"tace Lucretia, sum Sex. Tarquinius: ferrum est
"Be silent, Lucretia; I am Sextus Tarquin: my sword is

in manu: moriere, si emiseris vocem." Cum
in my hand; you shall die, if you utter a word." When

pavida ex somno mulier videret nullam opem,
awaking terrified from sleep, the woman beheld no aid,

imminentem mortem prope, tum Tarquinius
impending death nigh at hand; then Tarquin

fateri amorem, orare, miscere minas
acknowledged his passion, entreated, mixed threats

precibus versare muliebrem animum
with entreaties, *and* tried the female's mind

in omnes partes. Ubi videbat obstinatam,
in every *possible* way. When he saw her inflexible,

et ne inclinari quidem metu mortis, addit
and not to be moved even by the fear of death, he added

ad metum dedecus: ait positurum
to the fear *the threat of* dishonor; he says, that he will lay

jugulatum servum nudum cum mortua,
a murdered slave naked by her *side when* dead,

ut dicatur necata in sordido adulterio
so that she may be said to have been slain in infamous adultery.

Cum quo terrore libido velut victrix
When by this terrible threat his lust, as it were victorious,

vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam, Tarquiniusque
had overcome her inflexible chastity, and Tarquin

profectus esset inde ferox expugnato
had departed thence, priding himself on having triumphed

muliebri decore, Lucretia, mæsta tanto
over a lady's honor, Lucretia, deeply distressed at so dreadful

malo, mittit eundem nuntium Romam ad patrem
a disaster, dispatches the same messenger to Rome to her father,

Ardeamque ad virum, ut veniant
and to Ardea to her husband, that they would come

cum singulis fidelibus amicis: opus esse
each with one trusty friend; that it was necessary

ita facto maturatoque, atrocem rem
so to do and speedily, for that a dreadful affair

incidisse. Spurius Lucretius venit cum
had happened. Spurius Lucretius comes with

P. Valerio, filio Volesi, Collatinus cum
P. Valerius, the son of Volesus; Collatinus, with

L. Junio Bruto, cum quo rediens Romam
L. Junius Brutus, with whom, as he was returning to Rome,

forte erat conventus ab uxoris nuntio. Inveniunt
he happened to be met by his wife's messenger. They find

Lucretiam sedentem in cubiculo mæstam.
Lucretia sitting in her chamber in sorrowful dejection

Adventu suorum obortæ lacrimæ;
On the arrival of her friends she burst into tears;

viroque quærenti "satin' salve?" "Minime"
and on her husband's asking, "Is all well?"— "Far from it,"

inquit: "enim quid est salvi mulieri,
said she; "for how can it be well with a woman,

pudicitia amissa: vestigia alieni viri sunt
whose chastity is gone. The traces of another man are

in tuo lecto, Collatine. Ceterum corpus tantum
on your bed, Collatinus. But my body only

violatum est, animus insons: mors erit testis.
has been violated, my mind is guiltless; death shall be my witness

Sed date dexteras fidemque,
But give me your right hands and your honor

adultero haud impune fore : est Sex. Tarquinius,
that the adulterer shall not go unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquin,

qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte
who, an enemy in the guise of a guest, last night

armatus vi hinc abstulit gaudium pestiferum
by armed violence bore away hence a triumph fatal

mihi sibique, si vos estis viri."
to me and to himself, if you are men."

Omnes dant fidem ordine :
They all pledge their honor, one after the other;

consolantur ægram animi,
they *endeavor to* comfort her distracted *as she was* in mind,

avertendo noxam ab coacta
by turning away the guilt from her constrained *by force*,

in auctorem delicti : mentem peccare, non corpus,
on the perpetrator of the crime; that *it is* the mind sins, not the body;

et, unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse.
and that, where intention was wanting, guilt could not be.

"Vos videritis" inquit "quid debeatur illi
"It is for you to see," says she, "what is due to him.

ego etsi absolvo me peccato, supplicio
As for me, though I acquit myself of guilt, from punishmen

non libero : nec ulla deinde vivet impudica
I do not discharge *myself;* nor shall any *woman* ever survive *her* dishonor,

exemplo Lucretiæ." Eum cultrum, quem habebat
pleading the example of Lucretia." The knife, which she kept

abditum sub veste, defigit in corde,
concealed beneath her garment, she plunges into her heart

prolapsaque in vulnus cecidit moribunda.
and falling forward on the wound, she dropped down expiring

Vir paterque conclamat.
The husband and father shriek aloud.

LIX.—Brutus, illis occupatis luctu,
Brutus, *while* they *were* overpowered with grief

extractum cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiæ
drawing the knife from the wound of Lucretia

tenens manantem cruore, præ se, inquit,
and holding it out, reeking with blood, before him, said,

"per hunc sanguinem castissimum ante
"By this blood, most chaste before

injuriam regiam juro, facioque vos, dii,
the pollution *of* royalty, I swear, and call you, O *ye* gods,

testes, me exsecuturum ferro igni,
to witness, that I will prosecute *to destruction* by sword, fire,

quacumque vi possim dehinc, L. Tarquinium
and every forcible means I can henceforth *command*, Lucius Tarquin,

Superbum cum scelerata conjuge
the Proud, together with his impious wife

et omni liberorum stirpe, nec passurum illos,
and all their race; nor will I *ever* suffer them,

nec quemquam alium regnare Romæ." Deinde
or any other person, to be king in Rome." He then

tradit cultrum Collatino, inde Lucretio
delivered the knife to Collatinus, afterward to Lucretius

ac Valerio stupentibus miraculo rei,
and Valerius *who were* struck with wonder at the prodigy,

unde novum ingenium in pectore Bruti.
as to whence *such* unusual sentiment in the breast of Brutus.

Ut præceptum erat jurant, que
As had been directed, *however*, they *all* take the oath, and,

versi ab luctu toti in iram,
turning away from their grief entirely unto wrath,

sequuntur Brutum ducem, vocantem
follow Brutus *as* their leader, who called *upon them*,

jam inde ad expugnandum regnum. Corpus
forthwith to abolish the regal power. The body

Lucretiæ elatum domo deferunt in forum,
of Lucretia, brought out from the house, they convey to the forum,

concientque homines miraculo atque indignitate
and assemble the people by the strangeness and atrocity

novæ rei, ut fit. Queruntur
of the extraordinary occurrence, as usually happens. They complain,

quisque pro se regium scelus ac vim.
each for himself. of the royal villainy and violence.

Cum mæstitia patris movet, tum Brutus
Both the grief of the father moves them, as also Brutus,

castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querelarum
the reprover of their tears and unavailing complaints,

auctorque capiendi arma, quod deceret viros,
and their adviser to take up arms, as became men,

quod Romanos, adversus ausos hostilia.
as *became* Romans, against *those* who attempted hostilities.

Quisque ferocissimus juvenum
Each most spirited of the youth

voluntarius adest cum armis: cetera juventus
voluntarily presents himself in arms; the rest of the youth

et sequitur. Inde, relicto pari præsidio
follow also. From thence, after leaving an adequate garrison

ad portas Collatiæ, datisque custodibus,
at the gates at Collatia, and having appointed sentinels,

ne quis nuntiaret eum motum
so that no one might bring word of the commotion

regibus, ceteri profecti Romam armati
to the princes, the rest set out for Rome in arms,

duce Bruto. Ubi ventum est eo,
under the conduct of Brutus. When they arrived there.

armata multitudo facit pavorem ac tumultum,
the armed multitude cause panic and confusion

quacumque incedit: rursus, ubi vident
wherever they go; again, when they see

primores civitatis anteire, rentur,
the principal men of the state marching at *their* head, they think that,

quidquid sit, esse haud temere. Nec
whatever it may be, it was not without *good* reason. Nor does

res tam atrox facit minorem motum
a circumstance of such heinousness create less *violent* excitement

animorum Romæ, quam fecerat Collatiæ:
in the minds *of the people* at Rome, than it had done at Collatia;

ergo curritur ex omnibus locis urbis
accordingly they run from all parts of the city

in forum. Quo, simul ventum est, præco
into the forum, where, as soon as they arrived, a crier

advocavit populum ad tribunum Celerum—
summoned the people to *attend* the tribune of the Celeres,

in quo magistratu Brutus forte erat
in which office Brutus happened to be

tum : ibi oratio habita,
at that time *employed*. There an harangue was delivered *by him*,

nequaquam ejus pectoris ingeniique, quod
by no means of that feeling and capacity, which

simulatum fuerat ad eam diem, de vi ac libidine
had been counterfeited *up* to that day, concerning the violence and lust

Sex. Tarquinii, de infando stupro Lucretiæ et
of Sextus Tarquin, the horrid violation of Lucretia, and

miserabili cæde, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui
her lamentable death. the bereavement of Tricipitinus, to whom

causa filiæ mortis esset indignior
the cause of his daughter's death was more exasperating

ac miserabilior morte : addita
and deplorable than the death *itself*. *To this* was added

superbia regis ipsius miseriæque et labores plebis
the insolence of the king himself, and the miseries and toils of the people,

demersæ in exhauriendas fossas cloacasque.
buried in the earth in cleansing sinks and sewers;

Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum,
that the Romans, the conquerors of all the surrounding states,

pro bellatoribus factos opifices ac lapicidas :
instead of warriors had become laborers and stone-cutters

indigna cædes regis Servii Tullii memorata,
The barbarous murder of king Servius Tullius was dwelt on,

et filia invecta corpore patris
and his daughter's driving over the body of her father

nefando vehiculo, diique ultores parentum
in her impious chariot; and the gods, avengers of parents,

invocati. Memoratis his aliisque,
were invoked *by him*. By stating these and other,

credo, atrocioribus, quæ haudquaquam
I suppose, more aggravating *circumstances* which, *though* by no means

facilia relatu scriptoribus indignitas rerum
easily detailed by writers, the atrocity of the case

subjicit præsens, perpulit multitudinem
suggested at the time, he persuaded the multitude,

incensam ut abrogaret imperium regi
already incensed, to wrest the government from the king,

juberetque exsules esse L. Tarquinium cum
and order the banishment of L. Tarquin with

conjuge ac liberis. Ipse, lectis armatisque
his wife and children. He himself, having selected and armed

junioribus, qui ultro dabant nomina,
some of the young men, who readily gave in their names,

profectus est in castra Ardeam
set out for the camp at Ardea

ad concitandum exercitum inde adversus regem :
to excite the army there against the king :

imperium in urbe relinquit Lucretio,
the command in the city he leaves to Lucretius,

jam ante instituto præfecto urbis
who had some time before *been* appointed prefect of the city

ab rege. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia
by the king. During this tumult Tullia

profugit domo, viris mulieribusque
fled from her house, *both* men and women

exsecrantibus, quacumque incedebat,
cursing her, wherever she went,

invocantibusque furias parentum.
and invoking *on her* the furies, *the avengers* of parents.

LX.—Nuntiis harum rerum perlatis
News of these proceedings being brought

in castra, cum rex trepidus nova re,
to the camp, when the king, alarmed at *this sudden* revolution,

pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus,
was going to Rome to quell the commotions,

Brutus— enim senserat adventum,—
Brutus (for he had notice of his approach)

flexit viam, ne obvius fieret, fereque
turned out of the way, that he might not meet him; and *very* nearly

eodem tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus
at the same time, by different routes, Brutus

venerunt Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam.
arrived at Ardea, *and* Tarquin at Rome.

Portæ clausæ Tarquinio, exsiliumque
The gates were shut against Tarquin, and *a sentence of* banishment

indictum: liberatorem urbis castra
passed *upon him;* the deliverer of the city the camp

accepere lætâ, regisque liberi
received with *great* joy, and the king's sons

inde exacti. Duo secuti sunt patrem,
were expelled. Two *of these* followed their father,

qui ierunt exsulatum Cære in Etruscos.
and went into exile at Cære among the Etrurians.

Sextus Tarquinius profectus Gabios, tamquam
Sextus Tarquin, having gone to Gabii, as

in suum regnum, interfectus est ab ultoribus
to his own kingdom, was slain by the avengers

veterum simultatium, quas ipse concierat sibi
of the old feuds, which he had raised against himself

rapinis cædibusque. L. Tarquinius Superbus
by his rapines and murders. Lucius Tarquin the Proud

regnavit quinque et viginti annos. Regnatum
reigned twenty-five years. The government of kings

Romæ ab condita urbe
at Rome *continued* from the building of the city

ad liberatam ducentos quadraginta quattuor
to *this period of* its deliverance two hundred and forty-four

annos. Inde comitiis centuriatis
years. After that, in an assembly of the centuries, *held*

a præfecto urbis creati sunt, ex commentariis
by the prefect of the city, were elected, according to the commentaries

Servii Tullii, duo consules
of Servius Tullius, two consuls, [U. C. 245; A. C. 507,] viz.

L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.
Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

CONTENTS OF BOOK II.

I. *Brutus binds the people by oath, never to suffer any king to reign at Rome;* II. *obliges Tarquinius Collatinus, his colleague, had in suspicion on account of his relationship to the Tarquinii, to resign the consulship and leave the state;* V. *orders the goods of the royal family to be rifled; consecrates their land to Mars, and calls it Campus Martius; beheads some young noblemen, and among the rest his own and his sister's sons, for plotting a conspiracy to receive the kings into the city; accords freedom to the discoverer of the plot, a slave by the name of Vindicius, from whom the "Vindicta" derives its name;* VI. *on leading his troops into an engagement against the kings, who made war upon him with the united forces of the Veientians and Tarquiniensians, he is killed in single combat with Arruns, the son of Tarquin the Proud, and expires at the same time with his adversary. The ladies mourn for him a whole year.* VIII. *P. Valerius, his consul, passes the law concerning an appeal to the people. The Capitol dedicated.* IX, X. *Porsena, king of Clusium, undertaking a war in favor of the Tarquins, after he had advanced as far as the Janiculum, is prevented from crossing the Tiber by the valor of Horatius Cocles, who alone and unassisted sustains the attack of the Etruscans, while his comrades demolish the Sublician bridge; on the falling of which he throws himself, armed as he was, into the stream, and swims across to his party.* XII. *Another instance of bravery is added by Mucius, who, on penetrating the enemy's camp for the purpose of assassinating Porsena, slays the king's secretary by mistake; is arrested, and in the king's presence lays his right hand on the altar, where sacrifice was being made, and allows it to consume in the flames; he tells the king, that three hundred such youths were sworn to plot against his death. Porsena is constrained by admiration of such intrepidity to offer terms of peace, and on the receipt of hostages breaks up the war.* XIII. *A young lady, called Cloelia, one of these hostages, deceiving the guards, swims across the Tiber to her friends; and on her being remanded is honorably discharged by Porsena, and rewarded for her bravery with an equestrian statue. Appius Claudius removes from the country of the Sabines to Rome; for this reason the Claudian tribe is added to the former number, which by this means is increased to twenty-one. A. Postu*

mius, the dictator, came off victorious at the lake Regillus, making war upon Tarquin the Proud with an army of Latins. The commons, on account of the great numbers confined for debt, secede to the Sacred Mount; brought back by the prudence of Menenius Agrippa. The same Agrippa at his death is buried at the expense of the state on account of his poverty. XXXIII. *Five tribunes of the people created. Coriolì a town of the Volscians, reduced by the valor and exertions of Caius Martius, who from this receives the name of Coriolanus.* XXXVI, etc *Titus Latinius, a plebeian, on being warned in a dream to bring information to the senate concerning certain religious observances, and failing to do so, loses one of his sons; is struck with paralysis; and subsequently conveyed in a litter to the senate-chamber, where he makes known those particulars; restored to the use of his feet, he returns home.* XXXIX, XL. *Caius Martius, who had been banished, is made leader of the Volscian army; advances upon the city with the forces of its enemies; at first ambassadors are sent to him, then priests; they intercede with him in vain, that he shall make no war upon his native country; Veturia, his mother, and his wife Volumnia, however, prevail on him to desist from his purpose. The Agrarian law first made. Sp. Cassius, of consular rank, condemned and put to death upon the charge of aspiring to regal power. Oppia, a vestal virgin, buried alive for incontinence. The neighboring Veientians having declared hostilities, the Fabian family undertake to carry on that war, and for that purpose send out three hundred and six men in arms, who were all cut off by the enemy. Ap. Claudius decimates his army, because he had been unsuccessful in the war with the Veientians. An account of the wars with the Volscians, Æquians and Veientians; and of the dissensions between the patricians and plebeians.* [U. C. 245–286. B. C. 507–466.]

LIBER SECUNDUS

BOOK SECOND.

CHAP'S. I—X. XII. XIII. XXXIV—XL.

I.—Res gestas Romani populi jam hinc liberi,
The achievements of the Roman people, henceforward free,

annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora
their annual magistrates, and the authority of the laws, more powerful

quam hominum, peragam. Superbia
than *that* of men, I shall *now* detail.— The haughty insolence

proximi regis fecerat, quæ libertas
of the late king had caused this liberty

ut esset lætior: nam priores ita regnarunt,
to be the more welcome: for the former kings governed in such a manner,

ut omnes deinceps haud immerito numerentur
that they all in succession might be not undeservedly reckoned

conditores partium certe urbis, quas addiderunt
as founders of the parts at least of the city, which they added

novas sedes multitudinis auctæ ab se:
as new residences for the population augmented by themselves.

neque ambigitur, quin idem Brutus, qui
Nor is there a doubt, but that the same Brutus, who

meruit tantum gloriæ exacto superbo rege,
earned so much glory for expelling *that* haughty king,

facturus fuerit id pessimo publico, si
would have done so with the greatest injury to the state, if,

cupidine immaturæ libertatis extorsisset regnum
through an overhasty zeal for liberty, he had wrested the kingdom

alicui priorum regum. Enim quid
from any of the preceding kings. For what

futurum fuit, si illa plebs pastorum
would have been the result, if that rabble of shepherds

convenarumque— transfuga ex suis populis—
and strangers, fugitives from their own countries,

sub tutela inviolati templi adepta
having, under the protection of an inviolable asylum, obtained

aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem, soluta
[either] liberty or at least impunity, emancipated

metu regio, cœpta esset agitari
from the dread of kingly power, had begun to be distracted

tribuniciis procellis et serere certamina
by tribunician storms, and to engage in contests

cum patribus in aliena urbe, priusquam
with the patricians in a strange city, before

pignera conjugum ac liberorum caritasque
the pledges of wives and children, and love

ipsius soli, cui assuescitur longo tempore,
of the very soil, to which one becomes habituated *only* after a long time,

consociasset eorum animos? res nondum
had united their affections? The state not yet

adultæ forent dissipatæ discordia,
grown to maturity would have been torn to pieces by discord,

quas tranquilla moderatio imperii fovit que
which the tranquil moderation of the government *so* cherished, and

nutriendo perduxit eo, ut
by *due* nourishment brought forward to such a condition, that,

viribus jam maturis posset ferre
its powers being now ripened, it was capable of producing

bonam frugem libertatis. Autem originem libertatis
the glorious fruit of liberty. But the origin of liberty

numeres inde magis, quia
you may date from this period, rather because

consulare imperium factum est annuum, quam quod
the consular authority was made annual, than that

quidquam diminutum sit ex regia potestate:
any diminution was made from the kingly prerogative.

primi consules tenuere omnia jura,
The first consuls had all their privileges

omnia insignia: modo id cautum est, ne,
and [all] their ensigns of authority, only care was taken; lest,

si ambo haberent fasces, terror
if both had the fasces *at the same time*, the terror

videretur duplicatus. Brutus concedente collega
might appear doubled. Brutus, with the consent of his colleague

prior habuit fasces, qui non fuerat
was first attended by the fasces, who had not been

acrior vindex libertatis, quam fuit deinde custos.
a more zealous assertor of liberty than he was afterwards its guardian.

Primum omnium adegit populum avidum
First of all he bound over the people, *whilst still* enthusiastic

novæ libertatis jurejurando,
for their newly-acquired freedom, by an oath

passuros neminem regnare Romæ, ne
that they would suffer no one to be king in Rome, lest

postmodum posset flecti precibus aut donis
afterwards they might be perverted by the importunities or presents

regiis. Deinde, quo frequentia etiam ordinis
of the princes. Next in order, that the fulness [also] of their body

faceret plus virium in senatu, explevit
might produce more of strength in the senate, he filled up

numerum patrum diminutum regis cædibus
the number of the senators, diminished by the king's murders,

ad summam trecentorum, electis primoribus
to the amount of three hundred, having elected the principal men

equestris gradus: que inde fertur traditum
of the equestrian rank; and from thence is said to have been handed down

ut vocarentur in senatum, qui patres,
the custom of summoning to the senate *those*, who *were* patres,

quique conscripti: videlicet, appellabant
and those who *were* conscripti. Forsooth they styled

lectos in novum senatum conscriptos.
those *who were* elected into the new senate Conscripti.

Id mirum quantum profuit
It is wonderful how much that contributed

ad concordiam civitatis, jungendosque animos
to the concord of the state, and to attach the affection

plebis patribus.
of the commons to the patricians.

II.—Cura deinde habita rerum divinarum :
Attention was next given to matters of religion;

et, quia quædam publica sacra
and, because some public religious rites

factitata erant per reges ipsos,
had been *usually* performed by the kings in person,

ne esset desiderium regum ubiubi,
in order that there should be no want of one on any occasion,

creant regem sacrificulum : id sacerdotium
they elect a king of the sacrifices. This office

subjecere pontifici, ne honos
they made subject to the pontiff, *fearing* lest honor

additus nomini aliquid officeret
being joined to the title might in some shape be injurious

libertati, cujus tunc erat prima cura.
to liberty, which was then the first object of *their* concern.

Ac nescio an, muniendo eam undique nimis
And I know not whether, by fencing it on every side to excess,

minimisque rebus excesserint modum :
even in the most trivial matters, they may *not* have exceeded bounds;

enim, cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen
for when there was nothing else to offend, the name

alterius consulis fuit invisum civitati :
of one of the consuls became a subject of jealousy to the state.

Tarquinios nimium assuesse regno :
* That the Tarquinii had been too much habituated to sovereignty;

initium factum a Prisco, Ser. Tullium
the start was made by Priscus; that Servius Tullius

regnasse dein, quidem intervallo facto,
reigned next; that, even *though* an interruption *thus* occurred

Tarquinium Superbum ne oblitum regni,
Tarquinius Superbus, not losing sight of the kingdom

tamquam alieni, repetisse scelere ac vi,
as *the property* of another, had reclaimed it by crime and violence,

velut hereditatem gentis: Superbo pulso,
as the hereditary right of his family. That Superbus being expelled,

imperium esse penes Collatinum: Tarquinios
the government was in the hands of Collatinus: that the Tarquinii

nescire vivere privatos: nomen
knew not how to live in a private *station*; the name

non placere, esse periculosum libertati.
pleased them not; that it was dangerous to liberty."

Sermo tentantium animos
Such language by persons sounding the dispositions *of the people*

hinc primo sensim datus est per totam civitatem,
was at first gradually circulated through the entire state,

plebemque sollicitam suspicione Brutus vocat
and the commons *now* excited by jealousy, Brutus convenes

ad concionem. Ibi primum omnium
to an assembly. There first of all

recitat populi jusjurandum, passuros
he recites the people's oath: "that they would suffer

neminem regnare nec esse Romæ,
no one to be king nor anything *else* to be in Rome,

unde periculum foret libertati: id
whence danger might result to liberty. That this *resolution*

tuendum esse summa ope neque ullam rem,
ought to be maintained with all their might, nor anything,

quæ pertineat eo, contemnendam: se dicere
that might tend that way, ought to be overlooked; he mentioned it

invitum causa hominis, nec
with reluctance for the sake of the person *alluded to*, nor

dicturum fuisse, ni caritas
would he have mentioned it *at all*, did not his affection

reipublicæ vinceret: Romanum populum
for the commonwealth predominate; the Roman people

non credere solidam libertatem recuperatam esse:
did not think, that entire liberty had been recovered;

regium genus, regium nomen esse
the regal family, the regal name remained,

non solum in civitate, sed etiam in imperio
not only in the state, but even in the government

id officere, id obstare libertati: "tu,
that was unfavorable, that was injurious to liberty. Do you,

L. Tarquini," inquit, "tua voluntate
L. Tarquinius," says he, "do you, of your own accord,

remove hunc metum: meminimus, fatemur,
remove this apprehension. We remember, we acknowledge it,

ejecisti reges: absolve tuum beneficium,
you expelled the royal family; complete your kindness;

aufer hinc regium nomen: tuas res
take hence the royal name. Your property

tui cives non solum reddent tibi, me auctore,
your fellow-citizens shall not only restore to you, by my advice.

sed, si quid deest, munifice augebunt:
but, if anything is wanting, they will generously supply.

abi amicus: exonera civitatem
Depart in friendship. Deliver the state

forsitan vano metu: ita
from *this*, it may be, groundless apprehension; so *firmly*

persuasum est animis, cum Tarquinia gente
are they persuaded in mind, that *only* with the Tarquinian race

regnum abiturum hinc." Admiratio tam novæ
will kingly power depart hence." Astonishment at so extraordinary

ac subitæ rei primo inclusera
and sudden an occurrence at first impeded

consuli vocem: deinde incipientem dicere
the consul's utterance; then, when *he was* commencing to speak

primores civitatis circumsistunt.
the chief men of the state stand around him

multis precibus orant eadem.
and by many importunities urge the same request.

Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam
Others indeed affected him less. After

Spurius Lucretius, major ætate ac dignitate
Spurius Lucretius, *his* superior in age and rank

ipsius socer præterea, cœpit agere varie,
and his father-in-law besides, began to try various methods

rogando suadendoque alternis,
by entreating and advising alternately,

ut pateretur se vinci
that he would suffer himself to be overcome

consensu civitatis, consul timens,
by the general sentiment of the state, the consul, apprehending

ne postmodum illa eadem acciderent sibi
lest hereafter these same things might befall him

privato cum amissione bonorum,
when again in a private station, together with loss of property

aliaque addita insuper ignominia, abdicavit
and other additional disgrace, resigned

se consulatu, que translatis omnibus suis rebus
his consulship, and removing all his effects

Lavinium cessit civitate. Brutus
to Lavinium he withdrew from the state. Brutus,

ex consulto senatus tulit ad populum,
according to a decree of the senate, proposed to the people,

omnes Tarquiniæ gentis exsules essent:
that all *who were* of the Tarquinian family should be banished;

comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium,
and in an assembly of the centuries he elected P. Valerius,

quo adjutore ejecerat reges,
with whose assistance he had expelled the royal family,

sibi collegam.
for his colleague.

III.—Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset,
Though nobody doubted,

bellum imminere ab Tarquiniis, id quidem
that a war was impending from the Tarquins, *yet* that event

fuit serius omnium spe. Ceterum libertas
came later than *was* universally expected; but liberty

prope amissa est per dolum ac proditionem,
was well-nigh lost by treachery and fraud,

id quod non timebant. Erant in Romana juventute
a thing they had never apprehended. There were among the Roman youth

aliquot adolescentes, nec hi tenui loco orti,
several young men, and these, *too*, of no mean descent,

quorum libido in regno fuerat solutior,
whose license during the reign of the king had been unrestrained,

æquales sodalesque
being of the same age *with*, and companions

adolescentium Tarquiniorum, assueti vivere
of, the young Tarquins, *and* accustomed to live

regio more. Quærentes eam licentiam
in princely style. Longing for that licentiousness

tum, jure omnium æquato, conquerebantur
now *that* the privileges of all *were* equalized, they complained heavily

inter se libertatem aliorum vertisse
among themselves, that the liberty of others had been converted

in suam servitutem: regem esse hominem,
to their slavery: "that a king was a human being,

a quo impetres, ubi jus,
from whom you can obtain, where right,

ubi injuria opus sit: esse locum gratiæ,
or where wrong may be necessary; that there was room for favor

esse beneficio: posse et irasci et ignoscere:
and for kindness; that he could [both] be angry and could forgive;

nosse discrimen inter amicum atque inimicum.
that he knew a distinction between a friend and an enemy;

Leges esse surdam, inexorabilem rem
that laws were a deaf, inexorable thing,

salubriorem melioremque inopi, quam potenti,
more beneficial and advantageous for the poor than the rich;

habere nihil laxamenti nec veniæ,
that they allowed of no relaxation or indulgence,

si excesseris modum: esse periculosum
if you transgress bounds; that it was a perilous thing,

in tot humanis erroribus vivere
amid so many human errors, to live

sola innocentia. Animis jam
solely by *one's* integrity." *Whilst* their minds were already

ita ægris sua sponte, legati ab regibus
thus discontented of their own accord, ambassadors from the royal family

superveniunt sine mentione reditus
come unexpectedly, *who,* without *any* mention of their restoration,

repetentes tantum bona. Postquam verba
demand only their effects. After their application

audita sunt in senatu, ea consultatio
was heard in the senate, the deliberation on it

tenuit per aliquot dies; ne non reddita
lasted for several days; *fearing* lest the non-restitution

esset causa belli, reddita
might be a pretext for war, *and* the restitution

materia et adjumentum belli. Interim
a fund and assistance for war. In the meantime,

alii legati moliri alia,
the [different] embassadors were planning different *schemes;*

aperte repetentes bona, clam struere consilia
openly demanding the property, they secretly concerted measures

recuperandi regni: et ambientes, tamquam
for recovering the kingdom; and soliciting *them* as if

ad id, quod videbatur agi,
for the object which appeared to be under consideration,

pertentant animos adolescentium nobilium:
they sound the sentiments of the young nobles;

iis, a quibus oratio placide accepta est,
to those, by whom their proposals were favorably received,

reddunt litteras ab Tarquiniis, et
they delivered letters from the Tarquins, and

colloquuntur de accipiendis regibus clam
conferred with them about admitting the royal family privately

in urbem nocte.
into the city by night.

IV.—Res primo commissa est fratribus
The matter was first intrusted to brothers

Vitelliis que Aquiliis.
of the name of Vitellii and *those of the name of* Aquilii.

Soror Vitelliorum nupta erat Bruto consuli,
A sister of the Vitellii had been married to Brutus the consul,

que erant liberi ex eo matrimonio
and there were *two* sons *born* of that marriage,

jam adolescentes Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque
now grown up, Titus and Tiberius. These also

avunculi assumunt in societatem consilii.
their uncles admit into a participation of the plot

Præterea aliquot adolescentes nobiles et
[Besides] several young noblemen also

assumpti conscii, memoria quorum
were taken in as associates, the memory of whose *names, however*

abiit vetustate. Interim
has been lost from distance of time. In the mean time

cum sententia vicisset in senatu,
when *that* opinion had prevailed in the senate,

quæ censebat reddenda bona, que
which recommended the restitution of the property, and

legati haberent eam ipsam causam moræ
the ambassadors made use of this very *fact* as a pretext for delay

in urbe, quod sumpsissent a consulibus
in the city, because they had obtained from the consuls

spatium ad comparanda vehicula, quibus
time to procure carriages, by which

asportarent res regum, omne id tempus
they might convey away the effects of the princes; all this time

absumunt consultando cum conjuratis,
they spend in consulting with the conspirators,

instandoque evincunt, ut litteræ darentur sibi
and by pressing they prevail *so far*, that letters are given to them

ad Tarquinios: nam aliter qui eos credituros
for the Tarquins: for otherwise how were they to believe

afferri ab legatis super rebus tantis
that the report by the ambassadors on matters of such importance

non vana? Litteræ datæ, ut essent pignus
was not groundless? The letters, given to be a pledge

fidei fecerunt manifestum facinus.
of their sincerity, made known the plot;

Nam cum, pridie quam legati proficiscerentur
for when, the day before the ambassadors were to return

ad Tarquinios, et cenatum esset forte
to the Tarquins, they had supped by chance

apud Vitellios, conjuratique ibi,
at the house of the Vitellii, and the conspirators there,

remotis arbitris, egissent multa,
after the removal of the *other* persons present, discoursed much,

ut fit, de novo consilio, unus ex servis
as was natural, concerning their new enterprise, one of the slaves,

qui jam antea senserat id
who before this had discovered that such *a design*

agi, excepit eorum sermonem, sed
was in agitation, overheard their conversation; but

exspectabat eam occasionem, ut litteræ darentur
waited for this opportunity, until the letters should be given

legatis, quæ deprehensæ possent coarguere rem:
to the ambassadors, which, being seized, would prove the transaction;

postquam sensit datas, detulit rem
as soon as he perceived that they were delivered, he laid the matter

ad consules. Consules profecti domo
before the consuls. The consuls, having set out from home

ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque,
to apprehend the ambassadors and conspirators,

oppressere omnem rem sine tumultu:
crushed the whole affair without *any* tumult;

in primis cura habita litterarum, ne intercíderent.
particular care being taken of the letters, lest they should escape *them*.

Proditoribus extemplo conjectis in vincula, paululum
The traitors being immediately thrown into chains, a little

addubitatum est de legatis, et, quamquam
doubt was entertained respecting the ambassadors; and. though

visi sunt commisisse ut
they manifestly deported themselves *in such a way* as that

essent loco hostium, tamen
they should be *treated* as enemies, yet

jus gentium valuit.
the law of nations prevailed.

V —De bonis regiis, quæ ante censuerant
With respect to the effects of the princes, which they had before ordered

reddi, res refertur ad patres
to be restored, the business was *now* laid before the senate

integra. Victi ibi ira
afresh. Actuated entirely in the matter by resentment,

vetuere reddi, vetuere redigi
they forbade them to be restored, *and* forbade them to be converted

in publicum: data sunt diripienda
to the use of the state; they were given to be rifled

plebi, ut, contacta præda regia,
by the commons, so that, having shared in the plunder of the princes,

amitteret in perpetuum spem pacis cum iis.
they might lose for ever *all* hopes of a reconciliation with them.

Ager Tarquiniorum, qui fuit inter urbem ac Tiberim,
The land of the Tarquinii, which lay between the city and the Tiber,

consecratus Marti, fuit deinde
being consecrated to Mars, has from that time been *called*

Campus Martius. Dicitur seges farris
the Campus Martius. It is said a crop of corn

forte fuisse ibi tum, matura messi: quia
happened to be on it at the time, ripe for the harvest; and because

erat religiosum consumere quem fructum campi,
it would be an impiety to make use of this produce of the field,

magna vis hominum immissa simul segetem
a great number of men were sent in at once *to gather* the grain,

desectam corbibus cum stramento
after it was reaped. in baskets along with the straw,

fudere in Tiberim, fluentem
and throw them into the Tiber, which *then* flowed

tenui aqua, ut solet mediis caloribus:
in shallow water, as is usual in the middle of summer;

ita acervos frumenti hæsitantis in vadis
that thus the heaps of corn, as it stuck in the shallows,

sedisse illitos limo; et inde
became settled *when* covered over with mud, and by these means

eodem invectis aliis, quæ flumen
with the afflux of other materials, which the stream

temere fert, insulam paulatim factam :
happened to carry down, an island was gradually formed.

credo moles postea additas, que adjutum
I suppose that mounds were afterwards added, and assistance given

manu, ut area esset tam eminens,
by art, that the surface might be of the proper height,

firmaque sustinendis quoque templis
and be firm *enough* for sustaining [even] temples

ac porticibus. Direptis bonis regum
and porticoes. After plunder had been made of the effects of the princes,

proditores damnati, que supplicium sumptum,
the traitors were condemned and capital punishment inflicted,

eo conspectius, quod consulatus imposuit
this being the more remarkable, because the consulship imposed

patri ministerium capiendæ pœnæ de liberis,
on the father the office of visiting punishment on his *own* children;

et eum ipsum, qui amovendus erat spectator,
and him, who should have been removed as a spectator,

fortuna dedit exactorem supplicii.
fortune assigned *as* the person to exact the punishment.

Juvenes nobilissimi stabant deligati ad palum :
Young men of the highest quality stood tied to a stake;

sed consulis liberi averterant in se
but the consul's sons attracted [to themselves]

oculos omnium a ceteris, velut
the eyes of all *the spectators* from the rest *of the criminals*, as

ab capitibus ignotis, que non homines
from persons unknown; nor did the people

magis miserebat pœnæ quam sceleris,
feel more compassion for their punishment, than for the crime

quo meriti essent pœnam : ilios,
by which they had deserved *that* punishment. "That they,

eo anno potissimum, induxisse in animum
in tha' year particularly, entertained the design

ut proderent quondam superbo regi,
of betraying unto that whilom tyrannical king,

tum infesto exsuli, patriam liberatam,
then exasperated exile, their country *just* delivered.

patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum
their father its deliverer, the consulate *which had* commenced

ex Junia domo, patres, plebem, quidquid
in the Junian family, the patricians, commons, *and* whatever

esset deorum hominumque Romanorum.
belonged to the gods and to the citizens of Rome."

Consules processere in suam sedem, que lictores
The consuls seated themselves in their tribunal, and the lictors

missi ad sumendum supplicium: nudatos
were despatched to inflict punishment; stripped naked

cædunt virgis, securique feriunt,
they beat them with rods, and strike off their heads.

cum inter omne tempus pater—
whilst during all this time, the father,

vultusque et ejus os— esset spectaculo,
his looks and his countenance, presented a *touching* spectacle,

animo patrio eminente inter
the feelings of the father clearly appearing, in the midst of

ministerium publicæ pœnæ. Secundum
the execution of a public punishment. Next after

pœnam nocentium, ut esset nobile exemplum
the punishment of the guilty, that there might be a striking example

in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus, pecunia
in either way for the prevention of crime, a sum of money

ex ærario, libertas et civitas
out of the treasury, his freedom and the rights of a citizen

data præmium indici. Ille dicitur
were granted as a reward to the discoverer. He is said to have been

primum liberatus vindicta. Quidam putant
the first *person* made free by the vindicta; some think

quoque nomen vindictæ tractum ab illo:
even that the term "Vindicta" is derived from him,

ipsi nomen fuisse Vindicio. Post illum
his name having been Vindicius. After him

observatum, ut, qui liberati essent ita,
it obtained as a rule, that *those* who were made free in this manner,

viderentur accepti in civitatem.
were supposed to be admitted to the privileges of *Roman* citizenship.

VI.—His nuntiatis, sicut acta erant,
On these things being announced *to him*, as they had occurred,

Tarquinius incensus non solum dolore
Tarquin, inflamed not only with grief

ad irritum cadentis tantæ spei, sed odio
for the frustration of such great hopes, but with hatred

iraque etiam, postquam vidit viam obsæptam
and resentment also, when he saw that the way was blocked up

dolo, ratus moliendum
against stratagem, considering that he should have recourse

bellum aperte, circumire supplex urbes Etruriæ,
to war openly, went round as a suppliant to the cities of Etruria,

orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque,
and addressed himself particularly to the people of Veii and Tarquinii,

ne sinerent ortum se
"that they should not suffer him sprung from themselves,

ejusdem sanguinis, modo ex tanto regno
of the same blood, lately in possession of so great a kingdom,

extorrem egentem perire ante suos oculos
now exiled *and* in want, to perish before their eyes,

cum adolescentibus liberis. Alios accitos
together with the young men his sons. That others had been invited

Romam peregre in regnum:
to Rome from foreign countries to the throne;

se regem augentem Romanum imperium
that he, a king, extending the Roman empire

bello pulsum a proximis
by *his* arms, was driven out by those nearest *to him*

scelerata conjuratione: quia nemo unus
by a villainous conspiracy; that, as no one individual *among them*

visus sit satis dignus regno,
was deemed sufficiently deserving of the kingdom,

rapuisse partes regni inter se,
they had forcibly shared the *several* parts of it among themselves,

dedisse sua bona diripienda populo,
and had given up his property to be plundered by the populace

ne quis esset expers sceleris. Se velle
that no one might be free from *that* guilt. That he wished *such*

repetere patriam suum regnumque,
to recover his country and his kingdom,

et persequi ingratos cives: ferrent opem,
and to punish his ungrateful subjects. They should bring succor,

adjuvarent: quoque ultum irent
and aid him; they might also revenge

injurias suas veteres, legiones toties cæsas,
the wrongs *done to* them of old, their legions so often slaughtered,

agrum ademptum. Hæc moverunt
their land taken from them." These *arguments* prevailed on

Veientes, ac minaciter fremunt
the people of Veii, and with menaces they declare,

quisque pro se saltem duce Romano,
every one for himself, that *now* at least under the conduct of a Roman

ignominias demendas, que amissa bello
their *former* disgrace should be wiped off, and what *they* had lost in war

repetenda. Nomen ac cognatio movet
should be recovered. His name and relation *to them* had weight with

Tarquinienses: videbatur pulchrum suos
the people of Tarquinii; it seemed an honor that their *countrymen*

regnare Romæ. Ita duo exercitus
should reign at Rome. Thus two armies

duarum civitatium secuti Tarquinium,
of two states followed Tarquin,

ad repetendum regnum que persequendos bello
in order to recover his kingdom, and prosecute war against

Romanos. Postquam ventum est
the Romans. When they advanced

in Romanum agrum, consules eunt obviam
into the Roman territories, the consuls marched out to meet

hosti: Valerius ducit peditem quadrato agmine
the enemy. Valerius led up the foot in a square battalion,

Brutus cum equitatu antecessit
and Brutus with his cavalry marched before them

ad explorandum. Eodem modo eques fuit
to procure intelligence. In like manner the horse constituted

hostium primus agminis, Arruns Tarquinius
the enemy's vanguard; Arruns Tarquin.

filius regis præerat: rex ipse sequebatur
son of the king, commanded it; the king himself followed

cum legionibus. Arruns, ubi cognovit procul
with the legions. Arruns, when he perceived at a distance

ex lictoribus esse consulem, deinde
by the lictors, that it was a consul, *and* afterwards

jam propius ac certius
when now *approaching* nearer and *seeing* more distinctly, *discovered*

facie quoque Brutum, inflammatus ira,
by the face [also] that it was Brutus, became inflamed with rage

inquit, "ille est vir, qui expulit
and cried out, "That is the man, who has driven

nos extorres patria: en ipse ille
us *as* exiles from our country! see how he

incedit magnifice, decoratus nostris insignibus:
marches in state, decorated with our ensigns!

di ultores regum adeste."
ye gods, avengers of kings, assist me!"

Concitat calcaribus equum, atque dirigit infestus
He put spurs to his horse, and drove furiously

in ipsum consulem. Brutus sensit
against the consul. Brutus perceived

iri in se: erat decorum tum
that it was meant for him; *as* it was honorable at that time

ducibus ipsis capessere pugnam, avide offert
for generals themselves to engage in fight, he eagerly offered

se itaque certamini:
himself [on that account] to the combat:

que concurrerunt adeo infestis animis,
and they encountered one another with such furious animosity,

neuter memor protegendi sui corporis, dum
(neither thinking of guarding his own person, provided only

vulneraret hostem, ut uterque
he could wound his adversary,) that each of them,

transfixus per parmam ictu contrario,
transfixed through the buckler by the blow from the opposite *direction*,

lapsi sint moribundi ex equis, hærentes
fell lifeless from their horses, entangled together

duabus hastis. Pugna et cetera equestris
by the two spears. The engagement between the rest of the horse

cœpit simul, neque ita multo post
commenced at the same time, and not long after

pedites et superveniunt. Ibi pugnatum est
the infantry also came up. There they fought

varia victoria, et velut æquo Marte:
with doubtful success, and as it were with equal advantage;

dextera cornua utrimque vicere læva superata:
for the right wings of both armies were victorious, *and* the left worsted.

Veientes, assueti vinci ab Romano milite,
The Veientians, accustomed to be vanquished by the Roman troops,

fusi fugatique, Tarquinienses novus hostis
were routed and dispersed; the Tarquinienses, a new enemy,

non solum stetit, sed etiam ab sua parte
not only stood their ground, but even, on their side,

pepulit Romanum.
made the Romans give way.

VII.—Cum ita esset pugnatum,
Though such was the *issue of the* battle,

tantus terror incessit Tarquinium atque
yet so great a terror seized Tarquin and

Etruscos, ut ambo exercitus, Veiens
the Etrurians, that both armies, the Veientian

Tarquiniensisque, omissa re irrita
and the Tarquinian, giving up the matter *as* impracticable,

abirent nocte suas quisque domos. Adjiciunt
retired by night to their respective countries. They annex

miracula huic pugnæ: silentio
strange incidents to this battle,— that in the silence

proximæ noctis ingentem vocem editam
of the following night, a loud voice was uttered

ex Arsia silva; eam creditam vocem Silvani:
from the Arsian wood; that it was believed to be the voice of Silvanus

hæc dicta, plus Tuscorum uno
these words were spoken, "that more of the Etrurians by one

cecidisse in acie, Romanum vincere bello.
had fallen in the battle; that the Roman was victorious in the war."

Ita Romani certe abiere inde,
[Thus] the Romans certainly departed thence

ut victores, Etrusci pro victis: nam,
as conquerors, the Etrurians as vanquished; for

postquam illuxit, nec quisquam hostium erat
as soon as it was day, and not one of the enemy was now

in conspectu, P. Valerius consul legit spolia,
in sight, P. Valerius, the consul, collected the spoils,

que rediit inde triumphans Romam.
and returned thence in triumph to Rome.

Collegæ funus fecit, quanto apparatu
His colleague's funeral he celebrated with all the magnificence

tum potuit: sed multo majus decus morti
then possible; but a far greater honor to his death

fuit publica mæstitia, ante omnia insignis
was the public sorrow, singularly remarkable

eo, quia matronæ luxerunt eum,
in this *particular*, that the matrons mourned for him

ut parentem annum, quod fuisset
as for a parent, during a *whole* year, because he had been

tam acer ultor violatæ pudicitiæ. Deinde
so vigorous an avenger of violated chastity. Afterwards

orta consuli, qui superfuerat,— ut
there arose towards the consul, who survived, (so

mutabiles sunt animi vulgi,— ex favore
changeable are the minds of the people,) out of his popularity

non modo invidia, sed suspicio etiam
not only jealousy, but suspicion [also]

cum atroci crimine: fama ferebat
attended with an atrocious charge. Report represented

eum affectare regnum, quia nec subrogaverat
that he aspired to the sovereignty, because he had not substituted

collegam in locum Bruti, et ædificabat
a colleague in the room of Brutus, and was building *a house*

in summa Velia, ubi alto atque
on the summit of Mount Velia, where, from its lofty and

munito loco fieri inexpugnabilem arcem.
well-fortified situation, it would constitute an impregnable fortress.

Cum hæc dicta vulgo creditaque
When these things *these* circulated and believed

angerent consulis animum indignitate,
affected the consul's mind with indignation,

vocato populo ad concilium,
having summoned the people to an assembly,

ascendit in concionem, submissis fascibus. Id fuit
he mounts the rostrum, after lowering the fasces. It was

gratum spectaculum multitudini, insignia imperii
a grateful sight to the multitude, that the insignia of authority

submissa esse sibi, confessionemque factam
were lowered to them, and that an acknowledgment was made,

majestatem vimque populi esse majorem
that the majesty and power of the people were greater

quam consulis. Jussis audire ibi
than *that* of the consul. On their being called to silence there,

consul laudare fortunam collegæ, quod
the consul extolled the good fortune of his colleague, *how* that

liberata patria in summo honore
after delivering his country, *and being raised* to the highest post of honor

occubuisset mortem, dimicans pro republica,
he met with death, while fighting in defence of the republic

gloria matura, necdum vertente se
when his glory *was* in its maturity, and not yet converted

in invidiam: se superstitem
into jealousy; that he himself, having survived

suæ gloriæ superesse ad crimen
his glory, *now* remained *as an object* of accusation.

atque invidiam, ex liberatore patriæ
and calumny; that from the liberator of his country

se recidisse ad Aquilios Vitelliosque
he had fallen to the *level of the* Aquilii and Vitellii.

"eritne ulla virtus ergo" inquit "numquam
"Will no merit then," says he, "ever

adeo spectata a vobis, ut nequeat violari
be so tried and approved by you, as to be secure from the attacks of

suspicione? Ego timerem me ipsum,
suspicion? Could I apprehend that myself,

illum acerrimum hostem regum, subiturum
the bitterest enemy of kings, should fall under

crimen cupiditatis regni? Ego crederem
the charge of a desire of royalty? Could I believe that,

si habitarem in ipsa arce Capitolioque
even though I dwelt in the very citadel and the Capitol,

me posse metui a meis civibus? Mea fama
I could be dreaded by my fellow-citizens? Does my reputation

apud vos pendet tam levi momento? Estne fides
among you depend on so mere a trifle? Is my integrity

adeo leviter fundata, ut referat magis, ubi sim,
so slightly founded, that it matters more where I am,

quam qui sim? ædes Publii Valerii
than what I am? The house of Publius Valerius

non obstabunt vestræ libertati, Quirites:
shall not stand in the way of your liberty, Romans;

Velia erit tuta vobis: non modo deferam
the Velian mount shall be secure to you. I will not only bring down

ædes in planum, sed etiam
my house into the plain, but will [even]

subjiciam colli, ut vos habitetis supra me
fix it under the hill, that you may dwell above me,

suspectum civem: ædificent in Velia,
a suspected citizen. Let *those* build on the Velian *mount*,

quibus libertas melius creditur, quam P. Valerio."
to whom liberty is more safely intrusted, than to P. Valerius."

Confestim omnis materia delata
Immediately all the materials were brought down

infra Veliam, et domus ædificata
to the foot of the Velian *mount*, and the house was built

in infimo clivo, ubi Vicæ Potæ nunc est.
at the foot of the hill, where the temple of Victory now stands.

VIII.—Deinde leges latæ, quæ non solum
After this laws were proposed, which not only

absolverent consulem suspicione
cleared the consul of the suspicion

regni, sed quæ verterent adeo
of aiming at the regal power, but [which] tended so largely

in contrarium, ut etiam facerent popularem :
in the opposite direction, that they even rendered him popular :

inde cognomen Publicolæ factum est.
from thence the surname of Publicola was assigned *him*.

Ante omnes leges de provocatione ad populum
Above all, the laws concerning an appeal to the people

adversus magistratus sacrandoque capite
against the magistrates, and *that* devoting *both* the person

cum bonis ejus, qui inisset consilia
and property of any one, who should form a design

occupandi regni, fuere gratæ in vulgus.
of assuming regal authority, were acceptable to the people

Cum pertulisset quas solus,
And after he had passed these as being alone *in office*,

ut gratia in his esset unius sua,
in order that the merit in them might be exclusively his own,

tum deinde habuit comitia
he then held an assembly

subrogando collegæ. Sp. Lucretius creatus
for the election of a *new* colleague. Sp. Lucretius was chosen

consul, qui magno natu, viribus
consul, who *being* very old, *and* his strength

jam non sufficientibus ad obeunda
being now inadequate to discharge

consularia munera, moritur intra paucos dies
the consular duties, died in a few days.

M. Horatius Pulvillus suffectus
M. Horatius Pulvillus was substituted

in locum Lucretii. Apud quosdam veteres auctores
in the room of Lucretius. In some old writers,

nvenio non Lucretium consulem : suggerunt
I find no *mention of* Lucretius as consul ; they place

Horatium statim Bruto : credo
atius immediately after Brutus. I suppose

intercidisse memoria, quia nulla res gesta
he has escaped notice, because no important transaction

fecerit insignem consulatum. Jovis ædes
signalized his consulate. Jupiter's temple

in Capitolio nondum dedicata erat. Consules
in the Capitol had not yet been dedicated; the consuls

Valerius Horatiusque sortiti,
Valerius and Horatius cast lots

uter dedicaret. Evenit sorte Horatio:
which should perform the dedication. It fell by lot to Horatius.

Publicola profectus ad bellum Veientium.
Publicola departed to the war of the Veientians.

Necessarii Valerii tulere ægrius, quam erat dignum,
The friends of Valerius were more chagrined than was becoming,

dedicationem templi tam inclyti
that the dedication of a temple so celebrated

dari Horatio. Conati omnibus modis
should be given to Horatius. Having endeavored by every means

impedire id, postquam
to prevent that, when

alia tentata erant frustra, incutiunt
all other attempts had been tried in vain, they suddenly announce

consuli jam tenenti postem
to the consul, already holding the door-post

inter precationem deûm fœdum nuntium,
during his offering of prayer to the gods, the shocking intelligence,

ejus filium mortuum esse, que familia funesta
that his son was dead, and that, his family being defiled,

non posse dedicare eum templum. Non crediderit
he could not dedicate the temple. *Whether* he did not believe

factum an fuerit tantum roboris animo, nec
the fact, or possessed such great firmness of mind, is neither

traditur certum nec est interpretatio facilis:
handed down for certain, nor is a conjecture easy:

aversus a proposito ad eum nuntium
but diverted from his purpose at this intelligence

nihil aliud, quam ut juberet cadaver efferri,
in no other way than to order that the body should be buried,

tenens postem peragit precationem
still holding the post he finished his prayer,

et dedicat templum. Hæc gesta domi
and dedicated the temple. These were the transactions at home

militiæque primo anno post exactos reges:
and abroad the first year after the expulsion of the royal family.

inde P. Valerius iterum, T. Lucretius
After this P. Valerius, a second time, *and* Titus Lucretius

facti consules.
were elected consuls. [U. C. 246; B. C. 506.]

IX.—Jam Tarquinii perfugerant
By this time the Tarquins had fled

ad Lartem Porsinam, regem Clusinum. Ibi,
to Lars Porsena, king of Clusium. There,

miscendo consilium precesque,
mixing advice with their entreaties,

nunc orabant, ne pateretur se oriundos
"they at one time besought him not to suffer them, *who were* sprung

ex Etruscis, ejusdem sanguinis nominisque,
from the Etrurians, *and* of the same blood and name,

exsulare egentes, nunc monebant etiam, ne sineret
to live in exile and poverty; then advised him [also] not to let

orientem morem pellendi reges inultum:
this new practice of dethroning kings pass unpunished; *adding*

libertatem habere ipsam satis dulcedinis:
that liberty had *in* itself sufficient sweets;

nisi reges defendant regna tanta vi,
and unless kings defend their crowns with as much vigor

quanta civitates expetant eam summa
as the people pursue that *liberty*, that the highest *ranks*

æquari infimis:
must be reduced to a level with the lowest;

fore nihil excelsum, nihil quod emineat
there would be nothing exalted, nothing distinguished

supra cetera, in civitatibus: adesse
above the rest, in the community; there would soon be

finem regnis, pulcherrimæ rei
an end of regal government, the most beautiful institution

inter deos hominesque. Porsina,
both among gods and men." Porsena,

ratus amplum Tuscis, cum esse
thinking it were an honor to the Tuscans, both that there should be

regem Romæ, tum regem
a king at Rome, and *especially* one

Etruscæ gentis, venit Romam infesto exercitu.
of the Etrurian nation, advanced upon Rome with a hostile army.

Non umquam ante alias
Never before, on any other occasion

tantus terror invasit senatum, adeo valida erat
did so great terror seize the senate; so powerful was

res Clusina tum magnumque
the state of Clusium at the time, and *so* great

nomen Porsinæ. Nec ipsi modo timebant
the renown of Porsena. Nor did they only dread

hostes sed suosmet cives,
their enemies, but even their own citizens,

ne Romana plebs, perculsa metu,
lest the Roman populace, overcome by their fears,

receptis regibus in urbem, acciperet pacem
should, by receiving the royal family into the city, accept peace

vel cum servitute. Multa blandimenta
even at the price of slavery. Many conciliatory concessions

igitur data plebi ab senatu
were therefore granted to the commons by the senate

per id tempus: cura in primis
during that period. Their attention, in the first place,

habita annonæ, et missi alii in Volscos
was directed to the markets, and *persons* were sent, some to the Volscians,

alii Cumas ad comparandum frumentum:
others to Cumæ, to buy up corn.

arbitrium vendendi salis quoque quia venibat
The privilege of selling salt, also, as it was sold

impenso pretio, ademptum privatis
at an extravagant price, was taken away from private individuals,

omni sumptu in publicum :
all the expense incurred *being transferred* to the public treasury,

plebesque liberata portoriis et tributo,
and the people were freed from port-duties and taxes,

ut divites, qui essent ferendo oneri, conferrent :
that the rich, who were able to bear the burden, should contribute;

pauperes pendere stipendii satis,
that the poor paid tax enough,

si educent liberos Hæc indulgentia patrum
if they educated their children. This indulgent care of the fathers

itaque tenuit civitatem adeo concordem,
accordingly kept the *whole* state in such concord

postmodum asperis rebus in obsidione ac fame,
amid the subsequent severities in the siege and famine,

ut summi horrerent nomen regium non magis
that the highest abhorred the name of king no more

quam infimi, nec esset quisquam unus postea
than the lowest; nor was any single individual afterwards

tam popularis malis artibus, quam universus
so popular by intriguing practices, as the whole

senatus tum fuit bene imperando.
senate then was by their wise administration.

X.—Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque
As the enemy drew nigh, every one

demigrant ex agris in urbem,
removed hastily from the country into the city,

urbem ipsam sæpiunt præsidiis. Alia
which they encompass with guards. Some parts

videbantur tuta muris, alia objecto Tiberi.
seemed well-secured by the walls, others by the interposition of the Tiber

Sublicius pons pæne dedit iter
The Sublician bridge well-nigh afforded a passage

hostibus, ni fuisset unus vir
to the enemy, had there not been one man,

Horatius Cocles : id munimentum fortuna
Horatius Cocles, that defence the fortune

urbis Romanæ habuit illo die: qui
of Rome had on that day,) who,

forte positus in statione pontis, cum vidisset
happening to be posted on guard at the bridge, when he saw

Janiculum captum repentino impetu atque
the Janiculum taken by a sudden assault, and

hostes decurrere inde citatos,
that the enemy were pouring down from thence in full speed,

trepidamque turbam suorum
and the panic-stricken throng of his comrades

relinquere arma ordinesque, reprehensans singulos,
were abandoning their arms and ranks, laying hold of them one by one,

obsistens, obtestansque fidem deûm
standing in their way, and appealing to the faith of gods

et hominum, testabatur, nequidquam
and men, declared, that "it was in vain

eos fugere deserto præsidio: si transitum pontem
they fled after deserting their post; if they passed the bridge

reliquissent a tergo, jam fore plus hostium
and left it behind them, there would soon be more of the enemy

in Palatio Capitolioque, quam in Janiculo.
in the Palatium and Capitol, than in the Janiculum

Itaque monere, prædicere,
for that reason he advised *and* charged them

ut interrumpant pontem ferro igni
to demolish the bridge by their swords, fire,

quacumque vi possint:
or any other effectual means they could *command*;

se excepturum impetum hostium, quantum
that he would sustain the attack of the enemy as long as

posset obsisti uno corpore. Inde vadit
they could be withstood by one man." He then advances

in primum aditum pontis, insignisque
to the first entrance of the bridge, and *being* readily distinguished

inter conspecta terga cedentium pugnæ,
among those who showed their backs in retreating from the fight,

obversis armis ad ineundum cominus
by *his* facing to the front with his arms prepared for close

prœlium, stupefecit hostes ipso miraculo audaciæ.
combat, he astonishes the enemy by such wonderful intrepidity.

Duos tamen pudor tenuit cum eo,
Two, indeed, a sense of shame kept with him,

Sp. Lartium ac T. Herminium, ambos
Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, both of them

claros genere factisque. Cum his
men distinguished by birth and character. With them

parumper sustinuit primam procellam periculi
he for a short time stood the first storm of the danger,

et quod erat tumultuosissimum pugnæ:
and [what proved to be] the severest brunt of the battle;

quoque eos ipsos deinde coegit cedere
even these he eventually obliged to withdraw

in tutum, exigua parte pontis relicta,
to *a place of* safety, when *but* a small part of the bridge remained,

qui rescindebant revocantibus.
and those, who were cutting it down *were* calling them back.

Inde circumferens truces minaciter oculos
Then darting fierce menacing looks

ad proceres Etruscorum, nunc
at *each of* the leaders of the Etrurians, he sometimes

provocare singulos nunc increpare omnes,
challenged them singly, sometimes upbraided them all together,

servitia superborum regum immemores
"as slaves of haughty kings, *who,* regardless

suæ libertatis, venire oppugnatum alienam.
of their own freedom, came to oppress *the liberty of* others."

Aliquamdiu cunctati sunt, dum circumspectant
For a considerable time they hesitated, looking round

alius alium, ut incipiant prœlium. Pudor deinde
one at the other, to commence the fight. Shame, at length,

commovit aciem, et clamore sublato,
put the army in motion, and a shout being raised,

conjiciunt tela undique in unum hostem.
they pour their javelins from all sides against their single adversary;

Cum quæ cuncta hæsissent in scuto objecto,
and when they all stuck in the shield held before him,

ille neque minus obstinatus obtineret pontem
and he with no less obstinacy kept possession of the bridge

ingenti gradu, jam conabantur detrudere virum
with a lofty bearing, they now endeavor to force the warrior *from it*

impetu, cum simul fragor rupti pontis,
by *one* push, when at once the crash of the falling bridge,

simul clamor Romanorum, sublatus alacritate
at the same time a shout of the Romans, raised for joy

perfecti operis, sustinuit impetum
at having completed their purpose, checked their ardor

subito pavore. Tum Cocles inquit
with sudden panic. Then Cocles says,

"sancte pater Tiberine, precor te accipias
"Holy father Tiberinus, I beseech thee that thou wouldst receive

hæc arma et hunc militem propitio flumine."
these arms and this *thy* soldier in thy propitious stream.'

Ita sic armatus desiluit in Tiberim
And so armed as he was, he leaped into the Tiber,

multisque telis superincidentibus tranavit
and amid showers of darts which fell around him swam across

incolumis ad suos, ausus rem
safe to his party, having dared an act

habituram plus famæ quam fidei
which is likely to obtain more fame than credit

ad posteros. Civitas fuit grata erga
with posterity. The state was grateful towards

tantam virtutem: statua posita in comitio,
such valor; a statue was erected *to him* in the comitium,

quantum agri datum circumaravit uno die.
and as much land given him *as* he ploughed around in one day.

Studia privata quoque eminebant
The zeal of private persons, too, was conspicuous

inter publicos honores: nam in magna inopia,
among the public honors; for, amid the great scarcity,

unusquisque contulit aliquid ei pro copiis domesticis,
everyone contributed something to him, according to his supply at home,

ipse fraudans se suo victu.
abridging himself of his own *proper* support.

XII.—Obsidio erat nihilominus et
The siege continued notwithstanding, and

inopia frumenti cum summa caritate,
there was a scarcity of corn, with a very high price;

que Porsina habebat spem sedendo
and Porsena entertained hopes that by holding out

se expugnaturum urbem, cum C. Mucius,
he should become master of the city, when C. Mucius,

adolescens nobilis, cui videbatur indignum
a young nobleman, to whom it seemed a disgrace

Romanum populum, cum esset servientem
that the Roman people, while they were in bondage

sub regibus, nec nullo bello obsessum esse
under their kings, were never in any war besieged

ab ullis hostibus, eundem populum liberum
by any enemy, *and* that the same people *when* now free

obsideri ab iisdem Etruscis, quorum exercitus
were held besieged by those very Etrurians, whose armies

sæpe fuderit; ratus eam indignitatem
they had often routed, considering that such indignity

vindicandam aliquo magno audacique facinore,
ought to be avenged by some great and daring effort,

constituit itaque primo
resolved, therefore, in the first instance

penetrare in hostium castra sua sponte:
to penetrate into the enemy's camp of his own accord;

dein metuens, ne, si iret
but afterwards dreading lest, if he should go

injussu consulum et ignaris omnibus,
without the order of the consuls and the knowledge of any,

forte deprehensus a Romanis custodibus
he might be apprehended by the Roman guards

retraheretur ut transfuga— fortuna urbis
and be brought back as a deserter, (the circumstances of the city

tum affirmante crimen,— adit senatum:
at the time justifying the charge,) he went to the senate

"patres," inquit, "volo transire Tiberim, et intrare,
"Fathers," says he, "I intend to cross the Tiber, and to enter

si possim, hostium castra, non prædo, nec
if I can, the enemy's camp; not as a plunderer, or

ultor in vicem populationum: majus facinus
as an avenger, in our turn, of their depredations. A greater deed

est in animo, si dii juvant." Patres approbant:
is in my mind, if the gods assist." The senate gave their approbation,

proficiscitur ferro abdito intra vestem.
and he set out with a sword concealed under his garment.

Ubi venit eo, constitit
When he came thither, he stationed himself

in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal.
among the thickest of the crowd, near the king's tribunal.

Ibi cum forte stipendium daretur
There, when, as it happened, their pay was being delivered

militibus, et scriba sedens cum rege
to the soldiers, and a secretary, sitting beside the king,

ornatu fere pari ageret multa, eum
dressed nearly in the same style, was busily engaged, *and* to him

milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari,
the soldiers generally addressed *themselves;* being afraid to inquire

uter esset Porsena, ne ignorando regem
which was Porsena, lest by not knowing the king

ipse aperiret semet quis esset, quo fortuna
he should discover on himself [what he was,] as fortune

temere traxit facinus, obtruncat scribam
blindly directed the blow, he killed the secretary

pro rege. Cum vadentem inde, qua
instead of the king. When *as he was* going off thence, where

cruento mucrone ipse fecerat sibi viam
with his bloody dagger he had made his way

per trepidam turbam, concursu facto
through the dismayed multitude, a concourse being attracted

ad clamorem, regii satellites
at the noise, the king's life-guards

comprehensum retraxissent, destitutus ante
seized *and* brought him back; standing alone before

regis tribunal— quoque tum, inter
the king's tribunal, even then. in the midst of

fortunæ tantas minas, magis metuendas
fortune's severest threats, rather inspiring dread

quam metuens— "sum" inquit "Romanus civis,
than feeling it, "I am," says he, "a Roman citizen;

vocant C. Mucium: hostis volui occidere hostem,
they call me C. Mucius; as an enemy I intended to have slain an enemy,

nec est minus animi ad mortem quam fuit
nor have I less of resolution to *suffer* death than I had

ad cædem: et facere et pati fortia
to *inflict* it. Both to act and to suffer with fortitude

est Romanum. Nec unus ego gessi hos animos
is a Roman's part. Nor have I alone harbored such feelings

in te: est post me longus ordo petentium
towards you; there is after me a long train of persons aspiring to

idem decus: accingere proinde, si juvat,
the same honor. Prepare, therefore, if you choose,

in hoc discrimen, ut dimices tuo capite
for this peril,— to contend for your life

in singulas horas; habeas ferrum hostemque
every hour; to have the sword and the enemy

in vestibulo regiæ: hoc bellum
in the *very* porch of your pavilion; this *is the* war

Romana juventus indicimus tibi: timueris
we the Roman youth declare against you; fear

nullam aciem, nullum prœlium,
not an army in the field, nor a battle;

res erit tibi uni et cum singulis."
the affair will be to yourself alone and with each of us singly."

Cum rex, infensus ira simulque
When the king, inflamed with rage, and at the same time

conterritus periculo, minitabundus
terrified at the danger, in a menacing manner

juberet ignes circumdari, nisi propere expromeret
ordered fires to be kindled round *him*, unless he instantly explained

quos insidiarum minas jaceret sibi
what those plots *were, with which* he threatened him

per ambages: "en tibi," inquit,
in *those* ambiguous terms· "Behold *me*," said *Mucius*,

" ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit his,
" that you may be sensible of how little account the body is to those

qui magnam gloriam vident:" que injicit
who have great glory in view;" and *immediately* he thrusts

dextram foculo accenso
his right-hand into a chafing-dish of coals *which had been* lighted

ad sacrificium. Cum torreret quam velut
for the purpose of a sacrifice. And when he continued to broil it as if

alienato animo ab sensu, rex, attonitus prope
bereft of *all* sense of feeling the king, thunder-struck in a manner

miraculo, cum prosiluisset ab sua sede
by *such* surprising conduct, after he had leaped from his throne,

que jussisset juvenem amoveri ab altaribus,
and ordered the youth to be removed from the altars,

inquit, "Tu abi vero ausus
says, "Retire in safety, having had the resolution

hostilia magis in te quam in me.
to act the enemy more towards thyself than [to] me.

Juberem macte esse virtute, si ista virtus staret
I should wish a blessing on thy valor, if that valor stood

pro mea patria: nunc dimitto te hinc
on the side of my own country. I now dismiss you [hence]

intactum inviolatumque liberum jure belli."
untouched and unhurt, exempted from the right of war."

Tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum
Then Mucius, as if making return for the favor,

inquit "quando quidem apud te honos est
says, "Since with you honor attaches

virtuti, ut tuleris a me beneficio, quod
to bravery, that you may obtain from me by kindness what

nequisti minis: trecenti principes
you could not by threats, *know that* three-hundred of us, the chief

Romanæ juventutis conjuravimus, ut grassaremur
of the Roman youth, have conspired to proceed

in te hac via: fuit mea sors prima:
against you in this manner. It was my lot first.

ceteri aderunt quisque suo tempore.
The others will be with you, each in his turn.

utcumque ceciderit primi, quoad fortuna dederit
according as the lot shall set *him* foremost, until fortune shall afford

opportunum te.
an opportunity of you.

XIII.—Mucium dimissum, cui cognomen Scævolæ
Mucius being dismissed, to whom the surname of Scævola

postea inditum a clade dextræ manus legati
was afterwards given, from the loss of his right hand, ambassador

a Porsina secuti sunt Romam : et casus
from Porsena followed him to Rome. [Both] the contingency

primi periculi, quo nihil texisset se
of the first peril, from which nothing had protected him

præter errorem insidiatoris, et dimicatio subeunda
but the mistake of the assailant ; and the hazard he must undergo

toties, quot conjurati superessent,
as many times as there were conspirators still remaining,

moverat eum adeo, ut ultro ferret
affected him so deeply, that of his own accord he made

conditiones pacis Romanis. In conditionibus
propositions of peace to the Romans. During the negotiation

jactatum nequidquam de restituendis Tarquiniis
mention was made to no purpose of the restoration of the Tarquinii

in regnum, magis, quia ipse nequiverat negare id
to the throne, rather because he had been unable to refuse that

Tarquiniis, quam quod ignoraret negatum iri sibi
to the Tarquinii, than from not knowing that it would be refused to him

ab Romanis : de restituendo agro
by the Romans. *The point* respecting the giving up of their territory

Veientibus impetratum, necessitasque dandi obsides,
to the Veientes he carried, and the necessity of giving hostages,

si vellent præsidium deduci Janiculo,
in case they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from the Janiculum,

expressa Romanis. Pace composita his conditionibus,
was extorted from the Romans. Peace being concluded on these terms,

Porsina deduxit exercitum ab Janiculo,
Porsena withdrew his troops from the Janiculum,

et excessit Romano agro. C. Mucio
and marched out of the Roman territories. To Caius Mucius

dono causa virtutis patres dedere agrum
as a reward of his valor, the senate gave a tract of ground

trans Tiberim, quæ sunt postea appellata
on the other side of the Tiber, which was afterwards called

Mucia prata. Ita honorata virtute,
the Mucian meadows. Such honor being paid to courage,

quoque feminæ ergo excitatæ
even the other sex was [in consequence] excited

ad publica decora : et, cum castra Etruscorum
to *merit* public distinctions. [And,] as the camp of the Etrurians

forte locata essent haud procul ripa Tiberis,
happened to be pitched not far from the banks of the Tiber,

virgo Clœlia, una ex obsidibus,
a young lady *called* Clœlia, one of the hostages,

frustrata custodes, tranavit Tiberim
deceiving the guards, swam across the Tiber,

inter tela hostium dux agminis virginum,
amid the darts of the enemy, at the head of a band of maidens,

que restituit omnes sospites ad propinquos
and restored them all in safety to their relations

Romam. Ubi quod nuntiatum est regi,
at Rome. When information was brought of this to the king

primo incensus ira, misit oratores
being at first highly incensed, he sent deputies

Romam ad deposcendam obsidem Clœliam,
to Rome, to demand the hostage Clœlia;

haud facere magni alias : deinde versus
that he did not regard the others; afterwards, being changed

in admirationem, dicere id facinus esse
into admiration *of her courage*, he said "that this exploit was

supra Coclites Muciosque, et præ se ferre
superior to those of Cocles and Mucius," and declared

quemadmodum, si obses non dedatur,
that as, in case the hostage should not be given up

se habiturum fœdus pro rupto, sic deditam
he would consider the treaty as broken off, so, *if she were* surrendered

remissurum ad suos inviolatamque.
he would return her to her friends, and *that too* unharmed

Utrimque constitit fides: et Romani restituerunt
Both parties kept their faith: [both] the Romans restored

pignus pacis ex fœdere, et apud regem Etruscum
their pledge of peace according to treaty, and with the king of Etruria

virtus fuit non solum tuta, sed honorata etiam;
merit found not only security, but honor [also];

que dixit virginem laudatam
and he told the young lady, *after* complimenting her,

se donare parte obsidum, ipsa legeret,
that he made her a present of half the hostages, *and* that she should choose

quos vellet. Omnibus productis,
whom she liked. *When they were* all brought out,

dicitur elegisse impubes, quod
she is said to have picked out the very young boys, which

erat decorum virginitati et consensu
was *both* consonant to maiden delicacy, and by consent

obsidum ipsorum probabile, eam ætatem,
of the hostages themselves highly reasonable, that the age,

quæ esset maxime opportuna injuriæ,
which was most liable to injury,

potissimum liberari ab hoste.
should in preference be delivered from the *hands of the* enemy.

Pace redintegrata, Romani inde
The peace being reestablished, the Romans [thereupon]

donavere novam virtutem in femina
rewarded the uncommon *instance of* bravery in the woman

novo genere honoris, equestri statua:
with an uncommon kind of honor,— an equestrian statue;

virgo insidens equo posita fuit
the statue representing a lady sitting on horseback was placed

in summa Sacra via.
at the head of the Sacred street.

XXXIV.—Deinde consulibus M. Minucio
Some time after, in the consulship of M. Minucius

et A. Sempronio magna vis frumenti
and A. Sempronius, a great quantity of corn

advecta ex Sicilia, agitatumque in senatu
was imported from Sicily, and it was debated in the senate

quanti daretur plebi. Multi putabant
at what price it should be given to the commons. Many were of opinion

tempus venisse premendæ plebis recuperandique
that the time was come for putting down the commons, and for recovering

jura, quæ extorta essent patribus
these rights, which had been wrested from the patricians

secessione ac vi: in primis Marcius Coriolanus,
by secession and violence. In particular Marcius Coriolanus,

hostis tribuniciæ potestatis, inquit
an enemy to tribunitian power, says,

"si volunt annonam veterem, reddant
'if they desire provisions at the former rate, let them restore

patribus pristinum jus. Cur ego,
to the patricians their former rights. Why do I,

missus sub jugum, redemptus tamquam
after being sent under the yoke, *after* being ransomed, as it were,

ab latronibus, video plebeios magistratus, cur
from robbers, behold plebeian magistrates, and [why]

Sicinium potentem? Egone patiar
Sicinius invested with power? Shall I submit to

has indignitates diutius quam necesse est?
these indignities longer than is necessary?

Qui non tulerim regem Tarquinium,
Shall I, who would not have endured king Tarquin,

feram Sicinium? Nunc secedat,
tolerate Sicinius? Let him now secede,

avocet plebem. Via patet
let him call away the commons. The road is open

in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta
to the Sacred Mount and to other hills. Let them carry off the corn

ex nostris agris, quemadmodum rapuere
from our lands, as they did

tertio anno fruantur annona,
two years ago. Let them have the benefit of the state of the market,

quam fecere suo furore. Audeo dicere,
which they have occasioned by their own madness. I will venture to say,

domitos hoc malo, ipsos fore
that brought to reason by these sufferings, they will themselves become

cultores agrorum potius quam armati
tillers of the lands, rather than take up arms

ut prohibeant coli per secessionem."
to prevent their being tilled by their revolting."

Est haud tam facile dictu, faciendumne fuerit,
It is not so easy to say, whether it should have been done,

quam arbitror potuisse fieri, patres
as I think that it might have been practicable *for* the patricians,

conditionibus laxandi annonam,
on the condition of lowering the price of provisions,

ut demerent sibi et tribuniciam potestatem,
to have rid themselves of both the tribunitian power,

et omnia jura imposita invitis.
and all *other*-restraints imposed *on them* against their will.

XXXV.—Sententia et visa est senatui
This proposal both appeared to the senate

nimis atrox, et ira
too harsh, and from exasperation

prope armavit plebem: se jam peti
well-nigh drove the people to arms: "that they were now assailed

fame sicut hostes, fraudari:
with famine, as if enemies, that they were defrauded

cibo victuque: peregrinum frumentum,
of food and sustenance; that the foreign corn,

sola alimenta quæ ex insperato
the only support which, unexpectedly,

fortuna dederit, rapi ab ore,
fortune had given them, was to be snatched from their mouth,

nisi tribuni dedantur vincti Caio Marcio,
unless the tribunes were surrendered up in bonds to Caius Marcius,

nisi satisfiat de tergo Romanæ plebis:
unless he glut his rage on the backs of the Roman commons

eum sibi novum carnificem exortum,
that *is* him a [to them] new executioner had started up,

qui jubeat aut mori aut servire. Impetus
who ordered them to die or be slaves." An assault

factus esset in exeuntem e curia,
would have been made on him as he came out of the senate house,

ni tribuni peropportune dixissent diem.
had not the tribunes very opportunely appointed *him* a day for trial;

Ibi ira est suppressa : quisque
by this their rage was suppressed; everyone

videbat se factum judicem se dominum vitæ
saw himself become the judge, the arbiter of the life

necisque inimici. Primo Marcius audiebat
and death of his foe. At first Marcius heard

minas tribunicias contemptim : jus
the threats of the tribunes with scorn,— "That the authority

auxilii non pœnæ datum
for *affording* protection, not for *inflicting* punishment, had been granted

illi potestati, que esse tribunos plebis
to that office; and they were tribunes of the commons

non patrum. Sed plebs erat coorta
not of the patricians." But the commons had risen

adeo infensa, ut defungendum esset
with such violent determination, that safety had to be purchased

patribus pœna unius. Restiterunt
for the patricians by the punishment of one. They resisted,

tamen adversa invidia usique sunt
however, in spite of *the popular* odium, and employed,

quisque qua suis viribus, qua
each individual as well his own powers, as

totius ordinis : ac primo res tentata est,
those of the entire order. And first, the trial was made,

si possent disjicere rem dispositis
whether they could upset the affair, by posting

clientibus, absterrendo singulos
their clients *in several places*, by deterring individuals

a coitionibus conciliisque : deinde
from *attending* the meetings and cabals. Afterward

universi processere— diceres
they all came forth in a body, (you would suppose

quidquid erat patrum reos— precibus exposcentes
that every one of the senators was on *his* trial,) earnestly entreating

plebem, si nollent absolvere innocentem,
the commons, *that* if they would not acquit as innocent,

sibi donarent pro nocente
they should, on their request, *at least*, pardon as guilty,

unum civem unum senatorem. Cum ipse
one citizen, one senator. As he himself

non adesset die dicta, perseveratum est
did not appear on the day appointed, they persisted

in ira. Damnatus absens
in their resentment. Being condemned in his absence,

abiit exsulatum in Volscos, minitans
he went into exile to the Volscians, uttering menaces

patriæ que jam tum
against his country, and even then

gerens spiritus hostiles. Volsci
breathing the resentment of an enemy. The Volscians

excepere benigne venientem, colebantque
received him kindly on his arrival, and treated him

benignius in dies quo major
still more kindly every day in proportion as

ira in suos eminebat,
his resentful feelings towards his *countrymen* became *more* striking,

que nunc crebræ querelæ nunc minæ
and one time frequent complaints, another time threats

percipiebantur. Utebatur hospitio Attii Tullii:
were heard. He enjoyed the hospitality of Attius Tullius,

is erat tum longe princeps
who was then much the foremost man

Volsci nominis, semperque infestus
of the Volscian people, and always an inveterate enemy

Romanis: ita, cum vetus odium
to the Romans. Thus, when old animosity

stimularet alterum, recens ira alterum,
stimulated the one, recent resentment the other

conferunt consilia de bello Romano.
they concert schemes for *bringing about* a war with Rome

Credebant suam plebem posse haud
They judged, *however*, that their people could not

facile impelli, ut caperent arma toties
easily be persuaded to take up arms, so often

infeliciter tentata: multis sæpe bellis,
unsuccessfully tried; that by the many frequent wars,

postremo amissa juventute pestilentia,
and lately by the loss of their young men in the pestilence,

spiritus fractos esse: agendum arte
their spirits were broken; that recourse must be had to art

in odio jam exoleto
in view of their animosity having now become blunted

vetustate, ut animi exacerbarentur
from length of time, so that their feelings might become exasperated

aliqua recenti ira.
by some fresh *cause of* resentment.

XXXVI.—Forte parabantur
As it happened, preparations were making

Romæ ex instauratione magni ludi.
at Rome for a repetition *of* the great games;

Causa instaurandi fuerat hæc: mane
the cause of repeating them was this: on the morning

ludis, spectaculo nondum commisso,
of the games, the show having not yet commenced,

quidam paterfamiliæ cæsum servum
a certain master of a family, after flogging his slave

sub furca egerat medio circo.
loaded with a neck-yoke, had driven him through the middle of the circus;

Inde ludi cœpti, velut ea res
after this the games were commenced, as if this affair

nihil pertinuisset ad religionem. Haud ita multo post
had no relation to religion. Not long after

somnium fuit Tito Latinio, homini de plebe
a vision appeared to Titus Latinius, one of the plebeians

Jupiter visus dicere, præsultatorem
Jupiter seemed *to him* to say, "that the person who danced previous

ludis displicuisse sibi: nisi
to the games had displeased him; *and*, unless

ii ludi instaurentur magnifice
these games were repeated on a magnificent scale

periculum fore urbi: iret,
danger might accrue to the city; that he should go,

nuntiaret ea consulibus. Quamquam animus
and announce these things to the consuls." Although his mind

erat haud sane liber religione,
was not altogether free from superstitious feelings,

tamen verecundia majestatis magistratuum
yet his respectful awe of the dignity of the magistrates

vicit timorem, ne abiret in ora hominum
overcame his *religious* fear, lest he might pass into the mouths of people

pro ludibrio. Ea cunctatio stetit illi magno,
as a laughing-stock. This delay cost him dear:

namque amisit filium intra paucos dies.
for he lost his son within a few days;

Ne causa cujus repentinæ cladis esset dubia,
and lest the cause of this sudden disaster should be doubtful,

illa eadem species obversata in somnis
that same phantom, appearing in his sleep

ægro animi visa est rogitare,
to him sorrowful in mind, seemed to ask him,

satin' haberet magnam mercedem spreti numinis:
whether he had received a sufficient requital for his contempt of the deity;

majorem instare, ni eat propere
that a still greater awaited him, unless he went immediately,

ac nuntiet consulibus.
and delivered the message to the consuls.

Res erat jam præsentior. Cunctantem tamen
The matter was now still more pressing. Hesitating, however,

ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est
and delaying, a severe stroke of disease took him

subita debilitate. Tunc enim vero
with a sudden paralysis. Then of a truth

ira deorum admonuit. Fessus igitur
the anger of the gods aroused him. Wearied out therefore

præteritis malis instantibusque,
by his past sufferings and by those threatening *him*,

adhibito consilio propinquorum, cum
having called a council of his intimate friends, after

exposuisset visa atque audita,
he had detailed *to them* *all* he had seen and heard,

et Jovem toties obversatum somno,
and Jupiter's having so often presented himself *to him* in his sleep,

minas irasque cœlestes repræsentatas
the threats and anger of heaven realized

suis casibus, haud dubie consensu
in his own calamities, by the unhesitating assent

omnium, qui aderant, inde defertur
of all who were present, he is [thereupon] carried

lectica in forum ad consules,
in a litter into the forum to the consuls;

inde delatus consulum jussu in curiam,
from thence being conveyed by their order into the senate-house,

cum enarrasset illa eadem
after he had stated those same particulars

patribus ingenti admiratione omnium,
to the senators, to the utter astonishment of all,

ecce aliud miraculum: traditum memoriæ est, eum,
behold, another miracle! It is recorded, that he,

qui delatus esset in curiam captus
who had been conveyed into the senate-house deprived of the use

omnibus membris, redisse domum suis pedibus
of all his limbs, returned home on his own feet

functum officio.
after he discharged his duty.

XXXVII.—Senatus decrevit, ut ludi
The senate decreed, that the games

fierent quam amplissimi.
should be celebrated on as grand a scale as possible

Ad eos ludos magna vis Volscorum venit,
To these games a great number of Volscians came

auctore Attio Tullio. Priusquam ludi
by the advice of Attius Tullius. Before the exhibitions

committerentur, Tullius— ut fuerat compositum
were commenced, Tullius, as had been concerted

domi cum Marcio— venit ad consules,
at home with Marcius, comes to the consuls;

dicit esse quæ velit
and tells them that there were *matters* on which he wished

agere secreto de republica.
to treat *with them* in private concerning the commonwealth.

Arbitris remotis inquit "invitus
All witnesses being removed, he says, "With reluctance

loquor de meis civibus, quod sequius sit.
I say *that* of my countrymen, which is rather disparaging.

Non tamen venio criminatum
do not however come to allege *against them*

quidquam admissum ab his
anything *as* having been committed by them,

sed cautum ne admittant
but to caution them lest they should commit *anything.*

Ingenia nostrorum sunt nimie plus mobilia
The minds of our people are far more fickle

quam velim. Sensimus id multis cladibus,
than I could wish. We have felt that by many disasters;

quippe qui simus incolumes
seeing that we are *still* preserved

non nostro merito sed vestra patientia.
not through our own deserts, but through your forbearance.

Est nunc hic magna magnitudo Volscorum.
There is now here a great multitude of Volscians.

Ludi sunt. Civitas erit intenta
The games are going on. The city will be intent

spectaculo. Memini, quid commissum sit
on the exhibition I remember what has been committed

in hac urbe per eandem occasionem, juventute
in this city on a similar occasion, by the youth

Sabinorum. Animus horret, ne quid
of the Sabines. My mind shudders lest anything

fiat inconsulte ac temere.
should be perpetrated inconsiderately and rashly.

Ratus sum, hæc nostra causa
I considered, that these matters should *both* for our own sake

vestraque dicenda prius vobis,
and for yours be mentioned before-hand to you

consules. Quod attinet ad me, est in animo
who are consuls. With regard to myself, it is my determination

abire hinc domum extemplo, ne præsens
to depart hence home immediately, lest, if present,

violer contagione cujus facti
I may be affected by the contagion of any word

dictive." Locutus hæc abiit.
or deed." Having said this, he departed.

Cum consules detulissent ad patres rem
When the consuls laid before the senate the matter

dubiam sub certo auctore,
unsupported by proof, *though* from creditable authority,

auctor magis quam res, ut fit,
the authority more than the thing *itself*, as usually happens,

movit ad præcavendum vel ex supervacuo,
determined *them* to use precautions even though unnecessary;

que consulto senatus facto, ut
and a decree of the senate being passed, that

Volsci excederent urbem, præcones
the Volscians should retire from the city, criers

dimittuntur, qui juberent eos omnes
are sent in different directions, to order them all

proficisci ante noctem. Ingens pavor
to depart before night. A great panic

perculit primo discurrentes in hospitia
struck them at first as they ran about to their lodgings

ad tollendas suas res: deinde proficiscentibus
to take away their effects. Afterwards *when* setting out,

indignatio oborta, ut se
indignation arose *in their breasts:* that they,

conscelleratos contaminatosque abactos esse
as if polluted with crime and contaminated, were driven away

ab ludis, festis diebus, cœtu
from the games, on festival days, from the converse,

quodam modo hominum deorumque.
in a manner, of men and gods.

XXXVIII.—Cum irent prope continuato agmine,
As they went along in an almost continuous train,

Tullius prægressus ad caput Ferentinum,
Tullius having preceded *them* to the fountain of Ferentina,

excipiens primores eorum, ut quisque eveniret,
accosting the chiefs among them, as each arrived,

quærendo indignandoque deduxit et eos ipsos
by asking questions and expressing indignation, led both themselves,

sedulo audientes verba secunda iræ,
who greedily listened to expressions congenial to their resentment,

et per eos aliam multitudinem in campum
and through them the rest of the multitude, into a plain

subjectum viæ. Ibi exorsus orationem
adjoining the road. There having commenced an address

in modum concionis, inquit,
after the manner of a public harangue, he says,

"ut obliviscamini veteres injurias
"Though you were to forget the former ill-treatment

Romani populi cladesque gentis
at the hands of the Roman people, and the calamities of the nation

Volscorum— omnia alia, quo animo
of the Volsci, *and* all other such matters, with what feelings,

tandem fertis hanc contumeliam
pray, do you bear this outrage

hodiernam, qua commisere ludos
offered you to-day, whereon they have commenced their games

per nostram ignominiam? An non sensistis
by insulting us? Or did you not perceive

triumphatum esse de vobis hodie? Vos
the triumph had over you this day? that you

abeuntes fuisse spectaculo omnibus—
when departing were a spectacle to all,

civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis,
citizens, foreigners, so many neighboring states?

vestras conjuges, vestros liberos traductos
that your wives, your children were exposed

per ora hominum? Quid putatis
before the eyes of the public? What do you suppose

existimasse eos, qui audivere
to have been the sentiments of those who heard

vocem præconis, quid, qui videre vos abeuntes,
the voice of the crier? what *of those* who beheld you departing?

quid eos, qui fuere obvii huic ignominioso agmini,
what of those who met this disgraceful cavalcade?

nisi aliquid profecto nefas esse: quo
what except that some enormous impiety attaches to *us*, by which

simus, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi ludos,
we should, if present at the exhibition, contaminate the games,

que merituri piaculum, ideo
and render necessary an expiatory sacrifice; *and* that therefore

nos abigi ab sede piorum
we were driven away from the residences of these pious people,

cœtu concilioque? Quid illud non succurrit
from their converse and meeting? What, does it not strike you,

nos deinde vivere, quod maturarimus proficisci?—
that we still live, because we hastened our departure?

si hoc est profectio et non fuga.
if this is a departure and not a flight.

Et vos non ducitis hanc urbem hostium,
And do you not consider this *to be* the city of enemies,

ubi si morati essetis unum diem,
where, if you had delayed a single day,

omnibus moriendum fuit? Bellum indictum est vobis
you must have all died? War has been declared against you,

magno malo eorum, qui indixere, si estis viri."
to the heavy injury of those, who declared it, if you are men."

Ita, et sua sponte pleni irarum
Thus, being both of themselves charged with resentment

et incitati, inde digressi sunt domos,
and incited, *by this harangue,* they separated to their *several* homes

instigandoque quisque suos populos
and, by instigating each his own state,

efficere, ut omne Volscum nomen
brought *matters* to such a pass, that the whole Volscian nation

deficeret.
revolted.

XXXIX.—Imperatores lecti ad id bellum
The commanders, appointed for this war

de sententia omnium populorum Attius Tullius
by the unanimous choice of all the states, *were* Attius Tullius

et C. Marcius, Romanus exsul, in quo
and Caius Marcius the Roman exile, on *the latter of* whom

repositum aliquanto plus spei: quam spem
they reposed by far the greater part of their hopes; and this hope

nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret
he by no means disappointed: so that it clearly appeared

Romanam rem esse validiorem
that the Roman commonwealth was more powerful

ducibus quam exercitu. Profectus Circeios,
by reason of its generals than its army. Having marched to Circeii,

primum expulit inde Romanos colonos,
he first expelled from thence the Roman colonists,

que tradidit eam urbem liberam Volscis:
and delivered that city in a state of freedom to the Volscians.

inde transgressus transversis tramitibus
From thence passing across *the country* through by-roads

in Latinam viam, ademit Romanis
into the Latin way, he deprived the Romans of

hæc novella oppida, Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam,
their lately-acquired towns, Satricum, Longula, Polusca,

Coriolos, Bovillas: inde recipit Lavinium,
Corioli, Bovillæ. He next retook Lavinium;

tum cepit deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam,
and then took in succession Corbio, Vitellia.

Trebiam, Labicos, Pedum: a Pedo postremum
Trebia, Lavici, *and* Pedum. From Pedum, lastly,

ducit ad urbem, et positis castris
he marches to the city, and having pitched his camp

ad Cluilias fossas, quinque millia passuum ab urbe,
at the Cluilian trenches five miles from the city,

inde populatur Romanum agrum, custodibus missis
he from thence ravages the Roman territory, guards being sent

inter populatores, qui servarent agros patriciorum
among the plunderers to preserve the lands of the patricians

intactos, sive infensus magis plebi
intact; either *as* being incensed chiefly against the plebeians,

sive ut discordia inde oriretur inter patres
or in order that dissension might [thence] arise between the senators

plebemque. Quæ profecto orta esset,
and people. And this certainly would have arisen,

adeo tribuni criminando in primores
so powerfully did the tribunes, by inveighing against the leading men

civitatis instigabant plebem jam ferocem
of the state, incite the plebeians already *sufficiently* violent

per se: sed timor externus,
of themselves; however, their dread of a foreign enemy,

maximum vinculum concordiæ, jungebat inter se animos
the strongest tie of concord, united their minds,

suspectos infensosque quamvis. Id modo
distrustful and rancorous though *they were*. This alone

non conveniebat, quod senatus consulesque
was a point of disagreement, that the senate and consuls

ponebant spem nusquam alibi quam in armis,
rested their hopes on nothing else than on arms;

plebes quam malebat omnia bellum. Sp. Nautius
the plebeians preferred anything to war. Sp. Nautius

et Sex. Furius jam erant consules.
and Sex. Furius were now consuls.

Recensentes legiones, distribuentes præsidia
Whilst *they were* reviewing the legions, posting guards

per muros aliaque loca, in quibus
along the walls and other places, where

placuerat esse stationes vigiliasque,
it was thought proper there should be posts and watches,

ingens multitudo poscentium pacem
a vast multitude of persons demanding peace

conterruit eos primum seditioso clamore,
terrified them at first by their seditious clamor;

deinde coegit vocare senatum, referre
then compelled them to convene the senate, to consider the question

de mittendis legatis ad C. Marcium. Patres
of sending ambassadors to C. Marcius. The senate

acceperunt relationem, postquam apparuit animos
entertained the question, after it became evident that the spirits

plebis labare; que oratores missi
of the plebeians were giving way; and deputies being sent

ad Marcium de pace retulerunt atrox responsum:
to Marcius concerning peace, brought back a harsh answer:

si ager redderetur Volscis, posse
"If their lands were restored to the Volscians, that they might then

agi de pace: si velint frui
consider the question of peace; if they were disposed to enjoy

præda belli per otium, se memorem
the plunder of war at their ease that he, mindful

et injuriæ civium, et beneficii
both of the injustice of his countrymen, as well as of the kindness

hospitum adnisurum ut appareat,
of strangers, would do his utmost to make it appear,

sibi animos irritatos esse exsilio non fractos.
that his courage was irritated by exile, not depressed.

Deinde iidem missi iterum
When the same persons are sent back a second time

non recipiuntur in castra. Traditum est,
they are not admitted into the camp. It is recorded,

sacerdotes quoque, velatos suis insignibus,
that the priests also, arrayed in their insignia,

isse supplices ad hostium castra:
went as suppliants to the enemy's camp;

nihilo flexisse animum magis quam legatos.
and that they did not influence his mind more than the ambassadors.

XL.—Tum matronæ coeunt frequentes
Then the matrons assemble in a body

ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, que
around Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and

uxorem Volumniam. Id fuerit
his wife Volumnia: *whether this* was

consilium publicum an muliebris timor,
a scheme of government, or *the result of* the women's fear,

parum invenio: certe pervicere, ut
I cannot ascertain. They certainly carried their point, that

et Veturia, mulier magno natu, et Volumnia
[both] Veturia, a lady advanced in years, and Volumnia,

ferens duos parvos filios ex Marcio,
leading her two little sons by Marcius,

secum irent in castra hostium; et,
should go with them to the camp of the enemy, and,

quoniam viri non possent defendere urbem
as men were unable to preserve the city

armis, mulieres defenderent precibus
by arms, that women should defend it by entreaties

lacrimisque. Ubi ventum est ad castra
and tears. When they arrived at the camp,

nuntiatumque est Coriolano, ingens agmen mulierum
and it was announced to Coriolanus, that a great procession of women

adesse— ut qui motus esset
was approaching, he, as *being* one who had been moved

nec majestate publica in legatis,
neither by the majesty of the state, in its ambassadors,

nec religione tanta offusa
nor by *the sanctity of* religion so strikingly addressed

oculis animoque in sacerdotibus— erat
to his eyes and understanding in its priests, was

multo obstinatior adversus muliebres lacrimas.
much more obdurate against the women's tears.

Dein quidam familiarium, qui
Then one of his acquaintances, who

cognoverat Veturiam insignem inter ceteras
recognized Veturia, distinguished from all the others

mæstitia stantem inter nurum
by her sadness, standing between her daughter-in-law

nepotesque, inquit, "nisi oculi frustrantur me,
and grand-children, says, "Unless my eyes deceive me,

tibi mater conjuxque et liberi
your mother and wife and children

adsunt." Cum Coriolanus, prope ut amens,
are coming." When Coriolanus, almost like one distracted,

consternatus ab sua sede ferret
rushing in consternation from his seat, offered

complexum matri obviæ, mulier
to embrace his mother as she met *him*, the lady,

versa ex precibus in iram inquit,
turning from entreaties to angry rebuke, says,

"priusquam accipio complexum, sine sciam
"Before I receive your embrace, let me know

venerim ad hostem an ad filium,
whether I am come to an enemy or to a son;

sim in tuis castris captiva materne.
whether I am in your camp a prisoner or a mother.

Longa vita et infelix senecta traxit me in hoc.
Has length of life and a hapless old age reserved me for this—

ut viderem te exsulem, deinde hostem?
to behold you an exile, then an enemy?

Potuisti populari hanc terram, quæ te genuit
Can you lay waste this land, which gave you birth

atque aluit? Quamvis perveneras
and nurtured you? Though you had come

infesto et minaci animo, non ira cecidit
with an incensed and vengeful mind, did not your resentment subside

tibi ingredienti fines? Cum Roma
on your entering its borders? When Rome

fuit in conspectu, non succurrit intra
came within view, did it not recur to you,— 'within

illa mœnia mei domus ac penates sunt,
those walls my house and guardian gods are,

mater, conjux liberique? Ergo,
my mother, wife and children?' So then,

nisi ego peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur,
had I not been a mother, Rome would not be besieged:

nisi haberem filium, mortua essem libera
had I not a son, I might have died free

in libera patria: sed ego possum
in a free country. But I can

jam pati nihil nec turpius tibi
now suffer nothing *that is* not more discreditable to you

quam miserius mihi, nec, ut miserrima sum,
than distressing to me; nor, however wretched I may be,

futura sum diu: videris de his, quos,
shall I be *so* long. Look to these, whom,

si pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa
if you persist, either an untimely death or prolonged

servitus manet." Uxor ac liberi
bondage awaits." His wife and children

deinde amplexi, fletusque
then embraced *him*, and the lamentation

ortus ab omni turba mulierum,
proceeding from the entire crowd of women,

et comploratio sui patriæque, tandem
and their bemoaning themselves and their country, at length

fregere virum. Inde complexus suos
overcame the man. Then, *after* embracing his *family*,

dimittit, et ipse movit castra
he sends them away; and himself moved his camp

retro ab urbe. Deinde
farther back from the city. Some time after

abductis legionibus ex Romano agro, tradunt
when he had drawn off his troops from the Roman terrritory, they say

perîsse oppressum invidia rei,
that he lost his life, overwhelmed by the odium of the proceeding:

alii alio leto: invenio
different *writers say* by different modes of death: I find

apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem,
in Fabius, far the most ancient writer,

eundem vixisse usque ad senectutem: refert certe,
that he lived even to old age; he states positively,

exacta ætate — eum sæpe usurpasse hanc vocem
that, advanced in years, — he frequently made use of this phrase,

exsilium esse multo miserius — seni.
"That exile bore much the heavier — on the aged."

Viri Romani — non inviderunt — sua laude
The men of Rome — were not remiss — in *awarding* their praises

mulieribus: — adeo — vivebatur
to the women, — so truly — did they live

sine obtrectatione — gloriæ alienæ: — templum
without detracting from — the merit of others; — a temple

ædificatum est — quoque — dedicatumque
was built — also, — and dedicated

muliebri Fortunæ, — quod esset monumento.
to female Fortune, — [which was] to serve as a monument.

CONTENTS OF BOOK III

I, etc. *Disturbances about the Agrarian laws. The Capitol seized by exiles and slaves. Quintius Cincinnatus called from the cultivation of his farm to conduct a war against the Æquans; vanquishes them, and makes them pass under the yoke. The number of the tribunes of the people augmented to ten. Ten magistrates, called decemvirs, invested with the authority of the consuls, and of all other magistrates, are appointed for the purpose of digesting and publishing a body of laws. These, having promulgated a code of laws, contained in ten tables, obtain a continuation of their authority for another year, during which they add two more to the former ten tables. Refusing to resign their office, they retain it a third year. Their conduct at first equitable and just; afterwards arbitrary and tyrannical.* XLIV. *An end is made of their odious administration through the unbridled lust of Appius Claudius, one of their number, who, having conceived a passion for a young woman of plebeian rank, secretly dispatches one of his clients to claim her as his slave; subsequently imposes on her father the dire necessity of snatching a butcher's knife from an adjoining shed, and putting an end to his daughter's life,—seeing that he could not otherwise save her from being led to prostitution.* L–LIX. *The commons provoked by an act of such flagrant injustice, seize on the Aventine mount, and compel the decemvirs to resign their office. Appius and Oppius, two of the most obnoxious, are thrown into prison, where they put a period to their own lives; the rest are banished.* LX. etc. *War with the Sabines, Volscians, and Æquans. Unfair decision of the Roman people, who, being chosen arbitrators between the people of Ardea and Aricia concerning some disputed lands adjudge them to themselves.* [U. C. 287–309; B. C. 465–443.]

LIBER TERTIUS.

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPS. XLIV—LIX.

XLIV.—Sequitur in urbe aliud nefas,
There followed in the city another atrocious proceeding

ortum ab libidine, eventu haud minus fœdo,
originating in lust; in its consequences no less tragical,

quam quod per stuprum cædemque
than that which, through the injured chastity and violent death

Lucretiæ expulerat Tarquinios
of Lucretia, had occasioned the expulsion of the Tarquins

regno que urbe, ut esset decemviris
from the throne and the city; so that there was to the decemvirs

non solum idem finis, qui regibus,
not only the same end, as had been to the kings,

sed eadem causa etiam amittendi imperii.
but the same cause also of losing their power.

Libido cepit Ap. Claudium stuprandæ
A criminal passion seized Appius Claudius for violating the person

virginis plebeiæ. Virginis pater
of a young woman of plebeian rank. The young woman's father

L. Virginius ducebat honestum ordinem
Lucius Virginius, held an honorable rank

in Algido, vir exempli recti
in the army on the Algidus, a man of exemplary good conduct

domi militiæque: uxor instituta fuerat
both at home and in the service. His wife had been educated

perinde liberique instituebantur :
in a similar manner, and *so* were their children educated.

desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio,
He had betrothed his daughter to Lucius Icilius, *who had been* a tribune,

viro acri, et expertæ virtutis
a man of spirit and of approved zeal

pro causa plebis. Hanc virginem adultam,
in the cause of the commons. This maiden, in the bloom of youth,

excellentem forma, Appius ardens amore,
distinguished for beauty, Appius, burning with love,

adortus pellicere pretio ac spe, postquam
attempted to seduce by bribes and promises ; and when

animadverterat omnia sæpta pudore,
he perceived every avenue *to his hopes* barred by modesty,

convertit animum ad crudelem superbamque vim.
he turned his thoughts to cruel and tyrannical violence

Dedit negotium M. Claudio clienti
He gave instructions to Marcus Claudius, a dependant *of his*,

ut assereret virginem in servitutem, neque cederet
that he should claim the young woman as his slave, and not yield

postulantibus vindicias secundum libertatem,
to those who might demand her interim retention of liberty ;

ratus, quod puellæ pater abesset,
considering that, because the damsel's father was absent,

esse locum injuriæ.
there was an opportunity for *committing* the injury.

Minister decemviri libidinis injecit manum virgini
The minister of the decemvir's lust laid hands on the girl

venienti in forum— namque ludi litterarum
as she was coming into the forum, (for the schools of learning

erant ibi in tabernis— appellans
were *held* there in sheds) ; calling her

natam sua serva servamque jubebat se
" the daughter of his slave and a slave *herself*," he ordered her

sequi, abstracturum vi cunctantem.
to follow *him* ; that he would drag her away by force *if she* demurred.

Puella stupente pavida, concursus fit
The girl being stupefied with terror, a crowd collects

ad clamorem nutricis, implorantis
at the cries of her nurse, who implored

fidem Quiritium: populare nomen patris
the protection of the citizens. The popular names of her father,

Virginii sponsique Icilii celebrabatur:
Virginius, and of her spouse, Icilius, are heard on every side.

gratia eorum conciliat notos virgini,
Their regard for them wins their acquaintances in favor of the maiden,

indignitas rei turbam.
whilst the heinousness of the proceeding *gains over* the crowd.

Erat jam tuta a vi, cum assertor ait
She was now safe from violence, when the claimant says,

nihil opus esse concitata multitudine,
"that there was no occasion for raising a mob;

se grassari jure non vi: vocat puellam
that he was proceeding by law, not by force." He cites the girl

in jus, qui aderant, auctoribus,
into court; *those*, who stood by her, advising her

ut sequerentur. Perventum est ad tribunal Appii.
to follow him, they arrived at the tribunal of Appius.

Petitor peragit fabulam notam judici—
The claimant rehearses the farce well known to the judge

quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti—
(for *he does it* in the presence of the very author of the plot),

puellam natam suæ domi, furtoque
"that a girl born in his house and clandestinely

translatam inde in domum Virginii,
removed from thence to the house of Virginius,

suppositam esse ei: se afferre
had been fathered on the latter. That he stated

id compertum indicio probaturumque
a thing ascertained by certain evidence, and would prove it

judice vel Virginio ipso, ad quem
to the satisfaction even of Virginius himself, to whom

major pars ejus injuriæ pertineat;
the principal portion of that loss would accrue.

æquum esse interim ancillam sequi
That it was *but* just that in the meantime the servant should attend

dominum. Advocati puellæ, cum dixissent
her master." The advocates for the maiden, after they had urged

Virginium abesse causa rei publicæ,
"that Virginius was absent on business of the state,

affuturum biduo si nuntiatum sit ei,
that he would be here in two days if word were sent to him,

esse iniquum absentem dimicare
that it was unfair that in his absence he should run *any* risk

de liberis, postulant, ut differat
regarding his children," demand, that he adjourn

integram rem in patris adventum, det
the whole matter until the father's arrival, *that* he should allow

vindicias secundum libertatem lege
the claim for her interim liberty according to the law

lata ab ipso, neu patiatur virginem adultam
framed by himself, and not suffer a young woman of ripe age

adire periculum famæ priusquam libertatis.
to encounter the hazard of her reputation before *that* of her liberty.

XLV.—Appius præfatus decreto,
Appius prefaced his decree *by observing*

eam ipsam legem, quam amici Virginii
"that the very law, which the friends of Virginius

prætendant suæ postulationi, declarare,
were putting forward as *the ground of* their demand, clearly showed

quam faverit libertati: ceterum fore
how much he favored liberty. That however there would be

in ea firmum præsidium libertati
in that *law* a firm security for liberty

ita, si variet nec causis
only on this condition, that it varied neither with respect to cases

nec personis: enim in his,
nor persons. For with respect to those *individuals*,

qui asserantur in libertatem, id juris esse,
who were claimed as free, that point of law was good,

quia quivis possit agere lege
because any citizen can proceed by law *and act for them*.

in ea, quæ sit in manu patris, esse
but in the case of her, who is in the hands of her father, there was

nominem alium, cui dominus cedat
no other person, to whom her master need relinquish

possessione : itaque placere
his *right of* possession. It was therefore his determination,

patrem arcessiri : interea
that the father should be sent for: that in the meantime

assertorem facere non jacturam
the claimant should suffer no loss

sui juris, quin ducat
of his right, but that he should carry off

puellam que promittat sistendam
the maiden *with him*, and promise that she should be produced

in adventum ejus, qui dicatur pater. Cum multi
on the arrival of him, who was called her father." When many

magis fremerent adversus injuriam decreti,
rather murmured against the injustice of this decision,

quam quisquam unus auderet recusare
than any one individual ventured to protest against *it*,

puellæ avunculus P. Numitorius et sponsus
the girl's uncle, Publius Numitorius, and her betrothed spouse,

Icilius interveniunt: que via
Icilius, *just* come in; and way

data inter turbam, cum multitudo crederet
being made through the crowd, while the multitude were of the opinion

Appio posse maxime resisti interventu
that Appius might be most effectually resisted by the intervention

Icilii, lictor ait decresse,
of Icilius, the lictor declares that "he had decided *the matter*,"

que submovet Icilium vociferantem.
and removes Icilius, when *attempting to* raise his voice

Injuria tam atrox accendisset quoque
Injustice so atrocious would have fired even

placidum ingenium :— "Appi," inquit,
a cool temper. "Appius," says he,

"tibi submovendus sum hinc ferro,
"you will have to remove me hence with the sword.

ut feras tacitum quod vis celari.
that you may accomplish, in silence, what you wish to be concealed.

Hanc virginem sum ducturus que habiturus
This young woman I am about to wed, and will have *in her*

pudicam nuptam. Proinde convoca omnes lictores
a chaste bride. Wherefore call together all the lictors

quoque collegarum, jube virgas et secures
even of the colleagues; order the rods and axes

expediri: sponsa Icilii
to be got ready; the betrothed wife of Icilius

non manebit extra domum patris.
shall not remain without the house of her father.

Si ademistis auxilium tribunicium
Though you have taken *from us* the protection of tribunes

et provocationem plebi Romanæ— duas arces
and the power of appeal to the commons of Rome,— the two bulwarks

tuendæ libertatis— regnum
for securing our liberty,— absolute dominion

non ideo datum est libidini in liberos quoque
has not therefore been granted to your lust over our children [also]

que nostros conjuges. Sævite in tergum
and our wives. Vent your fury on our backs

et in nostras cervices: pudicitia saltem sit in tuto.
and [our] necks; let chastity, at least, be secure.

Si vis afferetur huic, implorabimus
If violence be offered to her, I shall implore

fidem Quiritium præsentium pro sponsa,
the protection of the citizens here present in behalf of my spouse

Virginius militum pro unica filia,
Virginius *shall implore that* of the soldiers in behalf of his only daughter;

omnes deorum hominumque,
all of us *shall implore the protection* of gods and men,

neque tu umquam referes istud decretum sine
nor shall you ever carry that sentence into effect without

nostra cæde. Postulo, Appi, consideres
our blood. I demand *of you*, Appius, consider

etiam atque etiam, quo progrediare.
again and again to what lengths you are proceeding.

Virginius, ubi venerit, viderit,
Let Virginius, when he comes, determine

quid agat de filia:
what *measures* he will pursue in regard to his daughter.

tantum sciat hoc, si cesserit vindiciis
Let him only be assured of this, that, if he yield to the claims

hujus, sibi quærendam conditionem
of this man, he will have to seek out another match

filiæ: me vindicantem
for his daughter: as for me, in vindication

in libertatem sponsam vita deseret citius
of the liberty of my spouse, life shall leave me sooner

quam fides."
than my honor."

XLVI.—Multitudo erat concitata, certamenque
The multitude was *now* excited and a contest

videbatur instare. Lictores circumsteterant
seemed likely to ensue. The lictors had gathered round

Icilium: nec tamen processum est ultra
Icilius; nor did they however proceed beyond

minas, cum Appius diceret, non Virginiam
threats, when Appius said, "that *it was* not Virginia

defendi ab Icilio, sed
that was defended by Icilius, but that

inquietum hominem et etiam nunc spirantem
being a restless man, and even now breathing

tribunatum, quærere locum seditionis
the *spirit of the* tribuneship, he was seeking an occasion of sedition

se non præbiturum illi materiam
That he would not afford him material

eo die: sed ut jam sciret,
on that day; but in order that he may now know

id datum non suæ petulantiæ
that this *indulgence* was granted not to his petulance,

sed absenti Virginio et nomini patrio
but to the absent Virginius, to the name of father

et libertati, se non dicturum justo die
and to liberty, that he would not decide *the cause* on the regular day

neque interpositurum decretum: petiturum
nor interpose a decree: that he would *even* request

a M. Claudio, ut decederet suo jure
of Marcus Claudius to depart *somewhat* from his right,

que pateretur puellam vindicari
and suffer the maiden to be bailed

in posterum diem: quod nisi pater affuisset
until the next day. But unless the father attended

postero die se denuntiare Icilio
on the following day, he *now* gave notice to Icilius

similibusque Icilii, neque latorem
and so men like Icilius, that neither the founder

defore suæ legi neque constantiam
would be wanting to his own law, nor firmness

decemviro: nec se convocaturum utique
to the decemvir; nor would he assemble by any means

lictores collegarum ad coercendos auctores
the lictors of his colleagues to put down the promoters

seditionis, se fore contentum suis lictoribus.
of sedition; that he would be content with his own lictors."

Cum tempus injuriæ dilatum esset
When the time of this *act of* injustice was deferred,

que advocati puellæ secessissent,
and the advocates of the maiden had retired,

omnium primum placuit, fratrem Icilii
it was first of all determined, that the brother of Icilius

filiumque Numitorii, impigros juvenes,
and the son of Numitorius, active young men,

pergere inde recta ad portam
should proceed thence straightforward to the gate,

et Virginium acciri e castris,
and that Virginius should be called home from the camp

quantum accelerari posset: salutem puellæ
with as much expedition as possible. That the safety of the girl

verti in eo, si præsto esset ad tempus
depended on his being present in time

postero die vindex injuriæ. Pergunt
next day, as her protector from injury. They proceed

jussi, citatisque equis perferunt
as directed, and with all speed carry

nuntium ad patrem. Cum assertor puellæ
the account to her father. When the claimant of the maiden

instaret, ut vindicaret que daret
was pressing him (Icilius) to become defendant, and give

sponsores, atque Icilius diceret id ipsum
sureties, and Icilius said that that *was the* very thing

agi, sedulo terens tempus, dum nuntii
he was doing, designedly spinning out the time, until the messengers,

missi in castra præciperent iter,
sent to the camp, might gain time for their journey,

multitudo tollere manus undique
the multitude raised their hands on all sides,

et quisque ostendere se paratum
and every one showed himself ready

ad spondendum Icilio. Atque ille
to be surety to Icilius. And he

lacrimabundus inquit, "gratum est,
with tears in his eyes says, "It is very kind *of you*;

crastina die utar vestra opera,
on to-morrow I will avail myself of your assistance;

nunc est satis sponsorum." Ita Virginia
at present I have sufficient sureties." Thus Virginia

vindicatur spondentibus propinquis. Appius
is bailed on the security of her relations. Appius,

moratus paulisper, ne videretur sedisse
having delayed a short time, lest he should seem to have sat

causa ejus rei, postquam nemo adibat
merely for the sake of the present case, when no one applied,

aliis rebus omissis præ cura
all other concerns being given up by reason of their solicitude

unius, recepit se domum que scribit collegis
about the one, betook himself home and writes to his colleagues

in castra, ne dent commeatum Virginio
in camp, not to grant leave of absence to Virginius

atque etiam habeant in custodia.
and even to keep him in confinement.

Improbum consilium fuit serum, ut debuit,
This wicked scheme was late, as it deserved *to be*,

et Virginius jam sumpto commeatu
for Virginius having already obtained his leave,

profectus erat prima vigilia, cum litteræ
had set out at the first watch, while the letter

de eo retinendo redduntur postero die mane
regarding his detention was delivered on the following morning

nequidquam.
to no purpose.

XLVII.—At in urbe, cum civitas staret
But in the city, when the citizens were standing

in foro erecta expectatione, Virginius
in the forum erect with expectation, Virginius,

sordidatus prima luce deducit filiam secum
clad in mourning, by break of day brings down his daughter, like him

veste obsoleta, comitantibus aliquot matronis,
attired in weeds, attended by some matrons,

in forum cum ingenti advocatione. Ibi
into the forum, with a great number of advocates. There

cœpit circumire et prensare homines,
he began to go round and to solicit individuals;

et non solum orare opem precariam sed petere
and not only requested their aid as a favor, but demanded it

pro debita: se stare quotidie in acie
as his due: "that he stood daily in the field of battle

pro eorum liberis ac conjugibus, nec esse
in defence of their children and wives, nor was there

alium virum, cujus strenue ac ferociter facta
any other man, whose brave and intrepid deeds

in bello possent memorari plura:—
in war can be rehearsed in greater abundance.

quid prodesse, si urbe incolumi
What availed it, if, *whilst* the city *was* still secure,

suis liberis sint patienda ultima,
their children were exposed to suffer those extremities

quæ timeantur capta?
which would have to be dreaded if it was taken?

Hæc prope concionabundus
Uttering these *sentiments* much like one addressing an assembly,

circumibat homines. Similia his
he solicited them individually. *Arguments* similar to these

jactabantur ab Icilio. Muliebris comitatus
were urged by Icilius: the female attendants

movebat plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox.
affected *them* more deeply by their silent tears than any language.

Animo obstinato adversus quæ omnia—
With a mind hardened against all this,

tanta vis amentiæ verius quam amoris
(such a paroxysm of madness, rather than of love,

turbaverat mentem— Appius escendit in tribunal,
had perverted his understanding,) Appius ascended the tribunal;

et petitore ultro querente pauca, quod
and the claimant on his part beginning to complain briefly that

per ambitionem dictum non esset sibi
through partiality justice had not been done to him

pridie, priusquam aut ille perageret
on the preceding day, before either he could go through with

postulatum, aut locus respondendi
his claim, or an opportunity of reply

daretur Virginio, Appius interfatur. Forsan
was afforded to Virginius, Appius interrupts *him*. It may be that

antiqui auctores tradiderint aliquem verum sermonem,
ancient authors have recorded some real discourse,

quem prætenderit decreto:— quia
which he prefixed to his decree; because

nusquam invenio ullum veri similem
I no-where find any probable one

in tanta fœditate decreti, videtur nudum
for such a scandalous decree, it seems *sufficient* that the naked fact

proponendum, id quod constat,
should be stated, *as being* a point which is agreed on:

decresse vindicias secundum servitutem. Primo
he passed a sentence consigning her to bondage. At first

stupor defixit omnes admiratione
he shock of surprise struck all of them motionless with amasement

tam atrocis rei, inde silentium tenuit aliquamdiu,
it so heinous a proceeding; then silence prevailed for some time.

Dein, cum M. Claudius iret
Afterwards, when Marcus Claudius proceeded

ad prehendendam virginem, matronis circumstantibus,
to seize the maiden, the matrons standing around her,

lamentabilisque comploratio mulierum
and the piteous lamentation of the women

excepisset eum, Virginius intentans
opposed him, Virginius menacingly extending

manus in Appium inquit "Icilio non tibi,
his hands towards Appius, says, "To Icilius and not to you,

Appi, despondi filiam, et ad nuptias
Appius, have I betrothed my daughter; and for matrimony,

non ad stuprum educavi. Placet
not for prostitution, have I brought her up. Do you wish

ruere in concubitus promisce ritu pecudum
men to indulge their lust promiscuously after the manner of cattle

ferarumque? Isti passurine hæc,
and wild beasts? Whether these *persons* will endure such things,

nescio: spero illos esse non passuros
I know not; I hope that those will not [tolerate them]

qui habent arma." Cum assertor virginis
who carry arms." When the claimant of the girl

repelleretur a globo mulierum que advocatorum
was forced back by the crowd of women and advocates

circumstantium, silentium factum
who were standing around her, silence was commanded

per præconem.
by the crier.

XLVIII.—Decemvir, alienatus animo
The decemvir, engrossed in mind

ad libidinem, negat tantum
by his ungovernable lust, states that not only

ex convicio Icilii hesterno violentiaque
from the abusive language of Icilius yesterday and the violence

Virginii— cujus habeat Romanum populum
of Virginius, of which he had the *entire* Roman people

testem— sed certis indiciis quoque
as witnesses, but from authentic info[illegible] also

se habere compertum, cœtus factos esse in urbe
he had learned, that cabals had been held in the city,

tota nocte ad movendam seditionem.
during the whole night, to stir up a sedition.

Itaque se haud inscium ejus dimicationis
Accordingly that he, being aware of that danger,

descendisse cum armatis— non ut violaret
had come down with armed soldiers; not that he would molest

quemquam quietum, sed ut coerceret
any peaceable person, but in order to punish,

pro majestate imperii turbantes
suitably to the majesty of government, persons disturbing

otium civitatis: "erit proinde," inquit,
the tranquillity of the state. "It will therefore," said he,

"melius quiesse: lictor, submove turbam,
"be better to remain quiet. Go, lictor, remove the crowd;

et da viam domino ad prehendendum
and make way for the master to seize

mancipium." Cum plenus iræ intonuisset
his slave." When, bursting with passion, he had thundered out

hæc, multitudo ipsa sua sponte dimovit,
these words, the multitude of themselves voluntarily separated,

puellaque stabat deserta præda injuriæ.
and the maiden stood forsaken, a prey to injustice.

Tum Virginius, ubi vidit nihil auxilii
Then Virginius, when he saw no aid

usquam, inquit, "quæso, Appi,
anywhere, says, "I beg you, Appius,

primum ignosce patrio dolori, si sum invectus
first make allowance for a father's grief, if I have said

quid inclementius in te: deinde sinas hic
anything too harsh against you: and then allow me here,

coram virgine percontari nutricem,
in the presence of the maiden, to question her nurse,

quid hoc rei sit, ut, si falso dictus sum pater,
what all this matter is? that, if I have been falsely called her father,

discedam hinc sequiore animo."
I may depart hence with a more resigned mind."

Venia data, seducit filiam ac nutricem
Permission being granted, he draws the girl and the nurse aside

ad tabernas prope Cloacinæ—
to the sheds near the temple of Cloacina,

quibus nunc est nomen novis,— atque ibi
which now go by the name of the new *sheds;* and there

arrepto cultro ab lanio, "hoc modo, filia,"
snatching a knife from a butcher, "In this manner, my child,"

ait, "uno quo possum, vindico te in libertatem:"
says he, "the only one in my power, do I secure to you your liberty."

deinde transfigit puellæ pectus, respectansque
He thereupon transfixes the girl's breast, and looking back

ad tribunal inquit "hoc sanguine
towards the tribunal, he exclaims, "With this blood

consecro te, Appi, tuumque caput." Appius,
I devote thee, Appius, and thy head." Appius,

excitus clamore orto ad tam atrox facinus,
alarmed by the cry raised at such a horrid deed,

jubet Virginium comprehendi. Ille facere viam
orders Virginius to be seized. *But* he cleared a passage

ferro, quacumque ibat, donec tuente etiam
with the weapon wherever he went, until, protected also

multitudine prosequentium perrexit ad portam
by the crowd of persons attending *him* he reached the gate.

Icilius Numitoriusque sublatum exsangue corpus
Icilius and Numitorius, raising up the lifeless body,

ostentant populo: deplorant scelus Appii,
exhibit it to the people: they deplore the villainy of Appius,

infelicem formam puellæ
the fatal beauty of the maiden

necessitatem patris. Matronæ sequentes
and the *dire* necessity of the father. The matrons who followed

clamitant eamne esse conditionem
join in exclaiming, "Was this the condition

procreandorum liberorum, ea præmia
of rearing children? were these the rewards

pudicitiæ? cetera, quæ muliebris dolor
of chastity?" and other things which female grief

in tali re subjicit querentibus
on such occasions suggests, when their complaints

eo magis miserabilia quo
are so much the more affecting in proportion as *their grief*

est mœstior imbecillo animo.
is more intense from the *natural* tenderness of their minds.

Vox virorum, et maxime Icilii erat tota
The discourse of the men, and particularly of Icilius, turned entirely

ereptæ potestatis tribunitiæ ac provocationis
on the withdrawal of the power of the tribunes and the right of appeal

ad populum, indignationum publicarum.
to the people, and on the indignities *thrown* upon the state.

XLIX.—Multitudo concitatur partim
The multitude was strongly excited partly

atrocitate sceleris, partim
by the atrocious nature of the deed, partly

spe repetendæ libertatis per occasionem.
by the hope of recovering their liberty through a favorable opportunity.

Appius nunc jubet Icilium vocari nunc
Appius now orders Icilius to be called *before him*; then,

retractantem arripi, postremo, cum locus
on his refusing *to come*, to be seized; at last, when an opportunity

adeundi non daretur apparitoribus, ipse
of approaching *him* was not afforded to the beadles, he himself,

vadens per turbam cum agmine
proceeding through the crowd with a band

juvenum patriciorum duci in vincula.
of young patricians, *orders him* to be taken into confinement.

Jam non solum multitudo sed quoque
By this time not only the multitude but [even]

L. Valerius et M. Horatius duces multitudinis
Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, the leaders of the multitude

erant circa Icilium, qui, repulso lictore,
stood around Icilius: who, driving back his lictor,

aiebant, si ageret jure se vindicare Icilium
stated that, "if he meant to proceed by law, they would protect Icilius

a privato, si conaretur
from *one who was but* a private citizen; if he should attempt

afferre vim, ibi quoque haud fore impares.
to make use of force, in that point too they would not be his inferiors."

Hinc oritur atrox rixa. Decemviri lictor
Hence arises a furious scuffle. The decemvir's lictor

invadit Valerium Horatiumque: fasces franguntur
attacks Valerius and Horatius: the fasces are broken

a multitudine. Appius escendit in concionem;
by the people. Appius ascends the tribunal;

Horatius Valeriusque sequuntur: eos
Horatius and Valerius follow him: to these

concio audit, obstrepitur
the assembly pays attention, *but* drowns with clamor

decemviro. Valerius jam pro imperio jubebat
the *voice of the* decemvir. Valerius now authoritatively ordered

lictores discedere a privato,
the lictors to depart from *one who was but* a private citizen;

cum Appius, fractis animis, metuens vitæ
when Appius, bereft of courage, *and* dreading for his life,

recipit se in domum propinquam foro,
betook himself into a house in the vicinity of the forum,

insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto. Sp. Oppius,
unobserved by his enemies, with his head covered up. Spurius Oppius,

ut auxilio esset collegæ, irrumpit in forum
in order to assist his colleague, rushes into the forum

ex altera parte: videt imperium victum vi:
from the opposite side; he sees their authority overpowered by force.

deinde agitatus consiliis— atque
After debating with himself upon *various* expedients, and

trepidaverat assentiendo multis auctoribus
confused by listening to a multitude of advisers

ex omni parte— postremo jussit senatum vocari.
on every side, he eventually commanded the senate to be summoned.

Quod acta decemvirorum videbantur
Because the proceedings of the decemvirs seemed

displicere magnæ parti patrum, ea res
to be displeasing to the greater portion of the patricians, this ste

sedavit multitudinem spe ejus potestatis
quieted the people with the hope that the government

finiendæ per senatum. Senatus censuit
would be abolished through the senate. The senate gave their opinion

plebem nec irritandam, et multo magis
that the commons should not be *further* exasperated; and much more

providendum, adventus Virginii
that care should be taken, that the arrival of Virginius

ne quid faceret motus in exercitu.
should not occasion any commotion in the army.

L.—Itaque juniores patrum missi
Accordingly *some of* the younger patricians, being sen

in castra, quæ tum erant in monte Vecilio
to the camp which, at that time, was on mount Vecilius,

nuntiant decemviris, ut omni ope
announce to the decemvirs, "that by every means *in their powe*

contineant milites ab seditione. Ibi Virginius
they should keep the soldiers from mutinying." Here Virginius

excivit majorem motum, quam reliquerat in urbe:
caused greater commotion than he had left in the city;

nam, præterquam quod conspectus est veniens
for, besides that he was seen coming

agmine prope quadringentorum hominum— qui
with a body of near four hundred men, who

accensi indignitate rei dederant se comites ei
fired at the heinous enormity of the occurrence, had accompanied him

ab urbe— strictum telum etiam, que ipse
from the city, the unsheathed weapon [also] and himself

respersus cruore convertit in se tota castra: et
besmeared with blood, attracted to him the entire camp; while

togæ, visæ multifariam in castris, fecerant
the gowns, observed in many different parts of the camp, made

speciem multitudinis urbanæ aliquanto majoris quam
the number of people from the city appear much larger than

erat. Quærentibus, quid rei esset
it *really* was. Upon their asking what was the matter, *in consequence*

flens diu misit non vocem: tandem, ut jam
of his weeping he for a long time uttered not a word: at length, as soon as

turba concurrentium constitit ex trepidatione ac
the crowd of those running together grew still, and

silentium fuit exposuit cuncta ordine ut
silence took place, he related everything in order as

gesta erant: deinde tendens manus supinas,
it occurred. Then extending his hands towards heaven,

appellans commilitones orabat, ne attribuerent
addressing his fellow-soldiers, he besought *them*, "not to impute

sibi, quod esset scelus Appii Claudii, neu
to him that which was the crime of Appius Claudius, nor

aversarentur se ut parricidam liberum: sibi
to abhor him as the murderer of his child; to him

vitam filiæ fuisse cariorem sua, si
the life of his daughter was dearer than his own, if

licitum fuisset vivere libere ac pudice: cum
she had been allowed to live in freedom and chastity: when

videret rapi ad stuprum velut servam,
he saw her dragged to violation as if a slave.

ratum melius liberos amitti morte quam
thinking it better that his child should be lost by death than

contumelia, misericordia se lapsum in
by dishonor, through compassion *for her* he had fallen under

speciem crudelitatis: nec se futurum fuisse
the appearance of cruelty: nor would he have

superstitem filiæ, nisi habuisset spem
survived his daughter, had he not placed hope

ulciscendæ ejus mortis in auxilio commilitonum:
of avenging her death in the aid of his fellow-soldiers;

enim illis quoque esse filias sorores conjugesque,
for they also had daughters, sisters, and wives;

nec esse libidinem Appii Claudii exstinctam cum
nor was the lust of Appius Claudius extinguished with

sua filia; sed, quo sit impunitior,
his daughter; but in proportion as it remained unpunished,

eo effrenatiorem fore: calamitate aliena
so much the more unbridled would it be. That in the calamity of another

documentum datum illis cavendæ similis injuriæ.
warning was given them to guard against a similar injury.

Quod ad se attineat, uxorem ereptam sibi
As to what concerned himself, his wife had been torn from him

fato, filiam, quia non ultra victura fuerit
by fate; his daughter, because she no longer could live

pudica, occubuisse miseram sed honestam mortem:
in chastity, died an unfortunate but honorable death;

esse jam in sua domo non locum Appii
there was now in his house no opportunity for Appius'

libidini: ab alia violentia ejus se vindicaturum
lust; that from any other violence of his he would defend

suum corpus eodem animo, quo vindicaverit
his own person with the same spirit with which he vindicated

filiæ:— ceteri consulerent sibi ac
that of his daughter. Let others take care of themselves and

liberis. Virginio vociferanti hæc
their children." To Virginius uttering these words in a loud voice,

multitudo succlamabat, nec se defuturos
the multitude replied with shouts, "that they would not be backward

illius dolori nec suæ libertati. Et
with respect *either* to his wrongs or their own liberty." And

togati immixti turbæ militum
the gown-men intermixed with the crowd of soldiers,

cum querendo illa eadem
both by narrating with sorrow those same circumstances,

docendoque, quanto indigniora potuerint videri
and by observing how much more shocking they must have appeared

visa quam audita, simul
when seen than *when merely* heard. and also

nuntiando rem jam esse profligatam Romæ—
by acquainting *them* that matters were now desperate at Rome;

qui insecutique dicerent Appium
while *some* who came later averred that Appius,

prope interemptum, abisse in exsilium,—
having with difficulty escaped with life, had gone into exile:— *all this*

perpulerunt, ut conclamaretur ad
had such an effect *on the soldiery*, that they cried out, "To

arma, vellerentque signa, et proficiscerentur
arms!" snatched up their standards, and marched towards

Romam. Decemviri perturbati simul his quæ
Rome. The decemvirs, exceedingly alarmed as well by what

videbant, iisque quæ audierant acta
they *now* saw, as by those things which they heard had passed

Romæ discurrunt alius in aliam partem castrorum
at Rome, ran about to different parts of the camp

ad sedandos motus. Et agentibus leniter
to quell the commotion. *Whilst they were* proceeding with mildness,

non responsum redditur: si quis
no answer was returned *to them:* if any of them

inhiberet imperium, respondetur
attempted to exert authority *over them*, he was answered,

se esse et viros et armatos. [illegible]
that "they were men and had arms." They [illegible]

ad urbem, et insidunt Aventinum, adhortantes
to the city, and post themselves on the Aventine; exhorting

plebem, ut quisque occurrerat, ad repetendam
the commons, according as each person met *them* to reassume

libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis. Nulla alia
their liberty, and elect tribunes of the people. No other

violenta vox audita est. Sp. Oppius habet
violent expression was heard. Spurius Oppius holds

senatum. Placet nihil aspere agi
meeting of the senate; it is resolved, that no harsh measures should be used,

quippe locum seditionis datum esse ab ipsis.
inasmuch as occasion for the insurrection had been given by themselves.

Tres consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius,
Three consulars, Spurius Tarpeius, Caius Julius

P. Sulpicius, mittuntur legati, qui quærerent
Publius Sulpicius, are sent *as* ambassadors, to inquire,

verbis senatus cujus jussu deseruissent castra,
in the name of the senate, by whose orders they had quitted the camp,

aut quid sibi vellent qui obsedissent armati
or what was their intention in posting themselves in arms

Aventinum, aversoque bello ab hostibus
on the Aventine; and in turning away their arms from the enemy

cepissent suam patriam. Non defuit, quid
and in taking their own country? They were at no loss what

responderetur deerat, qui daret
to answer; *but* they were at a loss *for one* who should give

responsum— dum nullo certo duce singulis
the answer, *there being* as yet no certain leader, *and* individuals

nec satis audentibus offerre se invidiæ.
not being forward enough to expose themselves to the invidious *office*

Id modo conclamatum est a multitudine, ut
This only was called out in unison by the multitude, that

mitterent L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se,
they should send Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius to them

iis se daturos responsum.
and to them they would give *their* answer.

LI.—Legatis dimissis Virginius admonet
The ambassadors being dismissed, Virginius reminds

milites, paulo ante trepidatum esse
the soldiers "that a little time before they had been embarrassed

in re non maxima, quia multitudo fuerint
in a matter of no very great difficulty, because the multitude was

sine capite responsumque— quamquam non
without a head; and that the answer *given*, though not

inutiliter— esse tamen magis fortuito consensu
inexpedient, was [yet] *the result* rather of an accidental concurrence

quam communi consilio: placere decem
than of a concerted plan: it seemed advisable *to him* that ten

creari, qui præessent summæ rei,
persons be elected, who should preside in the direction of their affairs.

militarique honore appellari tribunos militum.
and, in *the style of* military dignity, be called tribunes of the soldiers."

Cum is honos deferretur ad eum ipsum primum
When that honor was offerred to himself in the first instance,

inquit "reservate rebus melioribus vestris meisque
he replied, "Reserve to a juncture more happy *both* to you and me

ista judicia de me: filia inulta
those your *kind* opinions of me. My daughter being unavenged,

nec patitur ullum honorem esse jucundum mihi,
neither allows any honor to be satisfactory to me,

nec utile est in perturbata republica
nor is it expedient, in the *present* disordered *state of the* commonwealth

eos præesse vobis, qui proximi sint
that those should be at your head, who are most obnoxious

invidiæ: si quis usus mei est capietur
to *party*-malice. If there will be any use of me, *such use* will be derived

nihilo minor ex privato." Ita
not in a less degree from *me in* a private *capacity*." Accordingly

creant militares tribunos decem numero. Neque
they elect military tribunes ten in number. Nor

exercitus in Sabinis quievit: ibi quoque,
was the army among the Sabines inactive. There also,

auctore Icilio Numitorioque, secessio ab
at the instance of Icilius and Numitorius, a secession from

decemviris facta est, motu animorum renovata
the decemvirs was made; the agitation of *men's* minds on recalling

memoria cædis Siccii non minore, quam
to memory the murder of Siccius being no less *violent* than

quem nova fama de adeo fœde petita
that, which the recent account of the [so] barbarous attempt made

virgine ad libidinem accenderat. Ubi Icilius
on Virginia to *gratify* lust had enkindled. When Icilius

audivit tribunos militum creatos in Aventino,
heard that tribunes of the soldiers had been elected on the Aventine,

ne comitia urbana sequerentur prærogativam
lest the election-assembly in the city might follow the lead

militarium comitiorum creandis iisdem tribunis
of the military assembly by electing the same *persons* tribunes

plebis, peritus popularium rerum,
of the commons, being well versed in popular intrigues

imminensque ei potestati, et ipse curat,
and having an eye to that office, he also takes care that

priusquam iretur ad urbem, eundem numerum
before they proceeded to the city, the same number

creandum ab suis pari potestate. Intravere
should be elected by his own *party* with an equal power. They entered

urbem sub signis Collina porta,
the city in military array through the Colline gate,

perguntque agmine media urbe
and continued their march in a body through the middle of the city

in Aventinum. Ibi, conjuncti alteri exercitui,
to the Aventine. There, joined to the other army,

dederunt negotium viginti tribunis militum, ut
they gave directions to the twenty tribunes of the soldiers to

crearent duos ex suo numero, qui præessent
select two out of their number, who were to hold

summæ rerum. Creant M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium.
the command-in-chief. They chose Marcus Oppius *and* Sextus Manilius

Patres solliciti de summa rerum, cum esset
The patricians, alarmed for the general safety, though there was

senatus quotidie, terunt sæpius tempus jurgiis
a meeting every day, spend more time in wrangling

quam consiliis: cædes Siccii, et libido Appiana,
than in deliberation. The murder of Siccius, the lust of Appius,

et dedecora militiæ objiciebantur
and the disgraces *incurred* in war are urged as charges

decemviris: placebat Valerium Horatiumque
against the decemvirs. It was resolved that Valerius and Horatius

ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se ituros
should proceed to the Aventine; *but* they refused to go

aliter, quam si decemviri deponerent
on any other conditions, than that the decemvirs should lay down

insignia ejus magistratus, quo abissent jam
the badges of that office, which had expired [already

anno ante. Decemviri, querentes se
the year before. The decemvirs, complaining that they

in ordinem cogi, aiebant se non deposituros
were *now* being degraded, declared that they would not resign

imperium, ante quam legibus perlatis, causa
their authority, until *those* laws were passed on account

quarum creati essent.
of which they had been appointed.

LII.—Plebs facta certior per M. Duilium,
The commons, *on* being informed through Marcus Duilius,

qui fuerat tribunus plebis, assiduis
who had been plebeian tribune, that by *reason of* their continual

contentionibus nihil transigi, transit ex Aventino
disputes no business was transacted, remove from the Aventine

in Sacrum montem, Duilio affirmante, curam
to the Sacred Mount; Duilius affirming that serious concern

non descensuram in animos patrum,
for business would not enter the minds of the patricians,

priusquam videant urbem deseri: Sacrum montem
until they saw the city deserted: that the Sacred Mount

admoniturum plebis constantiæ sciturosque,
would remind *them* of the people's firmness; and that they would *then* know

quam res nequeant redigi in concordiam sine
that matters could not be restored to harmony without

restituta potestate. Profecti
the re-establishment of the *tribunitian* power. Marching

Nomentana Via— cui tum nomen fuit Ficulensi—
along the Nomentan way, which was then called the Ficulnean,

locavere castra in Sacro monte, imitati modestiam
they encamped on the Sacred Mount, imitating the moderation

suorum patrum nihil violando. Plebs secuta
of their fathers by committing no violence. The commons followed

exercitum, nullo, qui per ætatem posset, retractante ire.
the army, no one, whose age would permit *him*, declining to go.

conjuges liberique prosequuntur, miserabiliter
Their wives and children attended their steps, piteously

rogitantes, cuinam relinquerent se in ea urbe,
asking, to whom would they leave them in a city

in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset.
in which neither chastity nor liberty were respected?

Cum insueta solitudo fecisset omnia Romæ
When the unusual desertion rendered every place in Rome

vasta esset in foro nemo præter
void; *when* there was in the forum not a creature except

paucos seniorum, patribus vocatis in senatum,
a few old men; *when*, the patricians being called into the senate,

utique forum apparuisset desertum, pluresque jam
the very forum appeared forsaken; more now

quam Horatius ac Valerius vociferarentur:—
besides Horatius and Valerius began to exclaim,

"patres conscripti, quid exspectabitis? Si decemviri
"Conscript fathers! what will ye *now* wait for? If the decemvirs

non faciunt finem pertinaciæ, passuri estis omnia
do not put an end to their obstinacy, will ye suffer every thing

ruere ac deflagrare? autem, decemviri, quod
to go to wreck and ruin? and you, decemvirs, what

imperium est istud, quod tenetis amplexi?
power is that, which you hold *so tightly* in your embrace

Dicturi estis jura parietibus ac tectis?
Do you mean to administer justice to walls and *mere* houses?

non pudet, prope majorem numerum vestrorum
Are you not ashamed that an almost greater number of your

lictorum conspici in foro quam
lictors is to be seen in the forum than

aliorumque togatorum? Quid facturi estis, si
of the other citizens? What are you to do, in case

hostes veniant ad urbem? Quid, si plebs,
the enemy should advance to the city? What, if the commons,

ubi parum moveatur secessione, mox veniat
finding that we are not moved by their secession, should presently come

armata? Vultisne finire imperium occasu
in arms? Do you mean to conclude your power by the fall

urbis? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda
of the city? But *the case is this*, either we must not have the commons,

aut habendi sunt plebis tribuni: nos citius caruerimus
or they must have their tribunes. We would sooner part

patriciis magistratibus quam illi plebeiis: eam
with *our* patrician magistrates, than they with *their* plebeian. That

potestatem novam inexpertamque eripuere
power, *when* unknown and untried, they extorted

nostris patribus, ne semel capti dulcedine
from our fathers; much less, after having tasted the sweets *of it*

nunc ferant desiderium, præsertim cum nos
will they now endure its loss: more especially since we

nec temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi egeant
make not a moderate use of our authority, so that they may not stand in need

auxilii:" —cum hæc jactarentur ex omni
of protection." When these *arguments* were thrown out from every

parte, decemviri victi consensu
quarter, the decemvirs, overpowered by the united opinions *of all*,

affirmant— quando ita videatur— se
declare that, since such seems to be the feeling, they

futuros in potestate patrum. Id modo orant,
would submit to the orders of the senate. This only they requested,

ut caveatur ipsis ab invidia:
that protection would be *afforded* to them from *popular* rage;

simul ac monent nec suo
and warned *them*, at the same time, that they should not by *shedding* their

sanguine assuefaciant plebem ad supplicia.
blood habituate the commons to *inflict* punishment

patrum.
on the patricians.

LIII.—Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi
Then Valerius and Horatius, having been sent

ad revocandam plebem quibus conditionibus
to bring back the commons on such conditions as

videretur componendasque res jubentur
might seem fit, and to adjust *all* differences, are directed

præcavere quoque decemviris ab ira et
to make provision also for the decemvirs from the resentment and

impetu multitudinis. Profecti accipiuntur
violence of the populace. They set forward *and* are received

in castra ingenti gaudio plebis, quippe liberatores
into the camp with excessive joy by the people, as being their liberators

haud dubie et initio motus
beyond all doubt, both at the commencement of the disturbance

et exitu rei. Ob hæc gratiæ
and at the termination of the matter. For these things thanks

actæ his advenientibus. Icilius facit verba
were rendered them on their arrival. Icilius speaks

pro multitudine: cum ageretur de
in the name of the people; *and* when they began to treat about

conditionibus, legatis quærentibus quæ essent postulata
conditions, on the deputies inquiring what were the demands

plebis, idem, jam composito consilio
of the commons, the same *individual*, having already concerted the plan

ante adventum legatorum, postulavit ea,
before the arrival of the ambassadors, proposed such terms

ut appareret plus spei reponi in æquitate
as plainly evinced that more hope was placed in the justice

rerum quam in armis. Enim repetebant
of their cause than in arms. For they *only* demanded back

tribuniciam potestatem provocationemque, quæ
the tribunitian office and the privilege of appeal, which,

ante creatos decemviros fuerant auxilia plebis,
before the appointment of decemvirs, had been the props of the people;

et ne cui fraudi esset concisse milites aut
and that no one should suffer for having instigated the soldiers or

[illegible]am ad repetendam libertatem per secessionem.
the commons to seek back their liberty by a secession.

De supplicio modo decemvirorum fuit postulatum
Concerning the punishment only of the decemvirs was their demand

atrox: quippe censebant æquum
immoderate; for they thought it *but* just

eos dedi que minabantur
that they should be delivered up *to them* and they threatened

concrematuros igni vivos. Ad ea legati:
that they would burn them alive. In reply the deputies say,

"postulastis, quæ fuerunt consilii,
"*Such of* your demands as have been *the result* of deliberation

adeo æqua, ut ultro deferenda fuerint vobis:
are so equitable, that they ought to be voluntarily offered to you,

enim petitis ea præsidia libertati, non
for you seek them *as* safeguards to your liberty, not

licentiæ ad impugnandos alios: vestræ iræ
for unbounded license to assail others. Your resentment

magis ignoscendum est quam indulgendum, quippe
we must rather pardon than indulge, seeing that

odio crudelitatis qui ruitis in crudelitatem, et pæne
from your hatred of cruelty you rush into cruelty, and almost

prius, quam sitis liberi ipsi jam vultis
before you are free yourselves you wish [already]

dominari in adversarios. Civitasne numquam
to act the tyrant over your adversaries. Shall our state never

quiescit a suppliciis, aut patrum in Romanam
enjoy rest from punishments, either of the patricians on the Roman

plebem aut plebis in patres? Vobis opus est
commons, or of the commons on the patricians? You stand in need

scuto magis quam gladio: est satis superque
of a shield rather than of a sword. He is sufficiently and abundantly

humilis, qui vivit in civitate æquo jure,
humble, who lives in a state on an equal footing

nec inferendo nec patiendo injuriam:
with his countrymen, neither offering nor enduring injury.

etiam, si quando præbituri estis vos metuendos,
Besides, should you ever choose to render yourselves objects of terror,

cum, recuperatis vestris magistratibus legibusque,
when, having recovered your magistrates and laws,

judicia de nostro capite fortunisque erunt penes vos,
decisions on our lives and fortunes shall be in your hands,

tunc statuetis, ut quæque causa erit: nunc
then you shall determine according as each case shall *merit*; at present,

satis est libertatem repeti."
it is sufficient that your liberty be restored."

LIV.—Cunctis permittentibus facerent, ut
All permitting *them* to act as

vellent, legati affirmant se mox redituros
they think proper, the deputies assure them that they would speedily return

perfectis rebus. Cum profecti exposuissent
with a final settlement of the business. When they went *and* laid before

patribus mandata plebis, alii decemviri,
the patricians the message of the commons, the other decemvirs

quando quidem præter ipsorum spem nulla mentio
finding that [even] beyond their hopes no mention

fieret sui supplicii, haud quidquam abnuere:
was made of their punishment, raised no objection.

Appius truci ingenio et præcipua
Appius, *however*, being of a truculent disposition and a particular

invidia, metiens odium aliorum in se
object of detestation, measuring the rancor of others towards him

suo eos, inquit "haud ignaro fortuna
by his own ... wards them, says, "I am not blind to the fate *which*

imminet: video certamen adversus nos differri,
hangs over *me*: I see that the contest against us is deferred,

donec arma tradantur adversariis: sanguis
until our arms are delivered up to our adversaries. Blood

dandus est invidiæ: ne ego quidem nihil moror,
must be offered to *popular* rage. Not even do I demur

quo minus abeam decemviratu." Consultum senatus
to resign my decemvirate." A decree of the senate

factum, ut decemviri primo quoque tempore
was *then* made, "that the decemvirs should, without delay,

abdicarent se magistratu. Q. Furius maximus
resign their office; that Quintus Furius, chief

pontifex crearet tribunos plebis,
pontiff, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes;

et secessio militum plebisque ne esset
and that the secession of the soldiers and commons should not *accrue*

fraudi cui. His consultis senatus perfectis
to the detriment of anyone." These decrees [of the senate] being finished,

senatu dimisso, decemviri prodeunt in concionem
the senate being dismissed, the decemvirs come forth into the assembly

abdicantque se magistratu, ingenti lætitia hominum
and resign their office to the extreme joy of all.

Nuntiantur hæc plebi. Quidquid hominum
News of this is carried to the commons. Whatever people

supererat in urbe prosequitur legatos.
there were remaining in the city escorted the deputies.

Huic multitudini occurrit alia læta turba ex castris:
This crowd is met by another joyous body from the camp;

congratulantur restitutam libertatem
they congratulate each other on the re-establishment of liberty

concordiamque civitati. Legati pro concione:
and concord in the state. The deputies in presence of the assembly

"sit quod bonum, faustum, felixque vobis,
say, "Be it advantageous, fortunate and happy for you

reique publicæ, redite in patriam ad vestros penates
and the republic, return into your country to your household gods,

conjuges liberosque. Sed, qua modestia fuistis
your wives and children; but the *same* moderation which you have

hic, ubi in usu tot rerum
observed here, where, amid the consumption of so many matters

necessario tantæ multitudini, nullius ager
necessary for so large a number of persons, no man's field

est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in urbem.
has been injured,— that moderation carry *with you* into the city.

Ite in Aventinum, unde profecti estis:
Go to the Aventine, whence you removed.

ibi felici loco, ubi inchoastis prima initia vestræ
In that auspicious place, where you took the first step towards [your]

libertatis, creabitis tribunos plebis: maximus
liberty, you shall elect tribunes of the commons. The chief

pontifex erit præsto, qui habeat comitia." Ingens
pontiff will be at hand to hold the elections." Great

fuit assensus alacritasque approbantium
was their assent and joy *as shown* in their approbation of

cuncta. Inde convellunt signa, profectique
every measure They then hastily raise the standards, and having set out

Romam, certant gaudio cum obviis. Perveniunt
for Rome, vie in exultation with all *they* met. They march

armati silentio per urbem in Aventinum. Ibi
under arms, in silence, through the city to the Aventine. There

maximo pontifice extemplo habente comitia,
the chief pontiff instantly holding an assembly,

creaverunt tribunos plebis, primum omnium
they elected tribunes of the commons: first of all

L. Virginium inde L. Icilium et P. Numitorium
Lucius Virginius; then Lucius Icilius and Publius Numitorius

avunculum Virginiæ, auctores secessionis, tum
the uncle of Virginia, the advisers of the secession; then

C. Sicinium— progeniem ejus, quem
Caius Sicinius, a descendant of him who

proditum memoriæ est primum tribunum plebis creatum
is recorded *as* the first tribune of the commons elected

in Sacro monte— et M. Duilium, qui gesserat
on the Sacred Mount; and Marcus Duilius, who had passed through

insignem tribunatum ante creatos decemviros,
a distinguished tribuneship before the creation of the decemvirs,

nec defuerat plebi in certaminibus
and was never wanting to the commons in their contests

decemviralibus: deinde electi magis spe
with the decemvirs. At the same time were elected, more from hope

quam meritis M. Titinius,
entertained of them than from *any* services *performed*, Marcus Titinius,

M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius.
Marcus Pomponius, Caius Apronius, Publius Villius, *and* Caius Oppius.

Lucius Icilius, extemplo inito tribunatu,
Lucius Icilius, immediately upon entering on his tribuneship,

rogavit plebem, et plebs scivit, secessio
roposed to the commons, and the commons ordered, "that the secession

ab decemviris ne esset fraudi cui.
from the decemvirs should not *result* in injury to any *individual*."

Confestim M. Duilius pertulit rogationem de
Immediately *after*, Duilius carried a proposition for

creandis consulibus cum provocatione. Ea omnia
"electing consuls with privilege of appeal." All this

acta concilio plebis in Flaminiis pratis,
was transacted in an assembly of the commons in the Flaminian meadows,

quem nunc appellant Flaminium circum.
which they now call the Flaminian circus.

LV.—Deinde per interregem L. Valerius,
Then through an interrex Lucius Valerius *and*

M. Horatius creati consules, qui extemplo occeperunt
Marcus Horatius were elected consuls, who immediately entered on

magistratum: quorum consulatus fuit
their office, [U. C. 306; B. C. 446;] whose consulate was

popularis sine ulla injuria patrum,
popular without any *actual* ill-treatment of the patricians, *though*

nec sine offensione: enim quidquid caveretur
not without their displeasure; for whatever provision was made

libertati plebis, id credebant
for *securing* the liberty of the commons, that they imagined

decedere suis opibus. Primum omnium, cum esset
was a diminution of their own power. First of all, when it was

velut in controverso jure, patresne tenerentur
as it were, a point in controversy, whether patricians were bound

plebiscitis, tulere legem comitiis
by decrees of the commons, they passed a law in an assembly

centuriatis, ut, quod plebes jussisset tributim,
of the centuries, "that whatever the commons ordered collectively,

teneret populum: qua lege acerrimum telum
should bind the *whole* people;" by which law a most keen-edged weapon

datum est rogationibus tribuniciis. Deinde
was given to propositions *introduced* by tribunes. Then

aliam legem consularem de provocatione—
another law *made* by a consul concerning the right of appeal,

unicum præsidium libertatis— eversam
(a singular security to liberty, *and which had been* subverted

decemvirali potestate, non modo restituunt,
by decemviral power,) they not only revive.

sed etiam muniunt in posterum, sanciendo novam
but guard it also for the time to come, by enacting a new

legem, ne quis crearet ullum magistratum
law, "that no one should appoint any magistrate

sine provocatione: quis creasset,
without a privilege of appeal; *if* any person should *so* elect,

jus fasque esset eum occidi, ea cædes
it would be lawful and right that he be put to death; *and* that such killing

neve haberetur capitalis noxæ. Et cum
should not be accounted a capital offense." And when

satis firmassent plebem provocatione
they had sufficiently secured the commons by the right of appeal

hinc auxilio tribunicio hinc, renovarunt
on the one side, *and* the aid of the tribunes on the other, they renew

tribunis quoque ipsis, ut viderentur
to the tribunes themselves *the privilege*, that they should be deemed

sacrosancti— memoria cujus rei
sacred and inviolable, (the memory of which matter

jam prope aboleverat— relatis quibusdam cærimoniis
had now been almost lost,) reclaiming certain ceremonies

ex magno intervallo: et fecerunt eos inviolatos cum
from their long disuse; and they rendered them inviolable as well

religione tum etiam lege, sanciendo ut,
by *this* religious institution as also by a law enacting, that

qui nocuisset tribunis plebis, ædilibus,
"whoever should offer injury to tribunes of the commons, ædiles,

judicibus, decemviris, ejus caput sacrum esset
judges, decemvirs, his person should be devoted

Jovi, familia venum iret ad ædem Cereris,
to Jupiter, *and* his property confiscated at the temple of Ceres,

Liberi, Liberæque. Interpretes juris negant quemquam
Liber and Libera." Commentators deny that any person

esse hac lege sacrosanctum, sed eum, qui
is by this law sacrosanct; but that he, who

quid nocuerit cuiquam eorum, id sacrum sanciri:
may do an injury to any of them, is deemed to be devoted;

itaque ædilem prehendi ducique
therefore that an ædile may be arrested and carried *to prison*

a majoribus magistratibus, quod etsi
by superior magistrates, which, though

non fiat jure— enim noceri ei,
it be not *expressly* warranted by law, for an injury is done to a person

cui non liceat hac lege— tamen
to whom it is not lawful *to do an injury* according to this law, yet

argumentum esse ædilem non haberi pro sacrosancto:
it is a proof that an ædile is not considered as sacred;

tribunos sacrosanctos esse vetere jurejurando
that the tribunes were sacred and inviolable by an ancient oath

plebis, cum primum creavit eam potestatem.
of the commons *taken*, when first they created that office.

Fuere qui interpretarentur, hac eadem
There have been *persons* who supposed, that by this same

Horatia lege cautum esse consulibus quoque,—
Horatian law provision was made for the consuls also,

enim consulem appellari judicem,— et prætoribus,
(for that a consul was called a judge,) and for the prætors,

quia crearentur eisdem auspiciis, quibus consules:
because they were elected under the same auspices as the consuls.

Quæ interpretatio refellitur, quod iis temporibus
Which interpretation is refuted, because in those times

nondum mos fuerat consulem appellari judicem
it was not yet the custom for the consul to be styled judge,

sed prætorem. Hæc fuere leges consulares.
but prætor. These were the laws *proposed* by the consuls.

Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus, ut consulta
It was also regulated by the same consuls, that the decrees

senatus, quæ antea supprimebantur vitiabanturque
of the senate, which before that used to be suppressed and altered

arbitrio consulum, deferrentur ad ædiles
at the pleasure of the consuls, should *now* be deposited with the ædiles

plebis in ædem Cereris. M. Duilius
of the commons in the temple of Ceres. Marcus Duilius

tribunus plebis deinde rogavit plebem, plebesque
plebeian tribune, afterwards proposed to the commons, and the commons

scivit, qui reliquisset plebem sine tribunis,
enacted, that "whoever left the commons without tribunes,

quique creasset magistratum sine
and whoever caused the election of a magistrate without

provocatione, puniretur tergo ac capite.
the right of appeal, should be punished with stripes and beheaded."

Hæc omnia, ut invitis patriciis, ita
All these matters, though against the feelings of the patricians, [yet]

transacta non adversantibus, quia nondum sæviebatur
passed off without their opposition, because no severity was yet

in quemquam unum.
aimed at any particular person.

LVI.—Deinde et tribunicia potestate, et libertate
Then both the tribunitian office and the liberty

plebis fundata, tribuni, rati
of the commons being firmly established, the tribunes, judging it

jam tum maturum tutumque aggredi singulos
now seasonable and safe to attack individuals,

deligunt Virginium primum accusatorem et Appium
single out Virginius *as* the first prosecutor, and Appius

reum. Cum Virginius dixisset diem Appio,
as defendant. When Virginius appointed a day for Appius,

et Appius descendisset in forum, stipatus juvenibus
and Appius came down to the forum, attended by *some* young

patriciis, memoria fœdissimæ potestatis
patricians, the memory of his most profligate *exercise of* authority

extemplo redintegrata est omnibus, cum vidissent
was instantly revived in *the minds of* all, as soon as they beheld

ipsum ejusque satellites. Tum Virginius inquit
himself and his satellites. Then Virginius says,

" oratio inventa est rebus dubiis:
" Long speeches have been invented for cases of a doubtful nature.

itaque ego neque teram tempus accusando eum
Accordingly I shall neither waste time in dwelling on the guilt of this

apud vos, a cujus crudelitate ipsi vindicastis
man before you, from whose cruelty you have rescued

vosmet armis, nec patiar istum adjicere
yourselves by *force of* arms, nor shall I suffer him to add

impudentiam ad cetera scelera in defendendo se.
impudence to his other *enormous* crimes in defending himself.

Igitur, Appi Claudi, facio gratiam tibi
Wherefore, Appius Claudius, I remit to you

omnium impie nefarieque, quæ per biennium
all the impious and flagitious *deeds*, which during two years *past*

es ausus alia super alia: unius criminis
you have dared *to commit* in constant succession. *In respect* of one crime

tantum nisi dices judicem, te non
only, unless you will appoint a judge, *and prove* that you have not,

contra leges vindicias dedisse ab libertate in
contrary to the laws, sentenced a free person to

servitutem, jubebo te duci in vincula."
slavery, I order that you be taken into custody."

Nec in auxilio tribunicio, nec in judicio populi,
Neither in the aid of the tribunes nor in a sentence of the people,

Appius habebat ullam spem: attamen et appellavit
could Appius place any hope; yet he both appealed to

tribunos, et nullo morante arreptus a viatore
the tribunes, and, no one interposing, *on* being seized by the bailiff

inquit "provoco." Audita una vox
he cries out, "I appeal." The hearing of *this* one expression,

vindex libertatis missa ex eo ore, quo
that safeguard of liberty,— uttered from that mouth by which

vindiciæ nuper dictæ erant ab libertate,
sentence had *so* lately been pronounced against a free citizen,

fecit silentium: et, dum fremunt
occasioned *general* silence: and, whilst they observe

quisque pro se tandem esse deos, et
one to another that "at length there are gods, and

non negligere humana, et pœnas venire
that they do not disregard human affairs; and that punishments await

superbiæ crudelitatique etsi seras tamen non leves,
pride and cruelty, *which*, though late, *are* still by no means light;

provocare, qui sustulisset provocationem, et
that he *now* appealed, who had abolished *all* right of appeal; and

implorare præsidium populi, qui obtrisset
that he implored the protection of the people, who had trampled down

omnia populi jura, rapique in vincula
all the people's rights; and that he was dragged off to prison,

egentem jure libertatis, qui addixisset liberum
destitute of the rights of liberty, who had doomed a free

corpus in servitutem,— inter murmur concionis
person to slavery,—" amid *these* murmurs of the assembly

vox Appii exaudiebatur implorantis fidem
the voice of Appius was heard imploring the protection

Romani populi. Commemorabat merita majorum
of the Roman people. He enumerated " the services of his forefathers

in rempublicam domi militiæque,
to the state, *both* in peace and war;

suum infelix studium erga Romanam plebem, quo
his own unfortunate zeal towards the Roman commons, when,

causa æquandarum legum abisset consulatu
for the sake of equalizing the laws, he resigned the consulship

cum maxima offensione patrum, suas
to the extreme displeasure of the patricians; *mentioning* his own

leges, quibus manentibus lator eorum
laws; and that, *while* they *yet* remained in force, the framer of them

ducatur in vincula. Ceterum propria bona
was to be dragged to confinement. But the peculiar advantages

malaque sua, se tum experturum, cum
and disadvantages of his *case*, he would then make trial of, when

facultas data sit dicendæ causæ: in
an opportunity would be afforded him of pleading his cause. At

præsentia communi jure civitatis se Romanum
present, by the common right of citizenship, he, a Roman

civem postulare, ut liceat dicere die
citizen, demanded that he be allowed to speak on the day

dicta, ut experiri judicium Romani populi.
appointed, *and* to appeal to the judgment of the Roman people.

Se non pertimuisse invidiam ita, ut nihil habeat spei
That he did not dread *popular* rage so much as not to place any hope

in æquitate et misericordia suorum civium. Quod si
in the equity and compassion of his countrymen. But if

ducatur in vincula causa indicta, se iterum appellare
he were led to prison without being heard, he again called on

tribunos plebei et monere, ne imitentur
the tribunes of the commons, and warned *them* not to imitate

quos oderint. Quod si tribuni fateantur
those whom they hated. But should the tribunes acknowledge

se obligatos eodem fœdere causa tollendæ
themselves bound in the same confederacy for abolishing

appellationis, in quam criminati sint decemviros
the right of appeal, which they charged the decemvirs with

conspirasse, at se provocare ad populum, implorare
having formed, then he appealed to the people, *and* implored

leges de provocatione latas eo ipso anno
the *benefit of the* laws concerning appeals passed that very year,

et consulares et tribunicias. Enim quem
both by the consuls and tribunes. For who

provocaturum, si hoc non liceat indemnato
was to appeal, if this were not allowed a person *as yet* uncondemned,

causa indicta? Cui plebeio et humili
whose case *was* still unheard? What plebeian and humble man

fore præsidium in legibus, si Ap. Claudio
would find protection in the laws, if Appius Claudius

non sit? Se futurum documento, utrum novis
could not? That his *case* would afford a proof, whether, by the new

legibus dominatio an libertas firmata sit, et
regulations tyranny or liberty was established; and

appellatio provocatioque adversus injuriam
whether the right of appeal and of challenge against injustice

magistratuum tantum ostentata inanibus litteris,
of magistrates was only held out in empty words,

an vere data sit."
or effectually granted."

LVII.—Virginius contra ea aiebat
Virginius, on the other hand, affirmed

Ap. Claudium esse unum et expertem legum
"that Appius Claudius was the only person *that* had no claim to the laws

et civilis et humani fœderis. Homines respicerent
nor to civil nor human society. That men should look to

tribunal castellum omnium scelerum, ubi ille
the tribunal,— *that* fortress of all villainies: where that

perpetuus decemvir, infestus bonis, tergo,
perpetual decemvir, venting his fury on the properties, backs

sanguini civium, minitans omnibus virgas
and blood of the citizens, threatening all with his rods

securesque, contemptor deorum hominumque,
and axes, a despiser of gods and men,

stipatus carnificibus non lictoribus verso animo
attended with executioners, not lictors, changing his mind

jam ab rapinis et cædibus ad libidinem
at length from rapines and murders to *the gratification of* lust,

in oculis Romani populi abreptam ingenuam
had, before the eyes of the Roman people, torn a free-born

virginem ab complexu patris, velut captam
maiden from the embraces of her father, as if *she had been* taken

bello; dederit dono clienti ministro
in war, *and* given her as a present to a dependant,— the pander

sui cubiculi, ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque
to his secret pleasures; where, by a cruel decree, and by a most villainous

vindiciis armaverit dextram patris in filiam,
decision, he had armed the hand of a father against his child;

ubi magis motus interpellato stupro
where, more strongly affected by the interruption of his foul ravishment

quam cæde, jusserit avunculum
than by her *untimely* death, he had ordered the uncle

sponsumque virginis tollentes semianime corpus
and spouse of the maid on their raising her lifeless body,

duci in carcerem. Carcerem ædificatum esse et illi,
to be thrown into prison. That the prison was built for him also

quod solitus sit vocare domicilium Romanæ plebis.
which he used to style the mansion of the Roman commons

Proinde, ut ille provocet iterum ac sæpius,
Wherefore, though he, may appeal again and oftener,

se sic iterum ac sæpius ferre illi judicem,
he would as frequently refer him to a judge, *to decide*

ni dederit vindicias ab libertate in servitutem.
whether he did not sentence a free person to slavery;

Si non eat ad judicem, jubere duci
If he would not go before a judge, that he ordered *him* to be carried

in vincula pro damnato. Conjectus est in
into confinement as one condemned." He was thrown into

carcerem, ut haud quoquam improbante,
prison, *and* though without the disapprobation of any individual,

sic magno motu animorum cum
yet *not* without considerable emotions of *the public* mind, when

supplicio tanti viri suamet
in the *light of the* punishment of so distinguished a man their own

libertas jam videretur plebi nimia.
liberty began to appear to the commons *as* excessive.

Tribunus prodixit ei diem. Inter hæc legati
The tribune deferred the day of his trial. Meanwhile ambassadors

ab Hernicis et Latinis venerunt Romam gratulatum
from the Hernicians and Latins came to Rome with congratulations

de concordia patrum ac plebis,
on the harmony *subsisting* between the patricians and commons

donumque ob eam Jovi optimo maximo
and *as* an offering on that account to Jupiter, supremely good and great

tulere in Capitolium auream coronam parvi ponderis
carried to the Capitol a golden crown of small weight,

prout res haud opulentæ erant, religionesque
as riches *at that time* did not abound, and the duties of religion

colebantur magis pie quam magnifice. Iisdem
were performed rather with piety than magnificence. From the same

auctoribus cognitum est, Æquos Volscosque
source it was ascertained that the Æquans and Volscians

apparare bellum summa vi. Consules
were preparing for war with the utmost vigor. The consuls

itaque jussi partiri provincias: Sabini
were therefore ordered to divide the provinces *between them*. The Sabines

evenere Horatio, Æqui Volscique
fell *to the lot of* Horatius, the Æquans and Volscians

Valerio. Cum edixissent dilectum ad ea bella,
to *that of* Valerius. On their proclaiming a levy for these wars,

favore plebis non modo juniores
through the good wishes of the commons, not only the younger men

sed etiam emeritis stipendiis magna pars
but even *of* those who had served out their time a great portion

voluntariorum præsto fuere ad danda nomina, eoque
as volunteers attended to give in their names; and hence

exercitus fuit firmior non modo copia, sed etiam
the army was stronger not only by the number, but also

genere militum, veteranis admixtis. Priusquam
by the kind of soldiers,— veterans being mixed *with them*. Before

egrederentur urbem, proposuerunt in publico
they marched out of the city, they fixed up in public *view*

decemvirales leges incisas in æs,— quibus est nomen
the decemviral laws engraved on brass, which have *received* the name

duodecim tabulis. Sunt, qui scribant ædiles
of the "Twelve Tables." There are *some* who state that the ædiles

functos eo ministerio jussu tribunorum.
discharged that office by order of the tribunes.

LVIII.—C. Claudius, qui perosus scelera
Caius Claudius, who, detesting the crimes

decemvirorum et ante omnes infestus superbiæ
of the decemvirs, and, above all, disgusted at the arrogant conduct

fratris filii contulerat se in Regillum
of his nephew, had retired to Regillum

patriam antiquam, is cum redisset
the country of his ancestors, [he] having returned,

jam magno natu ad deprecanda pericula
though now advanced in years, to deprecate the dangers

ejus cujus vitia fugerat,
impending over that *man* whose vices he had shunned, *appearing*

in foro sordidatus cum gentilibus
in the forum, clad in a mourning habit, with his relations

clientibusque prensabat singulos
and dependants, solicited *the interest of* the citizens individually,

orabatque, ne vellent eam maculam inustam
and besought them "not to allow such a stigma to be fastened

Claudiæ genti, ut viderentur digni carcere
on the Claudian family, as to consider *them* deserving of imprisonment

et vinculis: virum imaginis futurum honoratissimæ
and chains; that a man *whose* image would be most highly honored

ad posteros, latorem legum conditoremque
with posterity, the framer of their laws and the founder

Romani juris— jacere vinctum inter nocturnos
of Roman jurisprudence, lay in fetters amongst nightly

fures ac latrones! Averterent animos
thieves and robbers! *He begged* that they would turn away their minds

ab ira ad cognitionem cogitationemque; et
from resentment to examination and reflection; and

potius condonarent unum deprecantibus
rather pardon one at the intercession of

tot Claudiis, quam propter odium unius
such a number of Claudii, than through hatred of one

aspernarentur preces multorum. Se quoque
reject the prayers of a multitude; that he himself also

dare id generi ac nomini, nec redisse in gratiam
paid this *tribute* to the family and the name; nor had he been reconciled

cum eo, cujus adversæ fortunæ velit succursum.
to him, whose unfortunate situation he wished to relieve;

Virtute libertatem recuperatam esse, clementia
that by fortitude liberty had been recovered; *and* by clemency

concordiam ordinum posse stabiliri. Erant,
the harmony of the *several* orders might be established." *Some* there were

quos moveret magis sua pietate, quam
whom he influenced more by his affection *for his family*, than

causa ejus, pro quo agebat: sed Virginius orabat
for the sake of him for whom he interceded. But Virginius begged

potius misererentur sui filiæque,
that "they would rather pity him and his daughter; *and*

audirent preces nec Claudiæ gentis
that they would listen to the entreaties not of the Claudian family,

sortitæ regnum in plebem, sed
which had assumed a *sort of* sovereignty over the commons, but

necessariorum Virginiæ— trium tribunorum,
to those of the near relations of Virginia, the three tribunes;

qui creati ad auxilium plebis,
who, having been elected for the protection of the commons,

ipsi implorarent fidem atque auxilium plebis.
were *now* themselves imploring the favor and protection of *those* commons."

Hæ lacrimæ videbantur justiores: itaque
These tears appeared more just. Accordingly

spe incisa Appius mortem sibi conscivit,
all hope being cut off, Appius committed suicide,

priusquam dies adesset prodicta. Subinde
before the day arrived appointed for *his* trial. Immediately after,

Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiæ, quod fuerat
Spurius Oppius, the next *object* of *public* indignation, as having been

in urbe, cum injustæ vindiciæ dicerentur
in the city when the unjust sentence was pronounced

a collega, arreptus a P. Numitorio. Tamen
by his colleague, was arraigned by Publius Numitorius. However,

injuria facta Oppio fecit plus invidiæ
an act of injustice committed by Oppius brought more odium *on him*,

quam non prohibita: testis
than the not preventing *one in the case of Appius*. A witness

productus, qui enumeratis septem et viginti
was brought forward, who, after reckoning up twenty-seven

stipendiis extra ordinem donatus octies,
campaigns, after having been particularly honored eight *different* times,

que gerens ea dona in conspectu populi—
and wearing these honors in the sight of the *Roman* people,

scissa veste ostendit tergum laceratum virgis,
tearing open his garment showed his back mangled with stripes,

nihilum deprecans, quin, si reus posset dicere
begging no other *conditions*, but that, "if the accused could name

quam noxam suam, privatus
any one guilty act of his, he might, *though* a private citizen,

iterum sæviret in se. Oppius quoque ductus in
repeat his severity on him." Oppius was also thrown into

vincula, et ibi fecit finem vitæ ante diem judicii.
prison, where he put a period to his life before the day of trial.

Tribuni publicavere bona Appii Oppiique. Eorum
The tribunes confiscated the property of Appius and Oppius. Their

collegæ verterunt solum causa exsilii, bona
colleagues left their homes to go into exile; their property

publicata sunt. Et M. Claudius assertor
was confiscated. Then Marcus Claudius, the claimant

Virginiæ damnatus die dicta dimissus
of Virginia, being condemned on the day of his trial, was discharged

abiit exsulatum Tibur, Virginio ipso remittente
and went away into exile to Tibur, Virginius himself remitting

ultimam pœnam: manesque Virginiæ—
the extreme penalty *of the law;* and *now* the shade of Virginia,

felicioris mortuæ quam vivæ— vagati
ore fortunate after death than *when* living, having roamed

per tot domos ad petendas pœnas, tandem
through so many families in quest of vengeance, at length

quieverunt, nullo sonte relicto.
rested in peace, none of the guilty being left *unpunished.*

LIX.—Ingens metus incesserat patres,
Great alarm seized the patricians,

vultusque tribunorum jam inde erant qui
and the countenances of the tribunes were now *the same* as *those*

decemvirorum fuerant, cum M. Duilius, tribunus
of the decemvirs had been, when Marcus Duilius, tribune

plebis, inhibito salubriter modo nimiæ potestatis,
of the commons, having put a salutary check to their immoderate power,

inquit "et est satis libertatis nostræ,
says, "There has been both enough of liberty on our own part,

et pœnarum ex inimicis: itaque hoc anno
and of vengeance on our enemies; wherefore for this year

nec passurus diem dici cuiquam nec
I will neither suffer a day of trial to be appointed for any one nor

quemquam duci in vincula: nam neque placet
any person to be put into confinement: for it is neither pleasing *to me*

vetera peccata jam obliterata repeti
that old crimes now buried in oblivion should be again brought forward,

cum nova expiata sint suppliciis
seeing that recent ones have been expiated by the punishment

decemvirorum, et perpetua cura amborum consulum
of the decemvirs; and the unremitting care of both the consuls

in tuenda vestra libertate, spondet nihil
in defending your liberties, is ample security that nothing

adhibitum in; quod desideret tribuniciam vim."
will be employed which will call for tribunician interference."

Ea moderatio tribuni primum dempsit
That moderation of the tribune first dampened

metum patribus, eademque auxit invidiam
the fears of the patricians and at the same time increased their ill-will

consulum; quod fuissent adeo toti plebis,
towards the consuls for they had been entirely devoted to the commons,

ut plebeio magistratui fuisset prior cura salutis
that even a plebeian magistrate manifested an earlier interest in the safety

suae quam patricio; et
and liberty of the patricians, than one of patrician rank; and

nisi ea salutaris cepisset penarum
that unless they would have been ordered with salutary punishments

metum, ante, quam consules appareret obviam iturus
to them before the consuls to all appearance would have resisted

[illegible] multique erant, qui dicerent
their [illegible] And there were many, who said

mollius consultum, quod patres
that a more mild course was shown, inasmuch as the fathers

auctores fuissent legum latarum ab iis, neque
had given their approbation to the laws proposed [by them,] nor

erat dubium, quin turbato statu reipublicae
was there a doubt but that in the troubled state of the public affairs

plebs cessisset tempori.
the had yielded to the times.

CONTENTS OF BOOK IV.

I., etc. *A law, permitting the intermarriage of plebeians with patricians, carried, after a violent struggle and strong opposition on the part of the patricians.* VI., etc. *Military tribunes, with consular power, created. Censors created. The lands, which were taken from the people of Ardea by an unjust determination of the Roman people, restored. Spurius Mælius, suspected of aiming at regal power, slain by Caius Servilius Ahala. Cornelius Cossus, having killed Tolumnus, king of the Veientians, offers the second "opima spolia." Duration of the censorship, originally five years, limited to one year and a half. Fidenæ reduced, and a colony settled there. The colonists murdered by the Fidenatians, who are reconquered by Mamercus Æmilius, dictator. A conspiracy of slaves suppressed. Postumius, a military tribune, slain by the army for his cruelties. Pay first given to the soldiers out of the public treasury. Military operations against the Volscians, Fidenatians and Faliscians.* [U. C. 310–351 ; B. C. 442–401.]

LIBER QUARTUS

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAP'S. I—VI.

I.—M. Genucius et C. Curtius secuti hos consules
Marcus Genucius and Caius Curtius followed these *as* consuls.

Annus fuit infestus domi forisque. Nam
The year was disturbed *both* at home and abroad. For

principio anni C. Canuleius, tribunus plebis,
in the beginning of the year Caius Canuleius, a tribune of the people.

et promulgavit rogationem de connubio
[both] proposed a law concerning the intermarriage

patrum et plebis, qua patres rebantur
of the patricians and plebeians, by which the patricians considered

suum sanguinem contaminari, juraque gentium
that their blood would be contaminated, and the privileges of birth

confundi: et mentio, primo sensim illata
would be confounded; and a hint at first lightly suggested

a tribunis, liceret fieri
by the tribunes, that liberty ought to be granted of choosing

alterum consulem ex plebe, deinde
one of the consuls from among the commons, afterwards

processit eo, ut novem tribuni promulgarent
proceeded so far, that the *other* nine tribunes proposed

rogationem, ut populo potestas esset faciendi
a bill, "that the people should have power of electing

consules seu de plebe, seu de patribus
consuls either from among the commons or the patricians,

vellet. Vero credebant, si id fieret,
as they should think fit." But they were of opinion that if this took place,

summum imperium non modo vulgari cum infimis,
the supreme authority would not only be shared with the very lowest

sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem.
ranks, but be wholly transferred from the nobility to the commons.

Læti ergo patres audiere, populum
With *great* joy therefore, the patricians heard that the people

Ardeatium ob injuriam abjudicati agri
of Ardea, in consequence of the injustice of the taking away their land,

descisse, et Veientes depopulatos extrema
had revolted, and that the Veientians had laid waste the frontiers

Romani agri, et Volscos Æquosque fremere
of the Roman territory, and that the Volscians and Æquans murmured

ob communitam Verruginem :— adeo præferebant
on account of the fortifying of Verrugo ; so much did they prefer

vel infelix bellum ignominiosæ paci. His
even an unsuccessful war to an ignominious peace. These *tidings*

itaque acceptis etiam in majus, ut inter
therefore being received and with exaggerations, in order that during

strepitum tot bellorum tribuniciæ actiones
the bustle of so many wars the tribunitian proceedings

conticiscerent, jubent dilectus haberi
might be suspended, they order the levies to be held,

apparari bellum armaque summa vi,
preparations to be made for war and arms with the utmost diligence,

quo intentius si possit, quam apparatum sit
even with more despatch, if possible, than had been used

consule T. Quinctio. Tum C. Canuleius vociferatus
in the consulate of Titus Quintius. Then Caius Canuleius declared aloud

pauca in senatu, consules nequidquam avertere
in brief terms in the senate, that "the consuls *wished* in vain to divert

plebem a cura novarum legum territando,
the commons from attention to the new laws by *thus* raising apprehensions

eos nunquam habituros dilectum se vivo, antequam
that they should never hold a levy *while* he was alive, before

plebes scivisset ea quæ promulgata essent
the people had *first* ratified those *laws* which were proposed

ab se collegisque : et confestim advocavit
by himself and colleagues ;" and he instantly summoned them

ad concionem.
to an assembly.

II.—Et consules incitabat senatum in tribunum,
Both the consuls incited the senate against the tribune,

et tribunus populum in consules eodem tempore.
and the tribune the people against the consuls at one and the same time.

Consules negabant tribunicios furores posse
The consuls asserted " that tribunitian frenzies could not

jam ultra ferri, jam ventum esse ad finem,
be any longer endured ; that they were now come to a crisis ;

plus belli concitari domi quam foris,
that more hostilities were being stirred up at home than abroad.

Id accidere nón adeo culpa plebis quam
That this happened not more through the fault of the commons than

patrum, neque magis tribunorum quam
of the patricians ; nor more *through that* of the tribunes than

consulum. In civitate cujus rei præmium sit,
of the consuls. In *any* state whatever practices meet with rewards,

eam semper crescere maximis auctibus : sic
these always thrived with the greatest proficiency : that thus *it was*

fieri bonos pace, sic bello. Romæ
that *men* became meritorious in peace, thus in war. That at Rome

maximum præmium esse seditionum, id
the highest reward was for sedition ; this

semper fuisse honori et singulis universisque.
had ever been the source of honor both to individuals and to collective bodies.

Reminiscerentur, quam ipsi accepissent
They should remember in what condition they had received

majestatem senatus a patribus, quam
the majesty of the senate from their fathers, in what condition

tradituri essent liberis : ut—quemadmodum
they were about to transmit it to their children ; that, like

plebs— posset gloriari
the commons, they should have it in their power to boast

esse auctiorem amplioremque. Ergo
that it was improved in degree and splendor. That [therefore]

finem non fieri, nec futuram, donec auctores
there was no end, nor would there be, so long as the promoters

seditionum honorati essent tam, quam seditiones
of sedition were rewarded with honor in proportion as sedition

felices. Quas quantasque res C. Canuleium
was successful. What and how important schemes C. Canuleius

aggressum! Afferre colluvionem gentium,
had set on foot! that he was introducing a prostitution of family *rank*,

perturbationem auspiciorum publicorum
a disturbance of the auspices both public

privatorumque, ne quid sit sinceri, ne quid
and private, that nothing might be left pure, nothing

incontaminati, ut, omni discrimine sublato,
unpolluted; that, all distinction being abolished,

nec quisquam noverit se nec suos. Enim
no one might know either himself or his *station*. For

quam aliam vim habere promiscua connubia,
what other tendency had *such* promiscuous intermarriages,

nisi ut concubitus plebis patrumque
except that intercourse between commons and patricians

vulgentur prope ritu ferarum? Ut,
might be made common much after the manner of brutes? So that

qui natus sit, ignoret cujus sanguinis sit,
of the offspring each may be ignorant of what blood he may be

quorum sacrorum sit, sit dimidius patrum.
of what form of religion he was; that he may belong half to the patricians

dimidius plebis, ne ipse concors quidem secum.
half to the commons, not being homogeneous even with himself.

Id parum videri, quod omnia divina humanaque
That it appeared not enough, that all things divine and human

turbentur: turbatores vulgi
should be confounded; that *those* disturbers of the common people

jam accingi ad consulatum. Et primo
were now preparing to *invade* the consulship; and first

tentasse modo sermonibus id
that they sounded *people's sentiments* in mere conversation on the project

ut alter consul fieret ex plebe: nunc
of having one consul appointed from among the commons; that now

rogari populus creet consules seu
a proposition was offered, 'that the people might elect consuls either

ex patribus, seu ex plebe
from among the patricians, or from among the plebeians,

velit. Et creaturos haud dubie
as they might think fit;' and that they would appoint no doubt

quemque seditiosissimum: Canuleios igitur Iciliosque
every most turbulent person: The Canulcii, therefore, and Icilii

fore consules. Jupiter optimus maximus ne sineret
would be consuls. *But* might Jupiter, supremely good and great, forbid

imperium majestatis regiæ eo recidere.
that the imperial majesty of the sovereign power should descend to that.

et se potius morituros millies,
and for their part they would rather die a thousand deaths

quam ut patiantur tantum dedecoris admitti.
than suffer such disgrace to be incurred.

Habere certum, si majores quoque divinassent
They were confident that, could their ancestors [even] have foreseen

concedendo omnia plebem futuram
that in *the face of* unlimited concessions the commons would become

non mitiorem in se, sed asperiorem
not more placable to them, but more intractable

postulando alia ex aliis iniquiora, cum
by making successive demands *still* more unreasonable, after

impetrasset prima, primo subituros fuisse
they had obtained the first, they would from the start have struggled with

quamlibet dimicationem potius, quam paterentur
any difficulties whatever, rather than have allowed

eas leges imponi sibi. Quia tum concessum sit
such terms to be imposed on them. Because it was then conceded *to them*

de tribunis, concessum esse iterum:
with respect to tribunes, the concession was made a second time

fieri non finem: tribunos plebis et patres
This would be the case forever; tribunes of the commons and a senate

posse non esse in eadem civitate: aut hunc ordinem,
could not subsist in the same state; either the one order,

aut illum magistratum tollendum esse, que
or the other office, must be abolished, and

obviam eundum audaciæ temeritatique potius sero,
that a stop should be put to presumption and temerity better late

quam nunquam. Ut illine serentes discordiæ
than never. *Was it right* that they *by* sowing discord

impune concitent finitima bella
should with impunity provoke the neighboring *states* to hostilities

primo deinde prohibeant civitatem armari
[in the first place], and then prevent the state from arming

defendique adversus ea, quæ concitaverint,
and defending itself against those *evils* which they may have occasioned?

et, cum tantum non arcessierint hostes, non
and after they have almost sent for the enemy, not

patiantur exercitus conscribi adversus hostes,
suffer the armies to be levied against *that* enemy?

sed Canuleius audeat proloqui in senatu,
But Canuleius may have the audacity to declare openly in the senate

nisi patres tamquam victoris
that, unless the patricians, *acknowledging* in a manner his superiority,

sinant suas leges accipi, se prohibiturum dilectum
allowed his laws to be enacted, he would prevent the levy from

haberi! Quid aliud esse, quam minari, se
being held. What else was this, than to threaten that he

prodituram patriam, passurum oppugnari
would betray his country, that he would suffer it to be attacked

atque capi? Quid animorum eam vocem allaturam,
and captured? What courage would that declaration afford,

non Romanæ plebi, sed Volscis et Æquis et Veientibus!
not to the Roman commons but to the Volscians, Æquans and Veientians!

Nonne se speraturos, duce Canuleio,
Would they not hope that, under the guidance of Canuleius

posse scandere Capitolium atque arcem, si
they should be able to scale the Capitol and citadel, if,

cum adempta jure ac majestate tribuni
with the deprivation of privilege and majesty, the tribunes

eripuerint patribus animos etiam? Consules
should rob the patricians of their courage also? That *they as* consuls

paratos esse duces adversus scelus
were prepared to act *as* their leaders against the wicked schemes

civium prius, quam adversus arma hostium.
of their countrymen before *they would act* against the arms of the enemy."

III.—Maxime cum hæc agerentur in senatu,
Just when these matters were going on in the senate,

Canuleius ita disseruit pro suis legibus et adversus
Canuleius thus declaimed in favor of his laws and against

consules: "Sæpe equidem et ante videor
the consuls: "Frequently even before now I think

animadvertisse, quantopere patres contemnerent vos,
I have observed how much the patricians despised you,

Quirites, quam indignos ducerent, qui viveretis
Romans, how unworthy they esteemed *you* to dwell

una urbe intra eadem mœnia secum: tamen
in the one city *and* within the same walls with them; but

nunc maxime, quod coorti sunt
on the present occasion most clearly, in their having risen up

adeo atroces in has rogationes nostras; quibus
so determinedly in opposition to those propositions of ours; in which

quid aliud quam admonemus nos esse eorum cives
what else *do we do*, but remind *them* that we are their fellow-citizens,

et, si non habere easdem opes, tamen incolere
and that, though we possess not the same power, we yet inhabit

eandem patriam? Altera petimus connubium,
the same country? In the one we demand intermarriage,

quod dari solet finitimis externisque— nos
a thing which is usually granted to neighbors and foreigners: we

quidem dedimus etiam victis hostibus
[you know] have granted even to vanquished enemies

civitatem, quæ plus est quam connubium:—
the right of citizenship, which is more than the right of intermarriage.

altera ferimus nihil novi, sed repetimus atque
In the other, we propose nothing new; but *only* reclaim and

usurpamus id, quod est populi, ut Romanus
enforce that which is the people's; that the Roman

populus mandet honores quibus velit.
people may confer honors on whomsoever they may please

Quid tandem est, cur
And what, in the name of goodness, is it for which

misceant cœlum ac terras, cur
they embroil heaven and earth? why

pæne impetus factus sit in me modo in senatu,
was almost an attack made on me just now in the senate?

negent se temperaturos manibus
why do they say that they will not restrain themselves from violence,

que denuntient violaturos potestatem sacrosanctam?
and threaten that they will insult an office sacred and inviolable?

Hæc urbs non poterit stare, si liberum suffragium
Shall this city no longer be able to stand. if the right of free suffrage

datur Romano populo, ut mandet consulatum,
is granted to the Roman people, to entrust the consulship

quibus velit, et actum est de imperio,
to whomsoever they may think fit? and is it the downfall of the empire,

quoque plebeio— si dignus erit summo honore—
if even a plebeian, however worthy he may be of the highest honor,

non præciditur spes apiscendi summi honoris? Et
is not precluded from the hope of attaining that honor? and

hoc perinde valet, 'plebeiusne fiat consul'
is this of the same import,— 'whether a commoner can be made consul,'

tamquam aliquis dicat servum aut libertinum
as if a person were to propose a slave or the son of a slave

futurum consulem? Ecquid sentitis, in quanto
to be consul? Do you not perceive in what

contemptu vivatis? Si liceat, adimant
contempt you live? Were it in *their* power, they would take

vobis partem hujus lucis: quod spiratis,
from you a participation in this *very* light. That you breathe,

quod mittitis vocem, quod habetis formas
that you have the faculty of speech, that you possess the forms

hominum indignantur: quin— si dis placet—
of human beings, excites *their* indignation: nay even, if you please,

aiunt esse nefas, plebeium fieri consulem.
they say it is an impiety that a plebeian should be made consul.

Obsecro vos, si non admittimur ad fastos, non
For heaven's sake, though we are not admitted to the annals, nor

ad commentarios pontificum,— nec ea quidem scimus,
to the commentaries of the pontiffs, are we ignorant of the things,

quæ etiam omnes peregrini sciunt,
which even every foreigner knows?

consules successisse in locum regum, habere
that consuls were substituted in the place of kings? *and consequently* have

nec quidquam aut juris aut majestatis,
no kind of privilege or dignity

quod non fuerit ante in regibus? En creditis
which was not formerly *inherent* in kings? Do you suppose

unquam auditum esse fando, Numam Pompilium
we ever heard it mentioned that Numa Pompilius,

non modo non patricium, sed ne quidem civem
not only no patrician, but not even a citizen

Romanum, accitum ex agro Sabino,
of Rome, was invited hither from the country of the Sabines,

regnasse Romæ jussu populi
and made sovereign at Rome by the order of the people *and*

auctoribus patribus? Deinde L. Tarquinium,
with the approbation of the senate? that afterwards Lucius Tarquinius,

non modo Romanæ, sed nequidem Italicæ gentis—
not only *not* of Roman, but not even of Italian extraction,

filium Demarati Corinthii— incolam ab Tarquiniis,
the son of Demaratus of Corinth, an emigrant from Tarquinii,

factum regem liberis Anci vivis? Post hunc
was made king *though* the sons of Ancus *were* alive? that after him

Servium Tullium, natum captiva Corniculana,
Servius Tullius the son of a captive woman of Corniculum,

patre nullo, matre serva, tenuisse regnum
his father not known, his mother a slave, obtained the crown

ingenio, virtute? Quid enim dicam de
through his abilities *and* merit? Need I speak of

T. Tatio Sabino, quem Romulus ipse, parens
Titus Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus himself, the founder

urbis, accepit in societatem regni?
of our city, admitted into partnership of the throne?

Ergo, dum nullum genus fastiditur, in quo
Accordingly, whilst no class *of persons* was disdained, in which

virtus eniteret, Romanum imperium crevit.
conspicuous merit appeared, the Roman dominion increased.

Vos nunc pœniteat plebeii consulis, cum nostri
You now show disgust at a plebeian consul, when our

majores non fastidierint advenas reges, et
ancestors disdained not foreigners as kings, and *when*,

quidem exactis regibus urbs ne fuerit clausa
even after the expulsion of kings, the city was not shut

peregrinæ virtuti? Post exactos reges,
against foreign merit? After the expulsion of the kings,

certe accepimus Claudiam gentem ex Sabinis
we certainly admitted the Claudian family from among the Sabines

non modo in civitatem, sed etiam in numerum
not only into citizenship, but even into the number

patriciorum. Ex peregrinone fiat patricius,
of the patricians. Can *a man* from a foreigner be made a patrician,

deinde consul— civis Romanus si sit ex plebe
then a consul? *and* shall a citizen of Rome, if he be a commoner,

præcisa erit spes consulatus? Utrum tandem credimus
be cut off from *all* hope of the consulship? Do we then deem

posse non fieri, ut vir ex plebe sit
it impossible that a man of the commons can be *a person*

fortis ac strenuus bonus pace belloque,
of fortitude and activity qualified *to excel* in peace and war,

similis Numæ, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio: an,
like to Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, *and* Servius Tullius? or,

si quidem sit ne patiemur eum accedere
should there [even] be *such*, shall we not suffer him to meddle

ad gubernacula rei publicæ, que sumus habituri
with the helm of government? and shall we have

consules similes decemviris— teterrimis mortalium,
consuls like the decemvirs,— the most profligate of mankind,

qui erant tamen omnes ex patribus— potius, quam
who were, however, all from among the patricians, rather than

optimis regum novis hominibus?"
like the best of kings, *though* new men?

IV.—"At enimvero nemo de plebe fuit consul
"But, sure enough, no plebeian has been consul

post exactos reges. Quid postea? Debetne nulla
since the expulsion of the kings. What then? Ought no

nova res institui, et, quod nondum est factum—
innovation to be introduced? and what has not yet been practised,

enim in novo populo sunt multa nondum facta—
(and in a new state there are many things not yet practised)

oportet ea ne fieri, si sunt
ought these *measures* be *therefore* rejected, *even* though they be

quidem utilia? Regnante Romulo, erant nulli
evidently advantageous? During the reign of Romulus there were no

pontifices, augures: creati sunt ab Numa Pompilio.
pontiffs, *nor* augurs: they were appointed by Numa Pompilius.

Erat non census in civitate, et descriptio
There was no census in the state, nor the distribution

centuriarum classiumque: est facta ab Ser. Tullio.
of centuries and classes; it was instituted by Servius Tullius.

Numquam fuerunt consules: creati sunt
There never had been consuls; they were created

exactis regibus. Dictatoris nec imperium nec
after the expulsion of the kings. Of a dictator neither the office nor

nomen fuerat: cœpit esse apud patres.
the name had existed; it commenced *its* existence among the senators.

Erant nulli tribuni plebi, ædiles, quæstores:
There were no tribunes of the people, ædiles *nor* quæstors:

institutum est, ut fierent. Intra hos
it was resolved, that *those offices* should be instituted. Within the last

decem annos et creavimus decemviros scribendis
ten years we both created decemvirs for compiling

legibus, et sustulimus e republica. Quis dubitat,
laws, and expelled *them*, from the state. Who can doubt

quin, in urbe condita in æternum, crescente
but that in a city, founded for eternal duration, *and* growing up

in immensum, nova imperia, sacerdotia, jura
to an immense magnitude, new civil offices, priesthoods, rights

gentium hominumque instituantur? Hoc ipsum,
of families and of individuals, may be established? This very *rule*,

esset ne connubium patribus cum plebe,
that there should be no intermarriage of patricians with plebeians

non decemviri tulerunt his paucis annis cum
did not the decemvirs introduce within these few years, with

summa injuria plebis, exemplo
the utmost injustice towards the commons, on a principle

pessimo publico? An potest esse ulla contumelia
highly detrimental to the public? Can there be any insult

major aut insignitior, quam partem civitatis,
greater or more flagrant, than that *one* portion of the state,

velut contaminatam, haberi indignam
as if contaminated, should be held unworthy

connubio. Quid aliud est, quam intra
of intermarrying *with the other?* What else is it than, within

eadem mœnia pati exsilium, quam relegationem?
the same walls, to suffer exile, actual rustication?

Caveant, ne immisceamur affinitatibus
They are apprehensive lest we be united *to them* by affinity

ne propinquitatibus, ne sanguis societur!
or consanguinity; lest our blood be mingled *with theirs!*

Quid— si hoc polluit istam nobilitatem vestram,
What? if this cast a stain on that nobility of yours,

quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis
which most of you, the progeny of Albans and Sabines,

habetis non genere nec sanguine, sed per
possess not in *right of* birth or blood, but by

cooptationem in patres lecti aut ab
co-optation into the patricians, having been elected either by

regibus, aut post exactos reges jussu populi—
the kings, or after the expulsion of kings, by order of the people,

non poteratis servare sinceram privatis consiliis,
could you not keep it pure by private regulations,

nec ducendo ex plebe, neque sinendo
by neither marrying into the commons, nor suffering

vestras filias sororesque enubere e patribus?
your daughters and sisters to marry out of the patricians?

Nemo plebeius afferet vim patriciæ virgini
No plebeian will offer violence to a patrician maiden:

ista libido est patriciorum: nemo coegisset
such lust as that belongs to the patricians; none *of them* would compel

quemquam invitum facere nuptialem pactionem.
any man against his will to enter into a marriage-contract.

Verum enimvero id prohiberi lege, et
But really that such *a thing* should be prevented by law [and]

connubium patrum ac plebis tolli,
that the intermarriage of the patricians and plebeians should be interdicted,

id demum contumeliosum est plebi. Cur enim
this, I tell you, is insulting to the commons. And why

non confertis, ne sit connubium
do you not take measures that there shall be no intermarriage

divitibus ac pauperibus? Quod ubique
between rich and poor? A matter which has in all places

semper fuit privatorum consiliorum, ut
and always been *the business* of private regulations, that

cuique feminæ nuberet, in quam domum convenisset;
each woman should marry into whatever family she has been betrothed to,

vir duceret in matrimonium, ex qua domo
and each man take a wife from whatever family

pactus esset; id vos conjicitis sub vincula
he had contracted with; this you shackle with the restraints

superbissimæ legis, qua dirimatis civilem societatem,
of a most tyrannical law, whereby you tear asunder *the bonds of* civil society,

que faciatis ex una civitate duas. Cur non sancitis,
and split one state into two. Why do you not enact *a law*

plebeius ne sit vicinus patricio,
that a plebeian shall not dwell in the neighborhood of a patrician?

nec eat eodem itinere, ne ineat
that he shall not travel on the same road? that he shall not appear at

idem convivium, ne consistat in eodem foro?
the same entertainment? that he shall not stand in the same forum?

Enim quid aliud est in re, si patricius
For what else is there in the matter, if a patrician

duxerit plebeiam, si plebeius patriciam?
wed a plebeian woman, or a plebeian a patrician woman?

Quid juris tandem immutatur? Nempe liberi
What right, pray, is *thereby* changed? Surely the children

sequuntur patrem. Nec est quidquam,
follow *the condition of* the father. Nor is there anything

quod nos petamus ex connubio vestro, præterquam
which we seek from intermarriage with you, except

ut simus numero hominum, ut civium:
that we may be *held* in the number of human beings and fellow-citizens;

nec est quidquam, quod vos contendatis, nisi
nor is there any reason why you contest *the point* except that

juvat certare in contumeliam ignominiamque
it delights *you* to strive for insult and ignominy

nostram"
to us.

V.—"Denique tandem utrum est summum
"In fine, let me ask you, whether is the supreme

imperium Romani populi, an vestrum? Utrum
power *vested* in the Roman people, or in you? Whether

exactis regibus dominatio parta est
by the expulsion of kings has absolute dominion been procured

vobis, an æqua libertas omnibus? Oportet
to yourselves, or equal freedom to all? Is it fitting

Romano populo licere jubere legem, si velit,
that the Roman people should be allowed to enact a law, if it please?

an, ut quæque rogatio promulgata erit, vos
or, whenever any bill has been proposed, shall you,

pro pœna decernetis dilectum? Et,
by way of punishment, pass a decree for a levy of troops? And

simul ego tribunus cœpero vocare tribus
as soon as I, as tribune, shall begin to call the tribes

in suffragium, tu statim consul adiges
to *give* their suffrages, will you, forthwith, as consul, compel

juniores sacramento, et educes in castra,
the younger *citizens* to *take* the military oath, and lead *them* out to camp?

et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno?
and will you menace the commons? will you menace their tribune?

Quid— si non bis jam experti essetis, quantum
What, if you had not already twice experienced how little

istæ minæ valerent adversus consensum plebis?
such menaces avail against the united sense of the people?

Scilicet, quia volebatis consultum vobis
Of course *it was* because you wished to consult for our *interest*

abstinuistis certamine:— an est non dimicatum
that you abstained from force; or was there no outbreak

ideo, quod pars, quæ firmior, fuit eadem
for this reason, that the party which *was* the stronger was also

modestior? Nec erit certamen nunc, Quirites.
the more moderate? Nor will there be *any* contest now, Romans:

Illi semper tentabunt vestros animos, vires
Those *men* will on every occasion try your *patriot* spirit; your strength

non experientur. Itaque, consules, ad ista bella—
they will not make trial of. Wherefore, consuls, to these wars,

seu vera sunt seu falsa— plebes est parata vobis,
whether real or fictitious, the commons are ready to *attend* you,

si, redditis connubiis, tandem facitis hanc
if, by restoring the right of intermarriage, you at length make this

unam civitatem, si possunt coalescere, si jungi
one state; if they can coalesce, be united

miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus, si spes,
and mixed with you by private ties; if the hope,

si aditus ad honores datur viris strenuis et fortibus,
if the access to honors be granted to men of ability and energy;

si licet esse in consortio, si in societate
if it is lawful to be in a partnership and share

reipublicæ, si—quod est æquæ libertatis—
of the government; if, what is *the result* of equal freedom, *they be allowed*,

annuis magistratibus parere atque imperitare
in the *rotation of* annual magistracies, to obey and to command

invicem. Si aliquis impediet hæc, ferte sermonibus
in turn. If any shall obstruct these *measures*, harangue about

bella, et multiplicate fama— nemo daturus est
wars, and multiply them by reports; not a man will give in

nomen, nemo capturus arma, nemo dimicaturus
his name; not a man will take arms; not a man will fight

pro superbis dominis, cum quibus est nec societas
for haughty masters, with whom there is no participation

honorum in re publica, nec connubii in privata."
of honors in public nor of intermarriage in private."

VI.—Cum et consules processissent in concionem,
When both the consuls came forward into the assembly,

et res vertisset a perpetuis orationibus in
and the matter had changed from a long series of speeches to

altercationem, tribuno interroganti, cur non oportet
altercation, *and* the tribune asking "why it was improper

plebeium fieri consulem, respondit, ut
that a plebeian should be made consul," *one of them* answered, though

fortasse vere, sic parum utiliter in præsens certamen,
perhaps with truth, yet by no means expediently for the present dispute,

quod nemo plebeius haberet auspicia, ideoque
"because no plebeian could have the auspices, and for that reason

decemviros diremisse connubium, ne
the decemvirs had prohibited intermarriage, lest,

incerta prole auspicia turbarentur. Plebes
from uncertainty of descent, the auspices might be vitiated." The commons

exarsit indignatione ad id maxime, quod,
were fired with indignation at this above all, because,

tamquam invisi immortalibus diis, negarentur
as if hateful to the immortal gods, they were denied

posse auspicari: nec fuit finis contentionum,
to be qualified to take auspices; nor was there an end of the contentions,

cum plebes et nacta esset acerrimum
(seeing that the commons both had a most energetic

auctorem tribunum, et ipsa certaret cum eo
supporter in the tribune, and they themselves vied with him

pertinacia, ante, quam patres tandem victi
in perseverance), until the patricians, being at length overpowered,

concessere, ut de connubio ferretur,
agreed that *the law* regarding intermarriage should be passed,

rati ita maxime tribunos
judging that by these means most probably the tribunes

aut deposituros esse totam, aut dilaturos post bellum,
would either lay aside entirely, or defer till after the war,

contentionem de plebeiis consulibus, interimque
the struggle for plebeian consuls; and that in the mean time

plebem contentam connubio
the commons, content with the intermarriage *law being passed*

fore paratam dilectui. Cum Canuleius esset
would be ready to enlist. When Canuleius was now

ingens victoria de patribus et favore
in high repute by his victory over the patricians and by the favor

plebis, alii tribuni accensi ad certamen
of the commons, the other tribunes, strongly encouraged to contend

pro rogatione pugnant summa sua vi, et,
for their bill, set to work with all their might, and,

fama belli crescente in dies,
whilst the accounts regarding the war augmented daily,

impediunt dilectum. Consules, cum,
they obstructed the enlisting *of troops*. The consuls, when

intercedentibus tribunis, nihil posset agi
from the opposition of the tribunes nothing could be transacted

per senatum, habebant consilia principum domi:
through the senate, held meetings of the leading men at *their own* houses.

apparebat, concedendum esse de victoria aut
It was becoming evident that they must concede the victory either

hostibus aut civibus. Valerius atque Horatius
to the enemies or to their countrymen. Valerius and Horatius

soli ex consularibus non intererant consiliis.
alone of the consulars were not present at their deliberations.

Sententia C. Claudii armabat consules
The opinion of Caius Claudius was for arming the consuls

in tribunos, sententiæ Quinctiorum— Cincinnatique
against the tribunes. The sentiments of the Quintii, both Cincinnatus

et Capitolini— abhorrebant a cæde violandisque,
and Capitolinus, were averse to bloodshed and to violating *persons*

quos, fœdere icto cum plebe,
whom, by the treaty concluded with the commons,

accepissent sacrosanctos. Per hæc consilia
they had acknowledged as sacred and inviolable. Through these meetings

res deducta est eo, ut sinerent militum tribunos
the matter was brought to this, that they should allow military tribunes

consulari potestate creari ex patribus ac plebe
with consular authority, to be elected from the patricians and plebeians

promiscue, de creandis consulibus
without distinction; that with respect to the election of consuls,

nihil mutaretur: eoque tribuni fuit contenti,
no change should be made; and with this the tribunes were satisfied,

plebs contenta. Comitia indicuntur creandis
and the commons also. An assembly is *now* proclaimed for electing

tribus tribunis consulari potestate. Quibus indictis,
three tribunes with consular power. This being proclaimed,

extemplo, quicumque dixerat aut fecerat aliquid
forthwith every one who had said or done anything

seditiose, quam maxime tribunicii
in favor of sedition, more particularly men who had been tribunes,

cœpere et prensare homines, et concursare toto foro
began [both] to solicit votes and to bustle about the forum

candidati, ut desperatio primo apiscendi
as candidates; so that despair, in the first instance, of obtaining

honoris, irritata plebe, deinde
the honor, from the exasperated *state of the* commons, and then

indignatio, si gerendus esset honos cum
indignation at having to hold the office in conjunction with

his, deterreret patricios: postremo tamen
such *persons*, deterred the patricians. At length, however,

coacti a primoribus petiere,
being forcibly urged by the leading nobles, they stood as candidates,

ne viderentur cessisse possessione reipublicæ.
lest they might appear to have relinquished *all* share in the government.

Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit, animos
The result of this election showed, that *men's* sentiments

in contentione libertatis dignitatisque esse alios,
in the struggle for liberty and dignity are different

alios secundum certamina deposita,
from those *which they feel* after the contest has been ended,

judicio incorrupto: enim populus creavit
and the judgment is unbiassed: for the people elected

omnes patricios tribunos, contentus eo, quod ratio
all patricians as tribunes, content with this, that account

habita esset plebeiorum. Ubi nunc inveneris
had been made of the plebeians. Where could you now find

in uno hanc modestiam æquitatemque
even in an individual such moderation, disinterestedness,

et altitudinem animi quæ fuit tum
and elevation of mind, as was then displayed

universi populi!
by the whole body of the people?

CONTENTS OF BOOK V.

On occasion of the siege of Veii winter-huts erected for the troops; on account of which, being a new plan, the tribunes of the people endeavor to excite discontent, complaining that no repose is given to the soldiers even in winter. The cavalry, for the first time, serve on horses of their own. Veii, after a siege of ten years, taken by Furius Camillus, dictator. In the character of military tribune, he lays siege to Falisci; sends back the children of the enemy, who were betrayed into his hands; being charged with criminal conduct, goes into exile. XXXIII., etc. *The Senonian Gauls lay siege to Clusium; Roman ambassadors, sent to mediate peace between the Clusians and Gauls, take part with the former; provoked at which, the Gauls march directly against Rome;* XXXVIII., etc. *and, after routing the Romans at the Allia, take possession of the whole city with the exception of the Capitol, where the Roman youth had rallied for the defence.* XLI. *The aged nobles, arrayed in the insignia of their former rank, are slain whilst sitting in the porches of their palaces.* XLVII. *The Gauls, having scaled the Capitol in the night, are discovered by the cackling of geese, and repulsed, principally by the exertions of Marcus Manlius.* XLVIII. *The Romans, compelled by famine, agree to ransom themselves;* XLIX. *Whilst the gold is being weighed to them, Camillus, who had been appointed dictator, arrives with an army, beats off the Gauls and destroys their army. He successfully opposes the design of removing to Veii.* [U. C. 352–365: B. C. 400–387.]

LIBER QUINTUS.

BOOK FIFTH.

CHAP'S. XXXV—XLIX.

XXXV.— * * * * * * Tum Senones, recentissimi
Then the Senonians, the latest

advenarum, habuere fines ab flumine
of these emigrants, took possession of the country *reaching* from the river

Utente usque ad Æsim. Comperio hanc gentem
Utens to the Æsis. I find *it was* this nation

venisse Clusium indeque Romam
that came to Clusium, and from thence to Rome;

solamne, an adjutam ab omnibus populis
but whether alone, or assisted by all the nations

Cisalpinorum Gallorum, id parum certum est.
of Cisalpine Gauls, [that] is not duly ascertained

Clusini exterriti novo bello, cum cernerent
The Clusians, terrified at their strange enemy, on observing

multitudinem, formas hominum invisitatas
their great numbers, the forms of the men *such as they had* never seen,

et genus armorum, que cum audirent legiones
and the kind of arms *they carried*, and on hearing that the legions

Etruscorum sæpe fusas ab iis, cis ultraque
of the Etrurians had been often defeated by them on both sides of

Padum, misere legatos Romam, qui peterent auxilium
the Po, sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid

ab senatu, quamquam eis erat nullum jus
from the senate, although they had no claim

adversus Romanos societatis amicitiæve
on the Romans *in respect either* of alliance or friendship

nisi non defendissent consanguineos Veientes
except that they had not protected their relations, the Veientians

adversus Romanum populum. Nihil impetratum
in opposition to the Roman people. Nothing was accomplished

de auxilio: tres legati missi
in the way of *securing such* aid: three ambassadors were sent

filii M. Fabii Ambusti, qui agerent cum Gallis
sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus, to treat with the Gauls

nomine senatus Romani populi, ne oppugnarent
in the name of the senate *and* Roman people; "that they should not attack

socios atque amicos Romani populi, a quibus
the allies and friends of the Roman people, from whom

accepissent nullam injuriam: eos
they had received no injury. That they (the Clusians)

tuendos esse Romanis quoque bello,
should be supported by the Romans even by *force of* arms,

si res cogat, sed visum melius, bellum ipsum
if circumstances obliged them; but it seemed better that war itself

amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, gentem
should be avoided, if possible; and that the Gauls, a nation

novam cognosci pace potius quam
strange *to them* should be known by peace, rather than

armis.
by arms."

XXXVI.—Legatio mitis, ni habuisset
The embassy *was* a mild one, had it not been entrusted to

legatos præferoces que magis similes Gallis quam
ambassadors too hot in temper, and more resembling Gauls than

Romanis. Quibus, postquam ediderunt mandata
Romans. To these, after they delivered their commission

in concilio Gallorum responsum datur: Etsi
in an assembly of the Gauls, the *following* answer is returned: "Though

audiant nomen Romanorum novum, tamen
they now heard the name of the Romans for the first time, yet

credere esse viros fortes, quorum auxilium
they supposed that they were men of bravery, whose assistance

imploratum sit a Clusinis in trepida re:
was implored by the Clusians in their perilous conjuncture.

et, quoniam maluerint tueri socios adversus se
And, since they chose to defend their allies against them

legatione quam armis, ne se quidem aspernari
by negotiation *rather* than by arms, that they, on their part, would not reject

pacem, quam illi afferant, si Clusini
the pacific terms which they proposed, if the Clusians

concedant Gallis egentibus agro, partem finium,
would give up to the Gauls, in want of land, a portion of their territories

quem possideant latius quam colant:
which they possessed to a greater extent than they could cultivate;

aliter pacem non posse impetrari: se et velle
otherwise peace could not be obtained: that they [both] wished

accipere responsum coram Romanis, et, si
to receive an answer in presence of the Romans; and, if

ager negetur, dimicaturos
the land were refused *them*, that they would decide *the matter* by arms

coram iisdem Romanis, ut possent nuntiare domum,
in presence of the same Romans, that they might inform their countrymen

quantum Galli præstarent ceteros mortales virtute."
how far the Gauls excelled the rest of mankind in bravery."

Romanis quærentibus, quodnam id jus esset petere
The Romans asking what right they had to demand

agrum possessoribus aut minari arma,
land from the possessors, or threaten war *in case of refusal*

et quid rei Gallis esset in Etruria,
and what business the Gauls had in Etruria;

cum illi ferociter dicerent se ferre jus
and on their fiercely replying, "that they carried their right

in armis, et omnia esse fortium virorum,
in their swords, and that all things were *the property* of *the* brave?"

animis accensis utrimque discurritur
with minds inflamed on both sides they hastily separate

ad arma, et prœlium conseritur. Ibi,—
to *prepare* their arms, and the battle is commenced Here,

fatis jam urgentibus urbem Romanam— legati
fate now pressing the city of Rome, the ambassadors,

contra jus gentium capiunt arma. Nec
contrary to the law of nations, take up arms; nor

potuit id esse clam, cum tres nobilissimi fortissimique
could this be *done* in secret, as three of the noblest and bravest

Romanæ juventutis pugnarent ante signa Etruscorum
of the Roman youth fought in the van of the Etrurians;

antum eminebat virtus peregrina. Quin etiam
so conspicuous was the valor of *these* foreigners. Moreover

Q. Fabius, evectus equo extra aciem, occidit ducem
Quintus Fabius, riding forward beyond the line, slew a general

Gallorum ferociter incursantem in ipsa signa
of the Gauls *who was* furiously charging against the very standards

Etruscorum, transfixum per latus hasta:
of the Etrurians, having run him through the side with his spear:

Gallique agnovere legentem ejus spolia,
and the Gauls recognised him *when* stripping *him* of his spoils;

signumque datum est per totam aciem esse
and a signal was given throughout the entire line that he was

Romanum legatum. Omissa inde ira
a Roman ambassador. Dropping, therefore, their resentment

in Clusinos, canunt receptui minantes
against the Clusians, they sound a retreat, threatening

Romanis. Erant, qui censerent
the Romans. *Some* there were who gave it as their opinion

eundum extemplo Romam: seniores vicere,
that they should march instantly to Rome. *But* the elders prevailed,

ut legati prius mitterentur questum injurias
that ambassadors should first be sent to complain of the injuries

postulatumque, ut Fabii dederentur
done them, and to demand that the Fabii should be given up *to them*

pro violato jure gentium.
in satisfaction for having violated the law of nations.

Cum legati Gallorum exposuissent ea
When the ambassadors of the Gauls had explained those matters

sicut erant mandata, factum Fabiorum
according to their commission, the conduct of the Fabii

nec placebat senatui, et barbari videbantur
was neither approved by the senate, and the barbarians seemed *to them*

postulare jus: sed in viris tantæ nobilitatis,
to demand *what was* just: but in *the case of* men of such exalted rank,

ambitio obstabat ne decerneret id quod
party-favor prevented *them* from decreeing that which *their judgment*

placebat. Itaque, ne culpa cladis
approved. Wherefore, lest the blame of *any* misfortune, *which*

forte acceptæ bello Gallico esset penes ipsos,
might perhaps be sustained in a war with the Gauls, should lie with them,

rejiciunt cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum
they refer the determination on the demands of the Gauls

ad populum: ubi gratia atque opes tanto plus valuere,
to the people, where influence and wealth were so predominant,

ut, quorum de pœna agebatur,
that *the very persons* whose punishment was under consideration,

crearentur tribuni militum consulari potestate
were appointed military tribunes with consular power

in insequentem annum. Quo facto Galli infensi
for the ensuing year. At which proceeding the Gauls being enraged,

haud secus quam erat dignum, propalam minantes
as was very natural, openly menacing

bellum, redeunt ad suos. Cum tribus Fabiis
war, return to their own party. Together with the three Fabii

tribuni militum creati Q. Sulpicius Longus,
the military tribunes elected *were* Quintus Sulpicius Longus,

Q. Servilius quarto S. Cornelius Maluginensis.
Quintus Servilius a fourth time, *and* Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.

XXXVII.—Cum tanta moles mali instaret—
Though danger of such magnitude was impending

adeo fortuna obcæcat animos, ubi vult
so completely does fortune blind the minds *of men* when she wishes

non suam ingruentem vim refringi— civitas, quæ
not her threatening stroke to be foiled,) a state, which

adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque
against the Fidenatian and Veientian enemies, and other

finitimos populos experiens auxilia ultima,
neighboring states had recourse to aid *from* the most extreme *quarters*

dixisset dictatorem multis tempestatibus,
and had appointed a dictator on many *trying* occasions,—

ea tunc, hoste invisitato atque inaudito
that *same state* now, *when* an enemy never *before* seen or *even* heard of,

ab Oceano ultimisque oris terrarum ciente bellum,
from the ocean and remotest regions of the earth, *was* advancing in arms

nihil quæsivit extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii.
against them, looked not for any extraordinary command or assistance

Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat
Tribunes, by whose temerity the war had been brought on *them*,

præerant summæ rerum, que etiam extenuantes
were appointed to the chief direction of affairs, and even extenuating

famam belli habebant dilectum
the rumors *afloat* about the war, they held the levy

nihilo accuratiorem, quam solitus erat haberi
with no greater diligence than used to be exercised

ad media bella. Interim Galli, postquam accepere
for ordinary wars. Meanwhile the Gauls, on hearing

honorem ultro habitum violatoribus humani juris
that honor was even conferred on the violators of human law,

suamque legationem elusam esse, flagrantes ira—
and that their embassy was slighted, inflamed with anger,

cujus gens est impotens— confestim convulsis
(over which that nation has no control), immediately snatching up

signis, ingrediuntur iter citato agmine.
their ensigns, enter on their march with the utmost expedition.

Cum urbes exterritæ ad tumultum
When the cities, alarmed at the tumult

quorum raptim prætereuntium concurrerent
occasioned by them as they passed precipitately along, ran together

ad arma, que agrestium fieret fuga, significabant
to arms, and the peasants took to flight, they signified *to them*

magno clamore se ire Romam, obtinentes
by a loud shout that they were proceeding to Rome, taking up

immensum loci, quacumque ibant, equis virisque
an immense space of ground wherever they passed. with their horses and men.

agmine fuso longe ac late. Sed, fama
their troops spreading widely on every side. But fame

nuntiisque Clusinorum, inde aliorum populorum
and the messengers of the Clusians, and then of the other states

deinceps, antecedente, celeritas hostium
one after another, preceding *them*, the rapid advance of the enemy

tulit plurimum terroris Romam, quippe,
brought the greatest consternation to Rome; for

velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto,
with their, in a manner, tumultuary troops hastily led on

ægre quibus occursum est ad undecimum lapidem,
they barely met them (i. e. the enemy) at the eleventh mile-stone,

qua flumen Alia, defluens Crustuminis montibus
where the river Allia, running down from the Crustuminian mountains

prærealto alveo, miscetur amni Tiberino
in a very deep channel, joins the river Tiber

haud multo infra viam. Jam omnia contra
not far below the road. Already every place in front

circaque plena erant hostium, et gens
and on each side was crowded with the enemy, and *this* nation

nata in vanos tumultus truci cantu
which has a natural turn for causeless confusion, by their harsh music

variisque clamoribus compleverant cuncta
and discordant clamors, filled all places

horrendo sono.
with a horrible din.

XXXVIII.—Ibi tribuni militum
There the military tribunes

non ante capto loco castris,
without having previously selected a place for their camp,

non præmunito vallo quo receptus esset,
without previously raising a rampart to which they might *have a* retreat,

non memores saltem deorum— si non
regardless even of *duty to* the gods, to say nothing

hominum— nec auspicato, nec litato.
of that to man. without taking auspices, without offering a sacrifice,

instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne
draw up their line *which was* extended on towards the flanks, lest

possent circumveniri multitudine hostium. Tamen
they should be surrounded by the great numbers of the enemy. Still

frontes nec poterant æquari,
their front could not be made equal *to that of the enemy*,

cum extenuando haberent mediam aciem
at the same time by thinning *their line* they rendered their centre

infirmam et vix cohærentem. Erat ab dextera
weak and scarcely connected. There was on the right

paulum editi loci, quem placuit repleri
a small eminence, which it was determined to fill

subsidiariis, eaque res, ut initium
with bodies of reserve; and that circumstance, as *it was* the first cause

pavoris ac fugæ, sic fuit una salus
of their dismay and flight, so it proved the only *means of* safety

fugientibus. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum,
in their flight. For Brennus, commander of the Gauls,

maxime timens artem in paucitate
chiefly apprehensive of *some* design *being intended* in the small number

hostium, ratus superiorem locum captum ad
of the enemy, thinking that the high ground had been seized for

id, ut, ubi Galli concucurrissent recta fronte
this *purpose*, "that, when the Gauls should be engaged in front

cum acie legionum, subsidia darent impetum in
with the line of the legions, the reserve was to make an attack on

aversos transversosque, convertit signa ad subsidiarios
their rear and flank," directed his troops against the reserve;

haud dubius, si depulisset eos loco,
not doubting *that* if he had dislodged them from their post,

victoriam fore facilem in æquo campi
the victory would be easy in the plain

tantum superanti multitudini. Adeo non modo
for a *force* so much superior *in* numbers. Thus not only

fortuna, sed ratio etiam stabat cum barbaris.
fortune but judgment also stood on the side of the barbarians.

In altera acie erat nihil simile Romanis,
In the opposite army there appeared nothing like Romans.

non apud duces, non apud milites: pavor
either among the commanders. or among the soldiers. Terror

fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta oblivio
and dismay had taken possession of their minds, and such a forgetfulness

omnium, ut multo major pars fugerent in Veios
of every thing, that a far greater number fled to Veii,

urbem hostium, cum Tiberis arceret, quam
a city of the enemy, though the Tiber stood in their way, than

recto itinere Romam ad conjuges ac liberos.
by the direct road to Rome, to their wives and children.

Locus parumper tutatus est subsidiarios:
Their situation for some time defended the reserve;

in reliqua acie, simul clamor auditus est,
but throughout the remainder of the line, as soon as the shout was heard

proximis ab latere, ultimis
by those *who stood* nearest on their flank, *and* by those at a distance

ab tergo, pæne prius quam viderent hostem
on their rear, almost before they could look at the enemy

ignotum, non modo non tentato certamine sed
as yet untried, not only without attempting to fight, but

ne quidem reddito clamore, integri intactique
without even returning the shout, fresh *as they were* and unhurt,

fugerunt. Nec fuit ulla cædes
they took to flight. Nor was there any slaughter

pugnantium: terga cæsa ipsorum
of them *in the act of* fighting; *but* their rear was cut to pieces, themselves

impedientium fugam certamine suomet
obstructing their flight by their struggling one with another

in turba. Magna strages facta est circa ripam
in crowded confusion. Great slaughter was made on the bank

Tiberis, quo totum sinistrum cornu abjectis
of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing, after throwing away

armis defugit, multosque
their arms, had directed their flight; and many

imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves
who knew not how to swim, or were exhausted, being burdened

loricis aliisque tegminibus, hausere
with *their* coats of mail and other defensive armor, were swallowed up in

gurgites. Maxima pars tamen perfugit incolumis
the current. The greatest part, however, escaped safe

Veios; unde non modo quidquam præsidii, sed
to Veii; whence not only no reinforcement, but

ne quidem nuntius cladis, missus est Romam.
not even an account of their defeat, was forwarded to Rome.

Ab dextro cornu, quod steterat procul a
Those on the right wing, which had been posted at a distance from

flumine et magis sub monte, omnes petiere
the river, and rather near the foot of the mountain, all made for

Romam, et ne quidem clausis portis urbis,
Rome, and without even shutting the gates of the city,

confugerunt in arcem.
fled into the citadel.

XXXIX.—Velut miraculum tam repentinæ
The almost miraculous attainment of so sudden

victoriæ tenuit quoque Gallos obstupefactos.
a victory held even the Gauls in a state of stupefaction.

Et primum ipsi steterunt defixi pavore, velut
And at first they stood motionless with panic, as if

ignari, quid accidisset: deinde vereri insidias;
not knowing what had happened; then they dreaded *some* stratagem.

postremo legere spolia cæsorum, que
At last, they collected the spoils of the slain, and

coacervare armorum cumulos, ut est eis mos. Tum
piled the arms in heaps, as is their custom. Then

demum, postquam nihil hostile usquam cernebatur,
at length, when no *sign of an* enemy was anywhere seen,

ingressi viam, perveniunt ad urbem Romam
having proceeded on their journey, they arrived near the city of Rome

haud multo ante solis occasum. Ubi cum equites
not long before sun-set: where, when *some* horsemen

prægressi retulissent portas non clausas,
who had advanced before brought back word that the gates were not shut,

non stationem excubare pro portis, non armatos
that no guard was posted before the gates, no armed troops

esse in muros, aliud miraculum simile priori
[were] on the walls, another *cause of* amazement similar to the former

eos sustinuit, que veriti noctem et ignotæ situm
made them halt; and dreading the night and ignorant of the situation

urbis, consedere inter Romam atque Anienem,
of the city, they took post between Rome and the Anio,

missis exploratoribus circa mœnia aliasque portas
sending scouts about the walls and several gates

quænam consilia hostibus essent in perdita
to discover what plans the enemy would *pursue* in their desperate

re. Romani, cum major pars
circumstances. *With respect to* the Romans, as a greater portion

petisset Veios ex acie quam Romam, nemo
had gone to Veii from the field of battle, than to Rome, *and* no one

crederet quemquam superesse præter eos, qui
supposed that any survived except those who

refugerant Romam, omnes complorati, pariter vivi
had fled back to Rome, being all lamented *as lost*, both those living

mortuique prope totam urbem impleverunt lamentis.
and those dead, they *caused* almost the entire city *to be* filled with wailings.

Pavor publicus stupefecit privatos luctus
But the alarm for the public *interest* stifled *all* private sorrow,

deinde, postquam nuntiatum est hostes adesse.
as soon as it was announced that the enemy were at hand.

Mox, barbaris vagantibus circa mœnia turmatim,
Presently, the barbarians patrolling about the walls in troops,

audiebant ululatus que dissonos cantus.
they heard their yells and the dissonant clangor *of their arms*.

Omne inde tempus usque ad alteram lucem tenuit
All the interval up to the next morning kept

animos ita suspensos, ut impetus videretur
their minds in such *anxious* suspense, that an assault seemed

jam identidem futurus in urbem: primo
every moment about to be *made* on the city, on their first

adventu, quo accesserant ad urbem— enim,
approach, when they arrived at the city, *it was expected;* since,

nisi hoc foret consilii, mansuros fuisse
if this were not their intention. they would have remained

ad Aliam :— deinde sub occasum solis, quia
at the Allia ; then towards sunset, because

haud multum diei superat, rati se
there was not much of the day remaining, they imagined that they

invasuros ante noctem ; tum consilium
would attack them before night ; then that the design

dilatum esse in noctem, quo inferrent plus pavoris :
was put off until night, in order to strike the greater terror.

postremo appropinquans lux exanimare :
At length the approach of light sunk them in dismay

malumque ipsum fuit continens
and the evil itself followed closely

perpetuo timori, cum signa illata sunt
upon their continued apprehension *of it*, when the troops marched through

portis infesta. Ea nocte tamen,
the gates in hostile array. During that night, however,

neque insequenti die, civitas nequaquam fuit similis
and the following day, the state by no means bore any resemblance

illi, quæ fugerat tam pavide ad Aliam : nam,
to that which had fled *in* so dastardly *a manner* at the Allia ; for,

cum esset nulla spes urbem posse defendi, tam
as there was not a hope that the city could be defended, so

parva manu relicta, placuit,
small a number *of troops* now remaining, it was determined

juventutem militarem roburque senatus, cum
that the youth fit to bear arms, and the abler part of the senate with

conjugibus ac liberis, concedere in arcem
their wives and children, should retire into the citadel

Capitoliumque ; que collato armis et frumento,
and Capitol ; and having collected *stores of* arms and corn,

ex loco inde munito defendere deos hominesque
should, from that fortified post, defend the deities, the inhabitants,

et Romanum nomen ; flaminem Vestalesque
and the Roman name : that the flamen (Quirinalis) and the Vestal

sacerdotes auferre procul a cæde ab incendiis
priestesses should carry away far from slaughter and conflagration

sacra publica ; eorum cultum
the holy things of the state : and that their worship

nec deseri ante, quam non superessent,
should not be intermitted until there remained none

qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque sedes deorum,
to perform it. "If the citadel and Capitol, the mansion of the gods,

si senatus caput publici consilii, si juventus militaris,
if the senate, the source of public counsel, if the youth of military age

superfuerit imminenti ruinæ urbis, jacturam esse
should survive the impending ruin of the city, the loss would be

facilem seniorum turbæ relictæ in urbe
light of the aged, the crowd left behind in the city, *and who were*

perituræ utique. Et quo
sure to perish under any circumstances. And in order that

de plebe multitudo ferret id
the plebeian *portion of the* multitude might bear the thing

æquiore animo, senes triumphales
with the greater resignation, the aged *nobles*, *who had* enjoyed triumphs

consularesque palam dicere se obituros
and consulships, openly declared that they would die

simul cum illis, nec oneraturos inopiam armatorum
along with them, and would not burden the scanty stores of the armed men

his corporibus, quibus non possent ferre arma
with those bodies, with which they were *now* unable to bear arms

non tueri patriam. Hæc solatia jactata
or to defend their country. Such *was* the consolation addressed *to*

inter seniores destinatos morti.
each other by the aged *now* destined to death.

XL.—Adhortationes inde versæ ad agmen juvenum,
Their exhortations were then turned to the band of young men,

quos prosequebantur in Capitolium atque in arcem,
whom they escorted to the Capitol and citadel,

commendantes eorum virtuti juventæque,
commending to their valor and youth

quæcumque esset reliqua, fortunam urbis per
whatever might be the remaining fortune of a city *which* for

trecentos sexaginta annos victricis omnibus bellis.
three hundred and sixty years *had been* victorious in all its wars.

Qui ferebant secum omnem spem atque opem,
When those, who carried with them all their hope and resources,

digredientibus ab his, qui statuerant non superesse
parted with the others, who had determined not to survive

exitio captæ urbis, cum res ipsa
the destruction of their captured city, both the circumstance itself

speciesque erat miserabilis, tum
and the appearance *it exhibited* was *really* distressing, and also

fletus muliebris et incerta concursatio,
the weeping of the women and their undecided running together,

sequentium nunc hos nunc illos rogitantiumque
following now these, now those, and asking

viros natosque, cui fato darent se,
their husbands and sons to what fate they would consign them,—

relinquebant nihil, quod superesset humanis malis.
all together left nothing that could be added to human misery.

Magna pars tamen earum persecutæ sunt suos
A great part, however, of the *women* followed their *relations*

in arcem, nec ullo prohibente nec vocante,
into the citadel, no one either hindering or inviting *them;*

quia id, quod utile obsessis
because the measure, which *was* advantageous to the besieged,—

ad minuendam multitudinem imbellem, erat parum
that of lessening the number *of* useless *persons,* was but little

humanum. Alia turba maxime
in accordance with humanity. The rest of the crowd, *consisting* chiefly

plebis, quam tam exiguus collis poterat nec capere
of plebeians, whom so small a hill could not contain,

nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti,
nor *could they* be supported amid so great a scarcity of corn,

effusa ex urbe velut jam uno agmine petiit
pouring out of the city as if in one continued train, repaired to

Janiculum: inde pars dilapsi per agros,
the Janiculum. From thence some were dispersed through the country

pars petunt finitimas urbes, sine ullo duce
some made for the neighboring cities, without any leader

aut consensu, exsequentes quisque suam spem,
or concert, following each his own hopes,

sua consilia, communibus deploratis.
his own plans, those of the public being deplored *as desperate*

Interim flamen Quirinalis que Vestales virgines
In the meantime the Flamen Quirinalis and the vestal virgins,

omissa cura suarum rerum, consultantes,
laying aside *all* concern for their own affairs, consulting together

quæ sacrorum ferenda essent secum, quæ
which of the sacred deposits should be carried with them, *and* which

relinquenda— quia deerant vires ad ferenda
should be left behind, (for they had not strength to carry

omnia— quisve locus asservaturus esset ea
them all), or what place would *best* preserve them

fideli custodia, ducunt optimum condita in doliolis
in safe custody, consider it best to enclose them in casks

defodere sacello proximo ædibus flaminis
and bury *them* in the chapel next to the dwelling-house of the Flamen

Quirinalis— ubi nunc religio est despui:
Quirinalis, where at present it is profane *even* to spit.

cetera ferunt partito onere inter se
The rest they carry, distributing the burdens among themselves,

via, quæ ducit sublicio ponte ad Janiculum.
along the road which leads over the Sublician bridge to the Janiculum.

Cum L. Albinius Romana homo de plebe,
When Lucius Albinius, a Roman plebeian,

habens conjugem ac liberos plaustro,
who was conveying his wife and children in a wagon,

conspexisset eas in eo clivo inter ceteram turbam.
beheld them on that ascent among the rest of the crowd,

quæ inutilis bello excedebat urbe— etiam tum
which being unfit for war was retiring from the city, (even then

discrimine rerum divinarum humanarumque
the distinction of things divine and human

salvo— ratus irreligiosum publicos sacerdotes
being preserved,) thinking it an impiety, that the public priests

sacraque Romani populi pedibus ire ferrique,
and sacred utensils of the Roman people should go on foot and be carried,

se ac suos conspici in vehiculo, jussit
while he and his family were seen *mounted* in a carriage, he ordered

uxorem ac pueros descendere, imposuit virgines
his wife and children to alight, put the virgins

sacraque in plaustrum et pervexit Cære,
and sacred things into the wagon, and conveyed them to Cære,

quo iter sacerdotibus erat.
whither the journey of the priests was *directed*.

XLI.—Interim Romæ, omnibus jam compositis
Meanwhile at Rome, all arrangements being now made,

ut satis in tali re ad tuendam arcem,
as far as *was possible* in such a conjuncture, for the defence of the citadel,

turba seniorum regressa domos, exspectabat
the crowd of aged persons having returned to their houses, waited

adventum hostium animo obstinato ad mortem.
the coming of the enemy, with minds firmly prepared for death.

Qui eorum gesserant curules magistratus, ut
Such of them as had held curule offices, in order that

morerentur in insignibus pristinæ fortunæ
they may die in the insignia of their former station,

honorumque aut virtutis, vestiti
of their honors, or of their merit, robing *themselves* in

ea, quæ est augustissima vestis ducentibus
[what constitutes] the most magnificent vesture *worn* by those drawing

tensas triumphantibusve,
the chariots of the gods *in procession* or by persons *riding* in triumph,

sedere eburnis sellis medio ædium.
seated themselves in their ivory chairs, in the middle of their halls.

Sunt, qui tradant eos devovisse se pro patria
Some there are who say that they devoted themselves for their country

Quiritibusque Romanis, M. Fabio maximo pontifice
and the citizens of Rome,— Marcus Fabius, the chief pontiff,

præfante carmen. Galli, et quia
dictating the form of words. The Gauls, both because

interposita nocte remiserant animos
by the intervention of the night they had abated *all* angry feelings

a contentione pugnæ, et quod nec certaverant
arising from the irritation of battle, and as they had neither met

ancipiti prœlio in acie usquam, nec tum capiebant
dangerous opposition in the field on any occasion, nor were now taking

urbem impetu aut vi, ingressi postero die
the city by storm or force, entering the next day,

sine ira sine ardore animorum urbem
without *any* anger or heat of passion, *into* the city,

Collina porta patente, perveniunt in forum,
through the Colline gate *which stood* open, advance into the forum,

circumferentes oculos ad templa deorum,
casting around their eyes on the temples of the gods,

arcemque solam tenentem speciem belli.
and *on* the citadel *which* alone presented *any* appearance of war.

Inde, relicto modico præsidio, ne quis impetus fieret
From thence, leaving a small guard, lest any attack should be made

in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio, dilapsi
on them *whilst* scattered, from the citadel or Capitol, they ran about

ad prædam vacuis occursu hominum viis,
in quest of plunder; *and* not meeting a human being in the streets,

pars ruunt agmine in quæque tectorum proxima,
part *of them* rush in a body to the houses that *stood* nearest;

pars petunt ultima, velut ea demum
part seek the most distant, considering these [for a certainty]

intacta et referta præda. Inde absterriti
to be untouched and abounding with spoil. Afterwards, being terrified

ipsa solitudine, ne qua fraus hostilis exciperet
by the very solitude, lest any stratagem of the enemy should surprise

vagos, rursus redibant conglobati
them *whilst being* dispersed, they returned in bodies

in forum ac loca propinqua foro, ubi—
into the forum and the parts adjoining to the forum, where

ædificiis plebis obseratis, atriis principum
the houses of the plebeians being shut, *and* the palaces of the nobles

patentibus,— prope major cunctatio tenebat eos
standing open, almost greater backwardness possessed them

invadendi aperta quam clausa: adeo
in attacking the open than the shut *houses;* so completely

intuebantur haud secus quam venerabundi viros
did they behold with a sort of veneration men

sedentes in vestibulis ædium, præter ornatum
sitting in the porches of *those* palaces, *who* besides their ornaments

habitumque augustiorem humano, simillimos diis
and apparel more august than human, *were* very like to gods

majestatem etiam, quam vultus gravitasque
in the majesty [also] which their looks and the gravity

oris præ se ferebat. Cum starent versi
of their countenance displayed. Whilst they stood gazing

ad eos, velut simulacra, dicitur M. Papirus,
on these as on statues, it is said that Marcus Papirus,

unus ex his movisse iram Gallo, incusso
one of them, provoked the anger of a Gaul by striking *him*

in caput eburneo scipione, permulcenti
on the head with his ivory sceptre, *while he was* stroking

suam barbam— ut erat tum omnibus promissa:
his beard, as it was then universally worn long;

atque initium cædis ortum ab eo, ceteros
and that the commencement of the bloodshed started with him, that the rest

trucidatos in suis sedibus. Post cædem principum,
were slain in their seats. After the slaughter of the nobles,

nulli mortalium deinde parci, tecta diripi,
no person *whatever* was [then] spared; the houses were plundered,

exhaustis injici ignes.
and when emptied were set on fire.

XLII.—Ceterum—seu libido delendi urbem
But whether a desire of reducing the city to ruins

erat non omnibus, seu ita placuerat
was not *alive* in all, or it had been so determined

principibus Gallorum, et quædam incendia
by the chiefs of the Gauls, both that some fires

ostentari causa terroris, si
should be presented *to their view* for the purpose of terrifying *them, to see* if

obsessi possent compelli ad deditionem caritate
the besieged could be forced into a surrender through affection

suarum sedium, et omnia tecta non concremari,
for their dwellings, and that all the houses should not be burned down,

ut, quodcumque superesset urbis, haberent id
so that whatever *portion* should remain of the city, they might hold [that]

pignus ad flectendos animos hostium,— ignis
as a pledge to work upon the minds of the enemy; the fire

nequaquam vagatus est aut passim aut late
by no means spread either indiscriminately or extensively

prima die atque perinde in capta urbe. Romani
on the first day, as is usual in a captured city. The Romans,

cernentes ex arce urbem plenam hostium
beholding from the citadel the city filled with the enemy,

cursusque vagos per omnes vias, cum aliqua
and their running to and fro through all the streets, while some

nova clades oreretur alia atque alia parte,
new calamity arose *to their view* in every different quarter,

poterant non solum consipere mentibus sed
could not only *not* preserve their *presence of* mind but

ne quidem satis constare auribus atque oculis.
not even keep proper control of their ears and eyes.

Quocumque clamor hostium, ploratus mulierum
To whatever side the shouts of the enemy, the cries of women

puerorumque, sonitus flammæ et fragor
and children, the crackling of the flames, and the crash

ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes
of falling houses, called *their* attention, *thither*, deeply shocked

ad omnia flectebant animos oraque et oculos,
at every *incident*, they turned their thoughts, faces and eyes,

velut positi a fortuna ad spectaculum
as if placed by fortune to *be* spectators

occidentis patriæ, relicti vindices nec ullius
of their falling country, *and as if* left *as* protectors of no other

suarum rerum præterquam corporum; tanto magis
of their effects, except their *own* persons: so much more

miserandi ante alios, qui unquam obsessi sunt,
to be commiserated than *any* others who were ever beleaguered,

quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur,
because, shut out from their native city, they were besieged,

cernentes omnia sua in potestate hostium. Nec
beholding all their *possessions* in the power of the enemy. Nor

nox excepit tam fœde actum diem
was the night, which succeeded so shockingly spent a day

tranquillior: lux deinde insecuta est inquietam
more tranquil; daylight then followed a restless

noctem, nec erat ullum tempus, quod cessaret
night; nor was there any time, which failed

a spectaculo alicujus semper novæ cladis. Onerat
of *producing* the sight of some [ever] new disaster. Loaded

atque obruti tot malis, tamen flexerunt
and overwhelmed by so many evils, they notwithstanding remitted

nihil animos, quin, etsi vidissent
naught of their firmness, yea rather *resolved*, though they should see

omnia flammis ac æquata ruinis, defenderent
everything in flames and levelled with the dust, to defend

virtute collem, quem tenebant, parvum inopemque
by their bravery the hill which they occupied, small and ill-provided

quamvis, relictum libertati. Et jam, cum
as it was, being left *as a refuge* for liberty. And now, as

eadem acciderent quotidie, velut assueti malis,
the same *events* recurred every day, as if habituated to misfortunes,

abalienaverant animos ab sensu suarum rerum,
they abstracted their thoughts from *all* feeling of their circumstances,

intuentes arma tantum ferrumque in dextris,
regarding their arms only, and the swords in their right hands,

velut solas reliquias suæ spei.
as the sole remnants of their hopes.

XLIII.—Galli quoque, per aliquot dies gesto
The Gauls also, having for several days waged

modo nequidquam bello in tecta urbis, cum
only an ineffectual war against the buildings of the city, when

viderent inter incendia ac ruinas captæ urbis
they saw that among the fires and ruins of the captured city

nihil superesse præter armatos hostes,
nothing *now* remained except armed enemies, *who were*

nec territos quidquam tot cladibus nec flexuros
neither terrified in the least by so many disasters, nor likely to turn

animos ad deditionem, ni vis adhiberetur, statuunt
their thoughts to a capitulation, unless force were applied, determine

experiri ultima et facere impetum in arcem.
to have recourse to extremities, and to make an assault on the citadel.

Signo dato, prima luce, omnis multitudo instruitur
On a signal given, at the first light, their whole multitude is marshalled

in foro: inde sublato clamore ac facta testudine
in the forum; thence, *after* raising the shout and forming a testudo,

subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil
they advance *to the attack*. Against whom the Romans, *acting* neither

temere nec trepide, firmatis stationibus ad omnes
rashly nor precipitately, having strengthened the guards at every

aditus, opposito robore virorum ea,
approach, *and* opposing the main strength of their men in that *quarter*

qua videbant signa ferri, sinunt hostem scandere,
where they saw the battalions advancing, suffer the enemy to ascend,

rati quo magis sucesserint in arduum,
judging that the higher they should ascend the hill,

eo facilius posse pelli per proclive.
the more easily might they be driven back down the steep.

Fere medio clivo restitere, atque facto impetu
About the middle of the ascent they met: and making a charge

inde ex superiore loco, qui sua sponte prope
thence from the higher ground, which of itself in a manner

inferebat in hostem, fudere Gallos strage
bore them against the enemy, they routed the Gauls with *such* slaughter

ac ruina, ut nunquam postea nec pars nec
and destruction, that they never afterward, either *in* parties or

universi tentaverint tale genus pugnæ.
with their whole force made *another* trial of that kind of fight.

Omissa itaque spe subeundi
Laying aside, therefore, the hope of effecting *their* approach

per vim atque arma, parant obsidionem,
by force of arms, they prepare for a blockade,

cujus immemores ad id tempus,
of which having had no idea up to that time,

incendiis urbis et absumpserant, quod
they had, during the conflagration of the city, [both] destroyed whatever

frumentum fuerat in urbe, et per ipsos dies
corn had been in it, and during those very days

omne raptum erat ex agris Veios:
all *the provisions* had been carried off from the land to Veii.

igitur, diviso exercitu, placuit partim
Accordingly, dividing their army, it was determined that *one* part

prædari per finitimos populos, partim
should plunder through the neighboring states, *while* the other

obsideri arcem, ut populatores agrorum
carried on the siege of the citadel; so that the ravagers of the country

præberent obsidentibus frumentum.
might supply the besiegers with corn.

XLIV.—Fortuna ipsa ad experiendam Romanam
Fortune herself, *in order* to make a trial of Roman

virtutem duxit Gallos proficiscentes ab urbe
valor, led the Gauls, *who* marched away from the city,

Ardeam, ubi Camillus exsulabat: qui mœstior
on to Ardea, where Camillus was in exile: who, more distressed

ibi fortuna publica quam sua, cum
[seen there] by the fortune of the public than his own, whilst

senesceret accusandis diis hominibusque,
he *now* pined away accusing gods and men,

indignando mirandoque, ubi essent illi viri,
burning with indignation, and wondering where were now those men,

qui secum cepissent Veios Faleriosque, qui
who with him had taken Veii and Falerii, who

gessissent alia bella semper fortius quam
had conducted other wars always with more courage than

felicius, audit repente exercitum Gallorum
chance, hears on a sudden that the army of the Gauls

adventare, atque Ardeates pavidos
was approaching, and that the people of Ardea, in consternation,

consultare de eo: nec secus quam tactus
were met in council on the *subject*. And as if moved

divino spiritu, cum intulisset se in
by divine inspiration, after he advanced into

mediam concionem, ante suetus
the midst of *their* assembly, having hitherto been accustomed

abstinere talibus conciliis, inquit, "Ardeates,
to absent himself from such meetings, he says, "People of Ardea,

amici veteres, novi mei cives etiam— quando
my friends of old, of late my fellow-citizens also, (since

et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et mea fortuna
[both] your kindness so ordered and my good fortune

egit hoc,— nemo vestrum putet
so achieved it,) let not any of you imagine

me huc processisse oblitum meæ conditionis: sed
that I have come forward here forgetful of my condition; but

res ac commune periculum cogit,
the *present* case and the common danger render it necessary

quisque conferre in medium, quod præsidii
that everyone should contribute to the public good whatever service

possit in trepida re. Et quando
he can in our *present* alarming situation. And when

referam gratiam vobis pro vestris tantis meritis in me,
shall I repay you for your so *very* important services to me,

si nunc cessavero? Aut ubi erit mei usus vobis,
if I now be remiss? Or where will I be of benefit to you,

si non fuerit in bello? Hac arte steti
if [it is] not in war? By this accomplishment I maintained my rank

in patria, et invictus bello pulsus sum in
in my native country: and, unconquered in war, I was banished during

pace ab ingratis civibus. Vobis autem, Ardeates,
peace by my ungrateful countrymen. To you now, men of Ardea,

oblata est fortuna et referendæ gratiæ
is presented a favorable opportunity [both] of making a recompense

pro tantis beneficiis pristinis Romani
for *all* the valuable favors formerly *conferred on you* by the Roman

populi, quanta ipsi meministis—
people; (how great *these have been* you yourselves remember,

nec ea enim exprobranda sunt apud memores,—
nor need they for this reason be cast up to you *as being* mindful *of them*,)

et pariendi huic urbi ingens belli decus
and of acquiring for this *your* city great military renown

ex communi hoste. Gens, qui adventant
over the common enemy. The nation, which is *now* approaching

effuso agmine, est cui natura dederit animos
in disorderly march, is *one* to whom nature has given minds

corporaque magis magna quam firma: eo
and bodies of greater size than strength: for which reason

ferunt in omne certamine plus terroris quam virium.
they bring to every contest more of terror than of *real* vigor.

Clades Romana sit argumento: cepere
The disaster of Rome may serve as a proof *of this;* they captured

urbem patentem, resistitur his
the city *when* lying open *to them;* *yet* a stand is made against them

exigua manu ex arce Capitolioque. Jam
by a small handful *of men* from the citadel and Capitol. Already

victi tædio obsidionis abscedunt que
tired out by the slow process of a siege, they retire and

palantur vagi per agros: repleti cibo vinoque
roam about through the country. Gorged with food and wine

raptim hausto, ubi nox appetit,
hastily swallowed, when night comes on,

sternuntur passim ritu ferarum prope
they stretch themselves promiscuously, like brutes, near

rivos aquarum, sine munimento, sine stationibus
streams of water, without intrenchment, without guards

ac custodiis, magis incauti etiam nunc solito
or advanced posts; more incautious even now than usual

ab secundis rebus. Si est vobis in animo tueri
in consequence of success. If *then* it is your purpose to defend

vestra mœnia, nec pati omnia hæc
your own walls, and not to suffer all these *places*

fieri Galliam, capite arma frequentes prima
to become *a province of* Gaul, take up arms in a full body at the first

vigilia, sequimini me ad cædem, non ad pugnam:
watch: follow me to slaughter, not to battle.

nisi tradidero vinctos somno trucidandos,
If I do not deliver them *up to you* fettered by sleep, to be butchered

velut pecudes, non recuso eundem exitum
like cattle, I decline not the same issue

mearum rerum Ardeæ, quem habui Romæ."
of my affairs at Ardea as I had at Rome."

XLV.—Æquis iniquisque persuasum erat esse,
Both friends and enemies were satisfied that there was

neminem usquam ea tempestate virum tantum
not anywhere, in that age, a man so eminently

bello: concione dimissa,
qualified for the field. The assembly being dismissed,

curant corpora, intenti, quam mox signum
they refresh themselves, carefully watching what moment the signal

daretur: quo dato, silentio
should be given; which being given, during the stillness

primæ noctis præsto fuere Camillo ad portas.
of the beginning of the night, they attended Camillus at the gates

Egressi, haud procul urbe, nacti
Having gone forth to no great distance from the city, they found

castra Gallorum sicut prædictum erat, intuta
the camp of the Gauls, as had been foretold, unguarded

neglectaque ab omni parte, invadunt cum ingenti
and neglected on every side, *and* attack it with a lusty

clamore: est nusquam prœlium, cædes
shout. There was no fight anywhere, *but* slaughter

omnibus locis: corpora nuda et soluta somno
everywhere; their bodies, naked and relaxed with sleep,

trucidantur. Extremos tamen excitos e
are cut to pieces. Those most remote, however, being roused from

suis cubilibus— ignaros, quæ vis esset aut unde—
their beds, not knowing, what the tumult was or whence

pavor tulit in fugam et quosdam
it came, the general consternation directed to flight, and some *of them*,

improvidos in ipsum hostem: magna pars
without perceiving *it*, into the very *midst of* the enemy A great number

delati in agrum Antiatem, incursione facta
flying into the territory of Antium, an attack being made

in palatos ab oppidanis, circumveniuntur.
on them *in their* straggling *march* by the towns-people, were surrounded

Similis strages facta est Tuscorum in agro
and cut off. A like carnage was made of the Tuscans in the territory

Veienti, qui adeo nihil miseriti sunt urbis,
of Veii; *for* they felt so little compassion for a city, *which had*

vicinæ jam prope quadringentesimum annum,
been its neighbor now near four hundred years,

oppressæ ab invisitato inauditoque hoste, ut
and was overpowered by a strange and unheard-of enemy, that

eo tempore facerent incursiones in Romanum agrum,
at that *very* time they made incursions on the Roman territory;

plenique prædæ habuerint in animo etiam oppugnare
and laden with booty, had it in contemplation even to lay siege to

Veios præsidium et ultimam spem Romani nominis.
Veii,— the bulwark and last hope of the Roman race.

Romani milites viderant eos, vagantes per agros
The Roman soldiers *there* had seen them, straggling over the country,

et congregatos agmine, agentes prædam præ se,
and *also* collected in a body, driving the prey before them,

et cernebant castra posita haud procul Veiis.
and *now* perceived their camp pitched at no great distance from Veii.

Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas
Upon this, first self-commiseration, then indignation,

atque ex ea ira cepit animos: suasne
and after that resentment, took possession of their minds: "Were their

clades esse ludibrio etiam Etruscis, a quibus
calamities to be a subject of mockery even to the Etrurians, from whom

avertissent Gallicum bellum in se? Vix
they had turned off the Gallic war on themselves?" Scarce

temperavere animis, quin facerent impetum
could they curb their passions *so far* as not to make the attack *upon them*

extemplo, compressique a Cædicio, quem ipsi
that instant; but being restrained by *Quintus* Cædicius, whom they

sibimet præfecerant, sustinuere rem in noctem.
had appointed their commander, they deferred the matter until night.

Auctor par Camillo tantum defuit, cetera
A leader, equal to Camillus, was all that was wanted; in other respects

gesta eodem ordine eodemque
matters were conducted in the same order and with the same

fortunæ eventu. Quin etiam ducibus captivis,
fortunate result. Moreover, under the guidance of *some* prisoners

qui superfuerant nocturnæ cædi, profecti ad Salinas
who had survived the nightly slaughter, they advanced to Salinæ

ad aliam manum Tuscorum, nocte insequente
against another body of Tuscans, *and* on the night following

ex improviso edidere majorem cædem, redeuntque
by a sudden surprise made still greater havoc, and *then* returned

Veios ovantes duplici victoria.
to Veii exulting in *their* double victory.

XLVI.—Interim Romæ obsidio plerumque
Meanwhile, at Rome, the siege, in general,

segnis et esse silentium utrimque, Gallis
was slow and there was quiet on both sides, the Gauls

intentis tantum ad id, ne quis hostium
being intent only on this, that none of the enemy

posset evadere inter stationes, cum repente
should escape from between their posts; when on a sudden

Romanus juvenis convertit in se
a Roman youth drew on himself

admiratione cives hostesque. Erat
the admiration *both of* his countrymen and the enemy. There was

sacrificium statum Fabiæ genti in
a sacrifice *solemnized* at stated times by the Fabian family on

Quirinali colle: ad faciendum id C. Fabius Dorso
the Quirinal hill. To perform this Caius Fabius Dorso

cum descendisset de Capitolio, Gabino cinctus,
having come down from the Capitol, in the Gabian cincture,

gerens manibus sacra, egressus per medias
carrying in his hands the sacred utensils, passed out through the midst

hostium stationes, nihil motus ad vocem
of the enemy's posts, without being at all moved by the calls

terroremve cujusquam, pervenit in Quirinalem
or threats of any of them, *and* proceeded to the Quirinal

collem, que sollemniter peractis ibi omnibus
hill; and after solemnly performing there all *the sacred rites*

revertens eadem similiter constanti vultu
coming back by the same *way*, with the same firm countenance

graduque— satis sperans deos esse propitios,
and gait, confident that the gods were propitious,

quorum cultum ne quidem deseruisset prohibitus
whose worship he had not even neglected *when* prohibited

metu mortis— rediit in Capitolium ad suos,
by the fear of death, he returned to the Capitol to his *friends*,

Gallis seu attonitis miraculo audaciæ, seu motis
the Gauls being either astounded at his amazing confidence, or moved

etiam religione, cujus gens est
even by *considerations of* religion, of which the nation is

haudquaquam negligens. Interim non tantum
by no means regardless. In the mean time, not only

animi sed vires etiam Veiis crescebant in dies
the courage but the strength [also] of those at Veii increased daily,

nec solum Romanis convenientibus eo ex agris,
not only *those* Romans repairing thither from the country

qui fuerant palati aut adverso prœlio aut
who had strayed away [either] after the unsuccessful battle, or

clade urbis captæ, sed voluntariis etiam
the disaster of the city being taken, but volunteers also

confluentibus ex Latio, ut essent in parte prædæ.
flowing in from Latium, to come in for share of the spoil.

Jam videbatur maturum, patriam repeti,
It now seemed high time that their country should be recovered

eripique ex manibus hostium, sed caput deerat
and rescued from the hands of the enemy. But a head was wanting

valido corpori. Ipse locus admonebat Camilli, et
to this strong body. The very spot reminded *them* of Camillus, an

magna pars erat militum qui res gesserant prospere
considerable part consisted of soldiers who had fought successfully

ejus ductu auspicioque: et Cædicius
under his guidance and auspices: and Cædicius

negare se commissurum, cur quisquam aut deorum
declared that he would not give occasion that any one, whether *god*

aut hominum finiret imperium potius, quam
or man, should terminate his command rather than that,

memor sui ordinis ipse posceret
mindful of his own rank, he would himself call for *the appointment of*

imperatorem. Omnium consensu placuit Camillum
a general. With universal consent it was resolved that Camillus

acciri ab Ardea, sed antea senatu, qui esset
should be invited from Ardea, but that first the senate [which was]

Romæ, consulto: adeo pudor regebat
at Rome should be consulted: so far did a sense of propriety regulate

omnia, que servabant discrimina
every *proceeding*, and *so carefully* did they observe the distinctions

rerum prope perditis rebus. Transeundum erat
of things in their almost desperate circumstances. They had to pass

ingenti periculo per hostium custodias: ad eam rem
at great risk through the enemy's guards. For this purpose

impiger juvenis, Pontius Cominius, pollicitus operam,
a spirited youth Pontius Cominius offered his services,

incubans cortici defertur secundo Tiberi ad
and supporting himself on cork was carried down the Tiber to

urbem: inde, qua a ripa fuit
the city. From thence, where *the distance* from the bank was

proximum, evadit in Capitolium per saxum
shortest, he made his way into the Capitol over a *part of the* rock

præruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodiæ,
that was craggy and therefore neglected by the enemy's guard:

et ductus ad magistratus edit mandata
and being conducted to the magistrates he delivers the message

exercitus. Inde accepto senatus consulto, uti
of the army. Then having received a decree of the senate, *both* that

Camillus revocatus de exsilio comitiis curiatis
Camillus should be recalled from exile in an assembly of the curiæ

extemplo diceretur dictator jussu populi,
and instantly nominated dictator by order of the people,

militesque haberent imperatorem quem vellent,
and that the soldiers should have the general whom they wished,

degressus eadem contendit nuntius Veios
going out by the same *way*, he proceeded *with* his dispatches to Veii:

legatique missi Ardeam ad Camillum perduxere
and deputies, being sent to Ardea to Camillus, conducted

eum Veios, seu lex lata est curiata,
him to Veii: or else the law was passed by the curia,

dictusque dictator absens— quod magis libet
and he was appointed dictator in his absence; for I am more inclined

credere non profectum ab Ardea prius, quam
to believe that he did not set out from Ardea until

comperit legem latam, quod posset
he found that the law was passed; because he could

nec mutari finibus injussu populi, nec
neither change his residence without an order of the people, nor

habere auspicia in exercitu, nisi dictus
hold the *privilege of the* auspices in the army, until he was nominated

dictator.
dictator.

XLVII.—Dum hæc agebantur Veiis, interim
Whilst these things were going on at Veii, in the meanwhile

arx Capitoliumque Romæ fuit in ingenti periculo
the citadel and Capitol of Rome were in great danger.

Namque Galli, seu notato vestigio humano,
For the Gauls, either having perceived the track of a human *foot*

qua nuntius a Veiis pervenerat, seu
where the messenger from Veii had passed, or

sua sponte animadverso æquo ascensu saxorum
having of themselves remarked the easy ascent by the rock

ad Carmentis, sublustri nocte, cum
at *the temple of* Carmentis; on a moonlight night, after

primo præmisissent inermem, qui tentaret
they had at first sent forward an unarmed *person* to make trial of

viam, tradentes arma inde, ubi quid iniqui esset,
the way; delivering their arms *to those* ahead, when any difficulty occurred

invicem innixi sublevantesque alterni et
alternately supported and supporting each other, and

trahentes alii alios, prout locus postularet, evasere
drawing each other *up*, according as the ground required; they climbed

in summum tanto silentio, ut non solum fallerent
to the summit in such silence, that they not only escaped the notice of

custodes, sed ne quidem excitarent canes— animal
the sentinels but did not even alarm the dogs, an animal

sollicitum ad strepitus nocturnos. Anseres
extremely wakeful with respect to noises by night. *The notice of* the geese,

non fefellere, quibus, sacris Junoni,
however, they did not escape, which, being sacred to Juno,

abstinebatur tamen in summa inopia cibi:
the people had spared though *they were* in the greatest scarcity of food;

quæ res fuit saluti: namque
which circumstance was *the means of* their preservation; for

clangore eorum crepituque alarum
by the cackling of these *creatures*, and the clapping of their wings

M. Manlius excitus, vir egregius bello,
Marcus Manlius was roused *from sleep*,— a man distinguished in war

qui fuerat consul triennio ante, arreptis armis,
who had been consul the third year before; *and* snatching up his armor

simul ciens ceteros ad arma vadit:
at the same time calling the rest to arms! he hastened

et, dum ceteri trepidant
to the spot; and, whilst the others are thrown into confusion,

ictum umbone deturbat Gallum, qui
he, *by a* stroke with the boss *of his shield* tumbles down a Gaul, who

jam constiterat in summo. Cum casus cujus
had already got footing on the summit; *and* when the fall of this *man*,

prolapsi sterneret proximos, trucidant
as he tumbled, threw down those *who were* next, he slew

alios trepidantes omissis armis,
several others *who* in their consternation *had* thrown away *their* arms,

amplexosque manibus saxa, quibus adhærebant.
and caught hold of the rocks to which they clung.

Jamque alii et congregati proturbare hostes
And now the others also having assembled beat down the enemy

telis missilibus saxisque, totaque acies
by javelins and stones, and the entire band,

prolapsa deferri in præceps
having lost *their* footing, were hurled down the precipice

ruina. Tumultu deinde sedato
in *promiscuous* ruin. The alarm then subsiding

reliquum noctis datum est quieti— quantum
the remainder of the night was given to repose, as far as

poterat in turbatis mentibus, cum periculum
could be done in *such* disturbed *state of their* minds, when the danger,

quoque præteritum sollicitaret. Luce
even *though* past, *still* kept *them* in a state of anxiety. Day

orta, militibus vocatis classico
having appeared, the soldiers were summoned by sound of trumpet

ad tribunos ad concilium, cum pretium deberetur
to *attend* the tribunes in assembly, when recompense was to be made

et recte facto et perperam, Manlius primum laudatus
both to merit and to demerit; Manlius was first *of all* commended

ob virtutem donatusque non solum
for his bravery, and presented *with gifts*, not only

ab tribunis militum, sed consensu etiam militari,
by the military tribunes, but with consent [also] of the soldiers,

cui universi contulerunt ad ejus ædes, quæ erant
for they all carried to his house, which was

in arce, selibras farris et quartarios vini,—
in the citadel, *a contribution of* half a pound of corn and half a pint of wine,—

rem parvam dictu, ceterum inopia
a present trifling in the relation, but the *prevailing* scarcity

fecerat eam ingens argumentum caritatis, cum quisque
rendered it a strong proof of esteem, since each man,

fraudans se suo victu, conferret ad honorem
depriving himself of his own food, contributed in honor

unius viri detractum corpori atque
of one person a portion subtracted from his body and

necessariis usibus. Tum vigiles ejus loci,
from his necessary supplies. Then the guards of that place

qua hostis ascendens fefellerat, citati :
where the enemy had climbed up unobserved, were summoned

et cum Q. Sulpicius pronuntiasset
and when Quintus Sulpicius declared openly

se animadversurum in omnes more
that he would punish all according to the usage of

militari, deterritus, consentiente clamore
military *discipline*, *yet* being deterred by the consentient shout

militum conjicientium culpam in unum vigilem,
of the soldiers who threw the blame on one sentinel,

abstinuit a ceteris, haud dubium reum ejus noxæ
he spared the rest. The one *who was* manifestly guilty of the crime

dejecit de saxo approbantibus cunctis
he threw down from the rock with the approbation of all.

Inde custodiæ utrimque esse intentiores,
From this time forth the guards on both sides became more vigilant;

et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat
[both] on the part of the Gauls, because a rumor spread

nuntios commeare inter Veios Romamque, et
that messengers passed between Veii and Rome; and

apud Romanos, ab memoria periculi
on that of the Romans, from their recollection of the danger

nocturni.
they had been in during the night.

XLVIII.—Sed, ante omnia mala belli
But beyond all the evils of the war

obsidionisque, fames urgebat utrimque exercitum,
and the siege, famine distressed both armies;

pestilentia etiam Gallos, cum habentes castra
pestilence, moreover, *oppressed* the Gauls, both *as* being encamped

loco jacente inter tumulos, tum torrido
in *low* ground lying between hills, as well as heated

ab incendiis et pleno vaporis, ferenteque
by the burning *of the buildings*, and full of exhalations, and sending up

non modo pulverem cinerem, cum quid motum esset
not only ashes *but* embers, whenever there was the least gus

venti: que cum gens, assueta humori ac frigori,
of wind; and as the nation, accustomed to moisture and cold,

intolerantissima quorum, vexata
is most intolerant of these *annoyances*, *and* suffering severely

æstu et angore, morerentur, morbis vulgatis
from the heat and suffocation, they were dying, the diseases spreading

velut in pecua, jam pigritia sepeliendi singulos,
as among cattle; *and* now growing weary of burying separately,

acervatos hominum cumulos promiscue urebant:
they gathered the bodies in heaps promiscuously, *and* burnt *them*.

que fecere locum inde insignem nomine
and rendered the place [ever after] remarkable by the name

Gallicorum bustorum. Induciæ deinde factæ cum
of the Gallic piles. A truce was now made with

Romanis, et colloquia habita permissu imperatorum:
the Romans, and conferences held with permission of the commanders;

in quibus, cum Galli identidem objicerent famem
in which when the Gauls frequently alluded to the famine,

eaque vocarent necessitate ad deditionem, dicitur,
and thence inferred the necessity of their surrendering, it is said, that

causa avertendæ ejus opinionis, panis jactatus esse
for the purpose of removing this opinion, bread was thrown

multis locis de Capitolio in stationes hostium.
in many places from the Capitol, into the advanced posts of the enemy.

Sed fames poterat jam neque dissimulari neque
But the famine could [now] neither be dissembled nor

ferri ultra: itaque,— dum dictator per se habet
endured any longer. Accordingly, whilst the dictator is in person holding

dilectum Ardeæ jubet magistrum equitum
a levy *of troops* at Ardea, and orders his master of the horse,

L. Valerium abducere exercitum a Veiis,
Lucius Valerius, to bring up the forces from Veii,

parat instruitque, quibus adoriatur
and makes *such* preparations and arrangements as that he may attack

hostes haud impar,— interim exercitus Capitolinus,
the enemy on equal terms, in the meantime the army of the Capitol,

fessus stationibus vigiliisque, tamen superatis
wearied out with *keeping* guard and with watches, having [yet] surmounted

omnibus humanis malis, cum famem unam natura
all human sufferings, whilst *as to* famine alone nature

non sineret vinci, prospectans diem de die
would not allow *it* to be overcome, looking out day after day

ecquod auxilium appareret ab dictatore, postremo
for any assistance which might come from the dictator, at last

non solum cibo, spe quoque jam deficiente, et
not only provisions *but* hope also [now] failing, and

armis, cum procederent stationes, prope obruentibus
their arms, whilst they went forward on guard, almost weighing dow

infirmum corpus, jussit vel dedi,
their feeble bodies, insisted that there either should be a surrender,

vel se redimi quacumque pactione possent;
or that they should be bought off on whatever terms were possible,

Gallis jactantibus non obscure, se posse adduci
the Gauls intimating rather plainly that they could be induced

haud magna mercede, ut relinquant obsidionem.
for no *very* great compensation to relinquish the siege.

Tum senatus habitus, negotiumque datum
Then the senate was held, and instructions were given

tribunis militum, ut paciscerentur. Res
to the military tribunes, to capitulate. The business

inde transacta est colloquio inter Q. Sulpicium
was afterwards managed in a conference between Quintus Sulpicius,

tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum
a military tribune, and Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls,

et mille pondo auri factum pretium
and one thousand pounds' weight of gold was fixed *as* the ransom

populi mox imperaturi gentibus. Rei
of a people *who were* soon after to be the rulers of the world. To a transaction

fœdissimæ per se, indignitas adjecta est,
so very humiliating in itself, insult was added.

iniqua pondera allata ab Gallis, et,
False weights were brought by the Gauls, and

tribuno recusante, gladius additus
on the tribune objecting *to them*, his sword was *thrown in* in addition

ponderi ab insolente Gallo, voxque audita
to the weight by the insolent Gaul, and an expression was heard

intoleranda Romanis "væ victis esse!"
intolerable to the Romans, "Woe to the vanquished!"

XLIX.—Sed diique et homines
But both gods and men *stood forth to*

prohibuere Romanos vivere redemptos.
prevent the Romans from living *on the condition of* being ransomed

Nam quadam forte, prius quam infanda merces
for by some chance, before the abominable payment

perficeretur, omni auro nondum appenso
was completed, all the gold being not yet weighed

per altercationem, dictator intervenit, jubetque
in consequence of the altercation, the dictator comes up, and orders

aurum auferri de medio et Gallos submoveri.
the gold to be carried away from thence, and the Gauls to clear away.

Cum renitentes illi dicerent sese
When they, holding out against him, affirmed that they

pactos negat eam pactionem esse ratam,
had concluded a bargain, he denied that such agreement was valid,

quæ facta esset ab magistratu inferioris juris
which had been made with a magistrate of inferior authority

injussu suo, postquam ipse creatus esset dictator,
without his orders, after he had been created dictator;

denuntiatque Gallis ut expediant se ad prœlium.
and he gives notice to the Gauls to prepare for battle.

Suos jubet conjicere sarcinas in acervum,
His own *men* he orders to throw their baggage in a heap,

et aptare arma, que recuperare patriam ferro,
and to get ready their arms, and to recover their country with steel,

non auro, habentes in conspectu fana deûm,
not with gold, having before their eyes the temples of the gods,

et conjuges, et liberos, et solum patriæ deforme
[and] their wives and children, [and] the soil of their country disfigured

malis belli et omnia, quæ
by the calamities of war, and all those objects which

fas sit defendi repetique et ulcisci.
was *their* solemn duty to defend, to recover and to revenge.

Deinde instruit aciem, ut natura loci patiebatur,
He then drew up his army, as the nature of the place admitted,

in solo semirutæ urbis, et inæquali natura,
on the site of the half-demolished city, [and] *which was* uneven by nature,

et providit omnia secunda suis, quæ
and he secured all *those* advantages for his own *men*, which

poterant præparari eligive arte belli. Galli,
could be prepared or selected by knowledge in war. The Gauls,

trepidi nova re, capiunt arma, iraque
alarmed at the unexpected event, take up arms, and with rage,

magis, quam consilio, incurrunt in Romanos.
rather than good judgment, rushed upon the Romans.

Fortuna jam verterat, jam opes deorum humanaque
Fortune had now changed; now divine favor and human

consilia adjuvabant Romanam rem. Primo concursu
wisdom aided the Roman cause. At the first onset,

igitur Galli fusi sunt haud majore momento quam
therefore, the Gauls were routed with no greater difficulty than

vicerant ad Aliam. Deinde vincuntur
they had *found in* gaining the victory at Allia. They were afterwards beaten

ductu auspicioque ejusdem Camilli
under the conduct and auspices of the same Camillus,

altero justiore prælio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via,
in a more regular engagement, at the eighth stone on the Gabine road,

quo contulerant se ex fuga. Ibi
whither they had betaken themselves after their defeat. There

cædes obtinuit omnia: castra capiuntur et relictus
the slaughter was universal: their camp was taken, and there was left

ne quidem nuntius cladis. Dictator,
not even a *single* person to carry news of the disaster. The dictator,

recuperata patria ex hostibus, redit in urbem
having *thus* recovered his country from the enemy, returns into the city

triumphans, interque inconditos militares jocos,
in triumph; and among the rough military jests

quos jaciunt appellabatur laudibus
which they throw out *on such occasions*, he is styled, with praises

haud vanis Romulus ac parens patriæ, alterque
not unmerited, Romulus and parent of his country, and a second

conditor urbis.
founder of the city

CONTENTS OF BOOK XXI.

Rise of the second Punic war. Hannibal's character. In violation of a treaty he passes the Iberus; besieges, and after eight months, takes Saguntum. The Romans send an embassy to Carthage; declare war Hannibal crosses the Pyrenees; makes his way through Gaul; with great fatigue passes the Alps; defeats the Romans at the river Ticinus, in a fight between the cavalry, in which P. Cornelius Scipio, being wounded, is saved by his son, afterward Africanus. The Romans again defeated at the Trebia. Cneius Cornelius Scipio defeats the Carthaginian army in Spain, and makes Hanno, their general, prisoner. [U. C. 534–535; B. C. 218–217.]

LIBER VICESIMUS PRIMUS.

BOOK TWENTY-FIRST.

I.—In parte mei operis mihi licet præfari,
At *this* division of my work I may be allowed to premise,

quod plerique scriptores rerum professi sunt
what most writers of history have professed

in principio totius summæ, me scripturum
at the beginning of their whole undertaking: that I am going to write of

bellum maxime memorabile omnium, quæ
a war the most memorable of all that

unquam gesta sint, quod Carthaginienses
were ever waged;— that which the Carthaginians,

duce Hannibale gessere cum Romano populo.
under the conduct of Hannibal, maintained with the Roman people.

Nam neque ullæ civitates gentesque
For never did any states and nations

validiores inter se opibus contulerunt arma, neque
more efficient in their resources engage in a contest of arms: nor

his ipsis unquam fuit tantum
did these same *nations* at any other period possess so great *a degree*

virium aut roboris: et conserebant haud artes belli
of power and energy. They brought into action too no arts of war

ignotas inter sese, sed expertas
unknown to each other, but those *which had been* tried

primo Punico bello: et adeo varia fuit fortuna belli
in the first Punic war; and so various was the fortune of the conflict

ancepsque Mars, ut, qui vicerunt,
and *so* doubtful the victory, that those who conquered *in the end*

fuerint propius periculum: etiam
were *at times brought* nearest to destruction. Besides,

certarunt prope majoribus odiis quam
they went into the contest with almost *a* greater *degree of* rancor than

viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victi
of strength, the Romans being indignant that the vanquished

ultro inferrent arma victoribus, Pœnis,
aggressively took up arms against their victors; the Carthaginians,

quod crederent imperitatum esse victis
because they imagined that it had been lorded *over them* in their subjection

superbe avareque. Fama est etiam, Hannibalem
with haughtiness and avarice. There is a story, too, that Hannibal,

ferme novem annorum, pueriliter blandientem
when about nine years old, *while* boyishly coaxing

patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam,
his father Hamilcar that he might be taken *with him* to Spain,

cum perfecto Africo bello
(*at the time* when, upon the completion of the African war,

sacrificaret trajecturus exercitum eo,
he was offering sacrifices on the eve of transporting his army thither,)

admotum altaribus, tactis sacris
was conducted to the altars; *and* having laid *his* hand on the offerings,

adactum jurejurando, se fore, cum primum posset,
was bound by a solemn oath "to prove himself, as soon as he could,

hostem Romano populo. Amissæ Sicilia
an enemy to the Roman people." The loss of Sicily

Sardiniaque angebant virum ingentis spiritus:
and Sardinia chagrined him *as being* a man of high spirit;

nam et Siciliam concessam nimis celeri
for *he deemed* [both] that Sicily had been given up through a too hasty

desperatione rerum, et Sardiniam
despair of their affairs; and that Sardinia

interceptam fraude Romanorum
had been snatched *out of their hands* by a fraudulent move of the Romans

inter motum Africæ, insuper etiam
during the commotions in Africa, *while* in addition even

stipendio imposito.
the payment of a tribute had been imposed *on them*.

II.—Anxius his curis ita gessit se,
Being disturbed with these anxieties, he so conducted himself,

per quinque annos Africo bello, quod fuit
during the five years in the African war, which followed

sub recentem pacem Romanam, deinde ita
soon after the late pacification with Rome, and then [likewise]

novem annis augendo Punico imperio in Hispania,
through nine years *spent* in augmenting the Carthaginian empire in Spain,

ut appareret, eum agitare in animo majus bellum,
that it was obvious he was revolving in his mind a greater war

quam quod gereret, et, si vixisset diutius,
than any which he was *then* engaged in; and that, if he had lived longer,

Pœnos, qui intulerunt
the Carthaginians, who *as it is* made their invasion

ductu Hannibale, illaturos fuisse arma Italiæ
under the conduct of Hannibal, would have carried their arms into Italy

duce Hamilcare. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna
under the generalship of Hamilcar. The death of Hamilcar very seasonable

et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum.
for Rome and the unripe age of Hannibal delayed hostilities.

Hasdrubal medius inter patrem ac filium
Hasdrubal, intervening between father and son,

obtinuit imperium ferme octo annos, primo conciliatus
held the command for about eight years. *He was* first endeared

Hamilcari, uti ferunt, flore ætatis,
to Hamilcar, as they say, on account of his youthful beauty,

inde ascitus gener ob
and was afterwards adopted *by him* *as his* son-in-law on account of

aliam indolem profecto animi, et,
his other qualifications,— *those* undoubtedly of the mind; and,

quia erat gener, positus in imperio
because he was his son-in-law, he was invested with the command-in-chief

haud sane voluntate principum opibus
against the wishes of the nobles, by the influence

Barcinæ factionis, quæ apud milites plebemque
of the Barcine faction, which among the military and the commons

erant plus quam modicæ. Gerens plura
was exceedingly powerful. Prosecuting *his designs* more frequently

consilio quam vi, is auxit Carthaginiensem rem
by means of policy than by force, he aggrandized the Carthaginian power

magis hospitiis regulorum conciliandisque
more by friendly connections with the *petty* princes, and by gaining the favor

novis gentibus per amicitiam principum quam armis
of unknown nations through the friendship of their leaders, than by arms

aut bello. Ceterum pax fuit nihilo tutior ei:
or wars. Yet peace was none the safer for him *personally*.

quidam barbarus ob iram domini interfecti
One *of the* barbarians, in resentment of his master having been put to death

ab eo palam obtruncat eum; comprehensusque
by him, openly assassinated him; and having been seized

ab circumstantibus, haud alio vultu, quam si
by the bystanders, *he exhibited* the same countenance as if

evasisset, quoque cum laceraretur tormentis,
he had escaped; *nay* even when racked with tortures,

fuit eo habitu oris, ut præbuerit speciem
he wore such an expression of face, that he presented the appearance

etiam ridentis lætitia superante dolores.
[even] of one smiling, his exultation getting the better of his pains.

Cum hoc Hasdrubal, quia fuerat miræ artis
With this Hasdrubal, because he possessed *such* wonderful skill

in sollicitandis gentibus jungendisque suo imperio,
in gaining over the nations and attaching them to his government

Romanus populus renovaverat fœdus, ut
the Roman people had renewed the treaty, *on the terms*, that

amnis Iberus esset finis utriusque imperii,
the river Iberus should be the boundary of both empires;

Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia
and *that* to the Saguntines *who* lay between the territories

duorum populorum libertas servaretur.
of the two states, their liberty should be preserved.

III.—Fuit haud dubia res, quin
There was no doubt that *in voting*

in locum Hasdrubalis favor plebis sequeretur
for a successor to Hasdrubal, the approbation of the commons would follow

prærogativam militarem, qua juvenis Hannibal
the lead of the military, by which the young Hannibal

extemplo delatus erat in prætorium appellatusque
had been immediately carried to headquarters, and saluted

imperator ingenti clamore atque assensu omnium,
as general amid the loud shouts and acquiescence of all.

Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal arcessierat
This *youth, when* scarce yet arrived at manhood, Hasdrubal had invited

litteris ad se: resque etiam acta fuerat
by letter *to come* to him; and the matter had even been discussed

in senatu Barcinis nitentibus, ut Hannibal
in the senate, the Barcine faction using *their* efforts, that Hannibal

assuesceret militiæ atque succederet
might be trained to military service and succeed

in opes paternas: Hanno, princeps alterius factionis,
to the power of his father. Hanno, the leader of the other faction,

inquit, "Hasdrubal et videtur postulare æquum,
said, "Hasdrubal seems indeed to demand *what is* reasonable,

et ego tamen non censeo quod petit, tribuendum."
but I, nevertheless, do not think that his request ought to be granted."

Cum convertisset in se omnes admiratione
When he had attracted to himself *the attention of* all through surprise

tam ancipitis sententiæ, inquit, "Hasdrubal
at such an ambiguous opinion, he proceeded: "Hasdrubal

censet eum florem ætatis, quem ipse præbuit
thinks that the flower of youth, which he gave

fruendum Hannibalis patri, justo jure repeti
to the enjoyment of Hannibal's father, may justly be claimed in return

a filio: tamen minime decet
by himself from the son. It would, however, by no means become

nos, assuefacere nostram juventutem
us to accustom our youth,

pro militari rudimento libidini prætorum.
instead of a military education, to the lustful ambition of generals

An hoc timemus, ne filius Hamilcaris
Are we afraid lest the son of Hamilcar

nimis sero videat immodica imperia et speciem
should be too late in seeing the immoderate power and parade

paterni regni, et parum mature serviamus
of his father's sovereignty? or that we shall not soon enough become slaves

filio ejus, cujus genero regis nostri exercitus
to the son of him, to whose son-in-law, *as to* a king's, our armies

relicti sint hereditarii? Ego censeo
were bequeathed *as* an hereditary right? I am of opinion,

istum juvenem tenendum domi, docendum
that this youth should be kept at home, *and* taught,

sub legibus sub magistratibus vivere
under *the restraint of* the laws and the *authority of* magistrates, to live

æquo jure cum ceteris, ne quandoque
on an equal footing with the rest *of the citizens*, lest at some time or other

hic parvus ignis exsuscitet ingens incendium."
this small fire should kindle a vast conflagration."

IV.—Pauci, ac ferme quisque optimus
A few, and nearly everyone of the highest merit,

assentiebantur Hannoni: sed, ut plerumque fit,
concurred with Hanno; but, as it generally happens,

major pars vicit meliorem. Hannibal
the more numerous party prevailed over the better. Hannibal,

missus in Hispaniam statim primo adventu
having been sent into Spain, from his very first arrival

convertit omnem exercitum in se. Veteres milites
drew *the eyes of* the whole army upon him. The veteran soldiers

credere Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi;
imagined that Hamilcar, in his youth, was restored to them;

intueri eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis
they remarked the same vigor in his looks and animation in his eye,

lineamenta habitumque oris: dein brevi
the *same* features and expression of countenance; *and* then in a short time

effecit, ut pater esset in se minimum
he *so* managed, that *the memory of* his father was to them *of* the smallest

momentum ad conciliandum favorem. Nunquam fuit
consideration in conciliating their esteem. Never was there

idem ingenium habilius ad diversissimas res,
a [like] genius more fitted for the *two* most opposite duties

parendum atque imperandum. Itaque
of obeying and commanding; so that

haud facile discerneres, utrum esset carior
you could not easily decide whether he were more beloved

imperatori an exercitui: neque Hasdrubal malle
by the general or the army: *and* neither did Hasdrubal prefer

præficere quemquam alium, ubi quid agendum
intrusting the command to any other, when anything was to be done

fortiter ac strenue, neque milites
with courage and activity; nor did the soldiers

plus confidere aut audere alio duce.
feel more confidence and boldness under any other leader.

Plurimum erat audaciæ ad capessenda pericula,
Passing great was his intrepidity in facing danger,

plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula
exceeding great his presence of mind *when* in the very midst of them

nullo labore poterat aut corpus fatigari aut animus
By no hardship could his body be exhausted or his spirit

vinci. Caloris ac frigoris patientia
broken. For heat or for cold his power of endurance

par: modus cibi potionisque finitus
was equally *great*. The quantity of his food and drink was limited

desiderio naturali, non voluntate. Tempora
by the wants of nature, *and* not by pleasure. The seasons

somni vigiliarumque discriminata nec die
of his sleeping and waking were distinguished neither by day

nec nocte: id, quod superesset gerendis rebus
nor night. The *time* that remained after the transaction of business

datum quieti: ea arcessita neque molli
was given to repose; *but* that repose was invited neither by a soft

strato neque silentio. Multi sæpe conspexerunt
bed nor by quiet *retirement*. Many have [repeatedly] seen

opertum militari sagulo jacentem humi inter
him wrapped in a military cloak, lying on the ground amid

custodias stationesque militum. Vestitus
the watches and outposts of the soldiers. His dress

nihil excellens inter æquales: arma atque
was not at all superior to *that of* his equals: his armor and

equi conspiciebantur. Erat idem longe primus
horses were conspicuous. He was at once by far the first

equitum peditumque: princeps ibat in prœlium,
of the cavalry and infantry; *and*, foremost to advance to the charge

ultimus excedebat conserto prœlio. Ingentia vitia
he was last to leave the engagement. Excessive vices

æquabant has tantas virtutes viri, inhumana
counterbalanced these eminent virtues of the hero; inhuman

crudelitas, plus quam Punica perfidia, nihil veri,
cruelty, more than Punic perfidy, no truth,

nihil sancti, nullus metus deum, nullum jusjurandum,
no *regard for* sanctity, no reverence for the gods, no *respect for* oaths,

nulla religio. Cum hac indole
no *sense of* religion. *Endowed* with such a disposition,

virtutum atque vitiorum meruit sub
a compound of virtues and vices, he served under

imperatore Hasdrubale triennio nulla re prætermissa,
the command of Hasdrubal for three years, without neglecting anything

quæ agenda esset videndaque futuro
which ought to be done or seen by one *who was* destined to be

magno duci.
a great general.

V.—Ceterum ex quo die declaratus est
But from the day on which he was declared

dux, velut Italia decreta esset ei provincia,
chief, as if Italy had been decreed to him as his province,

bellumque Romanum mandatum, ratus
and the war with Rome committed *to him*, thinking

nihil prolatandum, ne cunctantem aliquis
there should be no delay, lest, *while he* procrastinated, some

casus opprimeret se quoque, ut
unforeseen event might defeat him [also], as *had happened to*

patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, statuit
his father, Hamilcar, *and* afterwards *to* Hasdrubal, he determined

inferre bellum Saguntinis. Quia haud dubie
to make war on the Saguntines; *and* as *there could be* no doubt

oppugnandis quibus Romana arma movebantur,
that by attacking them the Roman arms would be called forth,

prius induxit exercitum in fines Olcadum— gens
he first led his army into the territory of the Olcades, (a people

ea erat ultra Iberum magis in parte quam
that dwelled beyond the Iberus, rather within the boundaries than

in ditione Carthaginiensium— ut non posset videri
under the dominion of the Carthaginians,) so that he might not seem

petisse Saguntinos, sed tractus
to have aimed *directly* at the Saguntines, but to have been drawn on

ad id bellum serie rerum, finitimis gentibus
to the war by a series of events, after the adjoining nations

domitis, jungendoque.
had been subdued, and by *the progressive* annexation *of conquered territory*.

Expugnat diripitque Carteiam, opulentam urbem,
He storms and plunders Carteia, a wealthy city,

caput ejus gentis, quo minores civitates perculsæ metu
the capital of that nation; at which the smaller states being dismayed

accepere imperium, imposito stipendio:
submitted to his authority, *and* to the imposition of a tribute.

exercitus victor opulentusque præda deductus est
His army, triumphant and enriched with booty, was led

in hiberna novam Carthaginem. Ibi firmatis
into winter-quarters to New Carthage. Having there secured

animis in se cunctis civium sociorumque,
the attachment [to himself] of all his countrymen and allies

large partiendo prædam, que cum fide exsolvendo
by a liberal distribution of the plunder, and by faithfully discharging

præterito stipendio, bellum promotum
the arrears of pay, the war was extended,

primo vere in Vaccæos. Eorum urbes
in the beginning of spring, to the Vaccæi. Their cities

Hermandica et Arbocala captæ vi. Arbocala
Hermandica and Arbocala were taken by storm. Arbocala

defensa diu et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum
was defended for a long time by the bravery and number of its inhabitants

Profugi ab Hermandica, cum se junxissent
Those *who* escaped from Hermandica, having joined themselves

exsulibus Olcadum— gentis domitæ priore æstate,—
to the exiles of the Olcades, the nation subdued in the preceding summer,

concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hannibalem,
roused up the Carpetans *to arms;* and attacking Hannibal

regressum ex Vaccæis, haud procul flumine
as he was returning from the Vaccæi, not far from the river

Tago turbavere agmen grave præda.
Tagus, they threw into disorder his army encumbered with spoil.

Hannibal abstinuit prœlio, positisque castris
Hannibal avoided an engagement, and having pitched his camp

super ripam, cum prima quies silentiumque
on the bank, as soon as quiet and silence

fuit ab hostibus, trajecit amnem vado, que
prevailed among the enemy, crossed the river by a ford; and

producto vallo ita, ut hostes haberent locum
having removed his rampart so far that the enemy might have room

ad transgrediendum, statuit invadere eos transeuntes.
to pass over, resolved to attack them in their passage.

Præcepit equitibus, ut, cum viderent
He gave orders to his cavalry that, as soon as they should see

ingressos aquam, adorirentur. Agmen
them advanced into the water, they should fall on *them.* The line

peditum disposuit in ripa, elephantos—
of the infantry he formed on the bank *stationing* the elephants *in front,*

erant autem quadraginta. Carpetanorum
of which there were some forty. The Carpetani,

cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccæorumque
with the addition of the Olcades and Vaccæi,

fuere centum millia, invicta acies, si
amounted to a hundred thousand, an invincible army, if

dimicaretur æquo campo. Itaque
a fight were to take place in an open plain. Being therefore

et ingenio feroces et freti multitudine, et, quod
both naturally ferocious and confiding in their numbers; and since

credebant hostem cessisse metu, rati
they believed that the enemy had retired through fear, thinking

id morari victoriam quod amnis interesset,
that the *only* obstruction to their victory *was* that the river intervened,

sublato clamore, ruunt passim in amnem
having raised the shout, they rush from all parts into the stream

sine imperio ullius, cuique qua est proximum.
without the orders of anyone, each where it was nearest *to him*.

Et ingens vis equitum immissa in flumen
At the same time a heavy force of cavalry poured into the river

ex altera parte ripæ. medioque alveo concursum
from its opposite bank, and in the middle of the channel they met

haudquaquam pari certamine, quippe ubi pedes
in very unequal conflict for there the footman,

instabilis ac vix fidens vado
not *being* secure of footing and scarcely trusting to the ford,

posset perverti vel ab inermi equite,
could be borne down even by an unarmed horseman,

acto equo temere, eques,
by the *mere* shock of his horse *urged* at random; *whereas* a horseman,

corpore armisque liber,— equo stabili vel
with his limbs and weapons at liberty, his horse moving steadily even

per medios gurgites,— gereret rem
through the midst of the eddies, could maintain the fight *either*

comminus eminusque. Magna pars absumpta
at close quarters or at a distance. A great number were swallowed up

flumine, quidam delati verticoso amni
in the current: some, being carried by the whirlpools of the stream

in hostes, obtriti sunt ab elephantis:
to *the side of* the enemy, were trodden down by the elephants;

cum postremi, quibus fuit tutior regressus
and whilst the hindmost, for whom it was more safe *to* retreat

in suam ripam, colligerentur in unum
to their own bank, were collecting themselves into one body

ex varia trepidatione, Hannibal, priusquam
after their various alarms, Hannibal, before

reciperent animos tanto pavore, ingressus
they could regain courage after *such* excessive consternation, having entered

amnem agmine quadrato, fecit fugam ex ripa,
the river with his army in a *close* square, forced them to fly from the bank

vastatisque agris, accepit Carpetanos quoque
Having then laid waste their territory, he reduced the Carpetani also,

intra paucos dies in deditionem. Et jam omnis
in a few days, to submission. And now all

trans Iberum præter Saguntinos
the *country* beyond the Iberus excepting *that of* the Saguntines

erant Carthaginiensium.
was *under the power* of the Carthaginians.

VI.—Nondum erat bellum cum Saguntinis,
As yet there was no war with the Saguntines,

ceterum jam causa belli certamina cum finitimis
but already, in order to a war, disputes with their neighbors,

maxime Turdetanis serebantur. Quibus
more particularly the Turdetani, were *industriously* fomented; with whom

cum idem adesset, qui erat sator litis,
when the same *person* sided who had been the instigator of the quarrel,

appareret nec certamen juris, sed vim
and it was evident not that a discussion of rights, but violence

quæri, legati missi a Saguntinis Romam,
was intended, ambassadors were sent by the Saguntines to Rome

orantes auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie
to implore assistance in the war *which* now evidently

imminens. Consules tunc Romæ erant
threatened *them*. The consuls then at Rome were

P. Cornelius Scipio et Tib. Sempronius Longus,
Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus,

qui, legatis introductis in senatum,
who, after the ambassadors had been introduced into the senate,

cum retulissent de republica, placuissetque
having made a motion on *the state of* public affairs, it was resolved

legatos mitti in Hispaniam ad inspiciendas res
that envoys should be sent into Spain to inspect the circumstances

sociorum, si quibus videretur digna causa,
of the allies; *and*, if there appeared to them sufficient reason

et denuntiarent Hannibali, ut abstineret ab Saguntinis,
both *to* warn Hannibal that he should refrain from the Saguntines,

sociis Romani populi, et trajicerent in Africam
the confederates of the Roman people, and *to* pass over into Africa

Carthaginem ac deferrent querimonias sociorum
to Carthage, and report *there* the complaints of the allies

Romani populi,— hac legatione decreta necdum
of the Roman people. This embassy having been decreed *but* not yet

missa, allatum est celerius omnium spe
dispatched, the news arrived, more quickly than any one expected,

Saguntum oppugnari. Res tunc relata
that Saguntum was besieged. The business was then referred

de integro ad senatum; et alii, decernentes
anew to the senate. And some, decreeing

Hispaniam atque Africam provincias consulibus
Spain and Africa *as* provinces for the consuls,

censebant rem gerendam mari terraque,
thought the war should be maintained both by sea and land,

alii intenderant totum bellum in Hispaniam
while others wished to direct the whole hostilities against Spain

Hannibalemque. Erant, qui censerent
and Hannibal. There were *others again* who were of opinion

rem tantam non movendam temere; que
that an affair of such importance should not be entered on rashly; and

legatos ex Hispania exspectandos. Hæc
that *the return of* the ambassadors from Spain ought to be awaited. This

sententia, quæ videbatur tutissima, vicit: que
opinion, which seemed the safest, prevailed; and

P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bæbius Tamphilus
Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Bæbius Tamphilus

eo maturius missi legati ad
were, on that account, the more quickly dispatched as deputies to

Hannibalem Saguntum atque inde Carthaginem, si
Hannibal at Saguntum, and from thence to Carthage, if

non absisteretur bello, ad deposcendum ducem ipsum
he did not desist from the war, to demand the general himself

in pœnam rupti fœderis.
in atonement for the violation of the treaty.

VII.—Dum Romani ea parant consultantque
While the Romans thus prepare and deliberate,

Saguntum jam oppugnabatur. Ea civitas sita
Saguntum was already besieged. This city, situated

ferme mille passus a mari fuit longe opulentissima
about a mile from the sea, was by far the most opulent

ultra Iberum. Dicuntur oriundi
beyond the Iberus. *Its inhabitants* are said to have been derived

a insula Zacyntho, que quidam Rutulorum generis
from the island Zacynthus, and some of the Rutulian race

ab Ardea etiam mixti: ceterum creverant
from Ardea to have been also mixed *with them*; but they had grown *up*

brevi in tantas opes seu fructibus
in a *very* short time to such prominent wealth, either by their gains

maritimis seu terrestribus, seu incremento multitudine
from the sea or the land, or by the increase of their numbers,

seu sanctitate disciplinæ, qua coluerunt
or the purity of their principles, by which they maintained

fidem socialem usque ad suam perniciem.
their faith with their allies, even to their own destruction.

Hannibal ingressus fines infesto exercitu,
Hannibal marched into their territory with a hostile army, *and*

pervastatis agris passim, aggreditur urbem
after laying waste the country in every direction, attacks the city

tripartito. Erat angulus muri vergens
on three *different* sides. There was an angle of the wall sloping down

in vallem planiorem patentioremque, quam
into a vale more level and open than

cetera circa: adversus eum instituit agere
the other *space* around; against this he resolved to move

vineas, per quas aries posset admoveri
the vineæ, by means of which the battering-ram might be advanced *up*

mœnibus. Sed ut locus procul muro fuit
to the walls. But, though the ground at a distance from the wall was

satis æquus agendis vineis, ita, postquam
sufficiently level for working the vinea, yet, when

ventum est ad effectum operis, cœptis
they came to the carrying-out of the task, their undertakings

haudquaquam prospere succedebat : et ingens turris
by no means favorably succeeded. Both a very large tower

imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco,
overlooked *it*, and the wall, as in a suspected place,

emunitus erat modum altitudinis supra ceteræ ; et
was raised to a height beyond *that* of the rest; and

delecta juventus obsistebant majore vi
a chosen *band of* youths stood the defence with the greater energy

ibi, ubi plurimum laboris ac periculi
[in that place] where the greatest *amount* of fatigue and danger

ostendebatur. Ac primo summovere hostem
was indicated. At first they repelled the enemy

missilibus, pati nec quidquam satis tutum
with missile weapons, and suffered no place *to be* sufficiently secure

munientibus. Deinde jam non modo micare
for the working *parties*. In a little time they not only brandished

tela pro mœnibus atque turri, sed animus erat
their weapons in defence of the walls and tower, but they had courage

etiam ad erumpendum in stationes operaque hostium :
[even] to sally out on the posts and works of the enemy ;

quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures
in which tumultuary engagements scarcely more

Saguntini quam Pœni cadebant. Ut vero
Saguntines than Carthaginians were slain. But when

Hannibal ipse, dum incautius subit murum,
Hannibal himself, while he too incautiously approached the wall,

cecidit graviter ictus adversum femur tragula,
fell severely wounded in the forepart of the thigh with a heavy javelin,

tanta fuga ac trepidatio circa fuit, ut opera ac
such flight and dismay spread around, that the works and

vineæ non multum abesset, quin desererentur.
vines came very near being abandoned.

VIII.—Per paucos dies, dum ducis vulnus
For a few days, while the general's wound

curaretur, fuit magis obsidio quam oppugnatio
was being cured, there was rather a blockade than a siege:

per quod tempus ut erat quies certaminum, ita
during which time, though there was a respite from fighting, yet

nihil cessatum ab apparatu operum ac
there was no intermission in the preparation of works and

munitionum. Bellum itaque coortum est de integro
fortifications. Hostilities, therefore, broke out afresh

acrius, pluribusque partibus— quibusdam
with greater fury, and in more places, in some *even where*

locis vix accipientibus opera— vineæ cœptæ
the ground scarcely admitted of the works, the vineæ began

agi ariesque admoveri.
to be moved *forward*, and the battering-ram to be advanced *to the walls*.

Pœnus abundabat multitudine hominum; enim
The Carthaginian abounded in the numbers of his men; for

satis creditur habuisse ad centum
it is sufficiently credited that he had as many as a hundred

quinquaginta millia in armis. Oppidani
and fifty thousand in arms. The townsmen

cœpti sunt distineri multifariam ad
began to be embarrassed by their multifarious *employment* in order to

tuenda omnia atque obeunda:
maintain the several defences, and execute *every necessary measure*

et non sufficiebant; enim muri jam feriebantur
nor were they equal *to the task*, for the walls were now battered

arietibus multæque partes quassatæ. Una
by the rams, and many parts *of them* were shattered. One *section*

continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres turres
by continuous breaches left the city *quite* exposed; three towers,

deinceps quantumque erat muri inter eas,
in one range, and the whole extent of wall between them

prociderunt cum ingenti fragore: Pœnique
had fallen down with a prodigious crash, and the Carthaginians

crediderant oppidum captum ea ruina; qua,
believed the town taken by that breach; through which,

velut si murus pariter texisset utrosque,
as if the wall had alike protected both *parties*

ita procursum est utrimque in pugnam. Erat nihil
they [thus] rushed from each side to the battle. There was nothing

simile tumultuariæ pugnæ, quales in oppugnationibus
resembling that disorderly fighting which, in the storming

urbium solent conseri per occasionem alterius
of towns, is wont to be engaged in on the opportunities of either

partis: sed justæ acies, velut patenti campo,
party; but regular lines, as in an open plain,

constiterant inter ruinas muri tectaque
stood arrayed between the ruins of the walls and the buildings

urbis distantia modico intervallo. Hinc spes,
of the city *which* lay at no great distance. On the one side hope,

hinc desperatio irritat animos; Pœno
on the other despair, inflamed their courage; the Carthaginian

credente, si paulum annitatur se jam cepisse
supposing that if a little more effort was used, he could [now] reduce

urbem; Saguntinis opponentibus corpora pro
the city; the Saguntines opposing their bodies in defence of

patria nudata mœnibus, nec ullo referente
their native city deprived of its walls, and not a man retiring

pedem, ne immitteret hostem in locum relictum
a step, lest he might admit the enemy into the place *thus* deserted

a se. Quo acrius et magis confertim itaque
by him. The more keenly and closely, therefore,

pugnabatur utrimque, plures eo vulnerabantur,
they fought on both sides, the more, on that account, were wounded,

nullo telo intercidente vano inter arma corporaque.
no weapon falling without effect amidst their arms and persons.

Erat Saguntinis missile telum phalarica,
There was *used* by the Saguntines a missile weapon *called* falarica,

hastili abiegno et teriti cetera præterquam ad
with a shaft of fir, and round in other parts except towards

extremum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id quadratum,
the point, whence the iron projected. This *part, which was* square,

sicut in pilo, circumligabant stuppa, linebantque
as in a javelin, they bound about with tow, and daubed

pice: habebat autem ferrum tres pedes longum,
with pitch. It had [moreover] an iron *head* three feet long,

ut posset transfigere cum armis corpus. Sed
so that it could pierce both armor *and* body *together*. But

id maxime faciebat pavorem, quod, cum
what more than all rendered *it* an object of dread *was* that, when

mitteretur medium accensum ferretque
it was discharged *with* the middle part on fire. and bore along

multo majorem ignem conceptum ipso motu,
a much greater flame, engendered by the mere motion

etiam si hæsisset in scuto nec penetrasset in
even though it stuck in the shield and did not penetrate into

corpus, cogebat militem omitti arma que
the body, it compelled the soldier to throw away his arms, and

præbebat nudum ad insequentes ictus.
exposed him to succeeding blows.

IX.—Cum certamen diu fuisset anceps,
When the contest had for a long time continued doubtful,

et animi Saguntinis crevissent, quia
and the courage of the Saguntines had increased, because

resisterent præter spem, Pœnus,
they had stood their ground beyond expectation, *while* the Carthaginian,

quia non vicisset, esset pro victo, oppidani
because he had not conquered, felt as vanquished, the townsmen

repente tollunt clamorem, que expellunt hostem
suddenly set up a shout, and push back the enemy

in ruinas muri, exturbant inde impeditum
to the ruins of the wall, force *them* off from that *ground*, *while* embarrassed

trepidantemque, postremo redigunt fusum
and disordered; *and*, in fine, drove *them* back, routed

fugatumque in castra.
and put to flight, to their camp.

Interim nuntiatum est legatos venisse
In the meantime it was announced that ambassadors had arrived

ab Roma: obviam quibus missi ad mare
from Rome; to meet whom *messengers* were sent to the sea-*side*

ab Hannibale, qui dicerent, eos nec tuto adituros
by Hannibal, to tell *them* that they could not safely come *to him*

inter tot arma tam effrenatarum gentium, in
through so many armed bands of [such] savage tribes, *and* that in

tanto discrimine rerum Hannibali esse opera
such a critical state of affairs Hannibal had not leisure

audire legationes. Apparebat, non
to give audience to embassies. It was obvious that, *if* not

admissos ituros protinus Carthaginem.
admitted they would proceed immediately to Carthage;

Igitur præmittit litteras nuntiosque ad principes
he therefore sends letters and messengers beforehand to the leaders

Barcinæ factionis, ut præpararent animos suorum,
of the Barcine faction, to prepare the minds of their *partisans*,

altera pars ne posset quid gratificari
so that the other party might not be able to afford any advantage

pro Romanis.
to the Romans.

X.—Ea legatio itaque, præterquam quod
That embassy, therefore, excepting that *the ambassadors*

admissi sunt auditique, fuit quoque vana atque
were admitted and heard, proved likewise vain and

irrita. Hanno unus adversus senatum
fruitless. Hanno alone, in opposition to the *rest of the* senate,

egit causam fœderis, magno silentio propter
pleaded the cause of the treaty, amidst deep silence on account of

auctoritatem, non cum assensu audientium.
his authority, *and* not from the approbation of the audience:

obtestans senatum per deos, arbitros ac
calling upon the senate in the name of the gods, the arbiters and

testes fœderum, ne suscitarent bellum Romanum
witnesses of treaties, that they should not provoke a war with Rome

cum Saguntino. Se monuisse,
in addition to *the one with* the Saguntines. *He said:* that he admonished

prædixisse, ne mitterent progeniem Hamilcaris
and forewarned *them* not to send the son of Hamilcar

ad exercitum: non manes, non stirpem ejus viri
to the army; that neither the manes, nor the offspring of that man

conquiescere, nec unquam, donec quisquam
could be quiet, nor ever, while any one

Barcini sanguinis nominisque supersit
of the Barcine blood and name survived,

Romana fœdera quietura: "præbentes
would the Roman treaties continue undisturbed. "You, supplying,

velut materiam igni, misistis ad exercitus
as it were, fuel to the flame, have sent to your armies

juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni cernentemque
a young man burning with ambition for absolute power, and seeing

unam viam ad id, si serendo bella ex bellis
but one road to *reach* it, if by exciting war after war,

vivat succinctus armis legionibusque.
he may live surrounded by arms and legions.

Ergo aluistis hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis.
You have, therefore, fostered this fire, in which you are now scorched.

Vestri exercitus circumsedent Saguntum, unde
Your armies invest Saguntum, whence

arcentur fœdere: mox Romanæ legiones
they are forbidden by the treaty: ere long the Roman legions

circumsedebunt Carthaginem ducibus iisdem diis,
will invest Carthage under the guidance of those same deities,

per quos ulti sunt priore bello
though whose *aid* they took vengeance, in the former war,

rupta fœdera. Utrum ignoratis hostem an
for the breach of treaties. Are you unacquainted with the enemy, or

vos an fortunam utriusque populi? Vester
with yourselves or *with* the fortune of either nation? Your

bonus imperator non admisit in castra legatos,
worthy general would not admit into his camp ambassadors

venientes ab sociis et pro sociis, sustulit
coming from allies and in behalf of allies, *and* set at nought

jus gentium: hi tamen pulsi, unde
the law of nations. They, however, *after* meeting a repulse, where

ne quidem legati hostium arcentur,
not even the ambassadors of enemies are refused access,

venerunt ad vos. Res repetuntur ex fœdere:
have come to you. Restitution is demanded in accordance with the compact,

fraus absit publica, deposcunt auctorem
let not guilt attach to the state; they *only* demand the author

culpæ et reum criminis.
of the transgression [and] the person answerable for the offence

Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt,
The more gently they proceed,— the slower they *are to* begin,

eo perseverantius, vereor, ne sæviant, cum
the more unrelentingly, I fear, will they wreak vengeance when *once*

cœperint. Proponite ante oculos insulas Ægates
they shall have begun. Set before your eyes the islands Ægates

Erycemque, quæ passi sitis terra marique per
and Eryx, *all* that you have suffered on land and sea during

quattuor et viginti annos. Nec erat hic puer dux,
twenty-four years. Nor was this boy the leader,

sed pater Hamilcar ipse, alter Mars, ut isti
but his father Hamilcar himself, a second Mars, as these *people*

volunt. Sed non abstinueramus Tarento,
would have it. But we had not refrained from Tarentum,

id est Italia, ex fœdere sicut nunc
that is, from Italy, according to the treaty, as now

non abstinemus Sagunto. Dii hominesque
we do not refrain from Saguntum. The gods and men

ergo vicerunt, et id, de quo
have, therefore, prevailed *over us;* and *as to* that, about which

ambigebatur verbis, uter populus rupisset
there was a dispute in words, 'Which of the two nations had infringed

fœdus, eventus belli, velut æquus judex, dedit
the treaty,' the issue of the war, like an equitable judge, hath awarded

victoriam ei, unde jus stabat. Carthagini
the victory to that *side* on which justice stood. *It is* against Carthage

Hannibal nunc admovet vineas turresque, mœnia
that Hannibal is now moving his vineæ and towers; *it is* the walls

Carthaginis quatit ariete: ruinæ
of Carthage *that* he is shaking with his battering-ram. The ruins

Sagunti— utinam sim falsus vates— incident
of Saguntum (oh, that I may prove a false prophet!) will fall

nostris capitibus, bellumque susceptum
on our heads; and the war commenced

cum Saguntinis habendum est cum Romanis.
against the Saguntines must be maintained against the Romans.

Aliquis dicet Ergo dedemus Hannibalem?
Some one will say, 'Shall we then deliver up Hannibal?'

In eo scio, meam auctoritatem esse levem
With respect to him I am aware that my authority is of little weight,

propter inimicitias paternas: sed et lætatus sum
on account of my enmity with his father. But I both rejoice

Hamilcarem perisse eo, quod, si ille viveret
that Hamilcar perished, for this reason, that, had he lived,

jam haberemus bellum cum Romanis, et
we should have now been engaged in a war with the Romans; and

hunc juvenem tamquam furiam facemque hujus belli
this youth, as the fury and fire-brand of this war,

odi ac detestor: nec solum dedendum
I hate and detest. Nor ought he only to be given up

ad piaculum rupti fœderis; sed, si nemo
as an expiation for the infraction of the treaty; but, *even* though no one

deposcit, devehendum in ultimas oras
demanded *him*, he ought to be conveyed away to the extremest shores

terrarum marisque, ablegandum eo, unde
of earth or sea, *and* banished to a distance, whence

nec nomen famaque ejus accedere ad nos,
neither his name nor *any* account of him can reach us,

neque ille possit sollicitare statum quietæ civitatis.
and he be unable to disturb the peace of a tranquil state.

Ego ita censeo, legatos mittendos extemplo
I, therefore, give *my* opinion, that ambassadors be sent instantly

Romam, qui satisfaciant senatui, alios, qui nuntient
to Rome to make apologies to the senate; others to tell

Hannibali, ut abducat exercitum ab Sagunto,
Hannibal to withdraw the troops from Saguntum,

dedantque Hannibalem ipsum Romanis ex
and *to* deliver up Hannibal himself to the Romans, in conformity to

fœdere: decerno tertiam legationem
the treaty; *and* I propose a third embassy,

ad reddendas res Saguntinis."
to make restitution to the Saguntines."

XI.—Cum Hanno perorasset, fuit necesse nemini
When Hanno had ended his discourse, there was no occasion for any

omnium certare cum eo oratione, adeo
number of their whole *body* to contend with him in debate, to such a degree

erat prope omnis senatus Hannibalis; que
was almost the entire senate *in the interest* of Hannibal; and

arguebant Hannonem locutum infestius quam
they accused Hanno *as* having spoken with more acrimony than

Flaccum Valerium, Romanum legatum.
even Flaccus Valerius, the Roman ambassador.

Est inde responsum Romanis legatis, bellum
It was then said in answer to the Roman ambassadors, "that the war

ortum esse ab Saguntinis non ab Hannibale:
had been commenced by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal;

Romanum populum facere injuste, si præponat
and that the Roman people acted unjustly if they preferred

Saguntinos vetustissimæ societati Carthaginiensium.
the Saguntines to the most ancient hospitality of the Carthaginians."

Dum Romani terunt tempus mittendis legationibus,
Whilst the Romans waste time in sending embassies,

Hannibal, quia habebat militem fessum
Hannibal, because he found his soldiers fatigued

præliis operibusque, dedit his quietem paucorum
with the battles and the works, allowed them rest for a few

dierum, stationibus dispositis ad custodiam vinearum
days, parties being stationed to guard the vines

aliorumque operum. Interim accendit animos
and other works. In the interval he fires their spirits

stimulando nunc ira in hostes,
by stimulating *them* at one time with resentment against the enemy,

nunc spe præmiorum: ut vero edixit pro concione
at another with hope of rewards. But when he declared in open assembly,

prædam captæ urbis fore militum,
that the plunder of the captured city should belong to the soldiers,

adeo omnes accensi sunt, ut, si signum datum esset
to such a degree were they all excited, that if the signal had been given

extemplo, videretur posse resisti nulla vi.
that instant it appeared that they could not have been resisted by any force.

Saguntini, ut habuerant quietem a prœliis,
The Saguntines, as they had a respite from fighting,

nec per aliquot dies lacessentes nec lacessiti,
neither for some days attacking nor attacked,

ita non nocte, non die unquam cessaverant ab opere,
so they had not, by night or day, ever ceased from toiling,

ut reficerent novum murum ab ea parte, qua
that they might repair anew the wall in that part, where

oppidum erat patefactum ruinis.
the town had been left exposed by the breach.

Aliquanto atrocior oppugnatio quam ante inde
A still more desperate storming than the former then

adorta est, nec poterant satis scire, cum
assailed *them*, nor could they satisfactorily know, whilst

omnia streperent clamoribus variis, qua parte
all *places* resounded with clamors *of* various *kinds*, to what side

primum aut potissimum ferrent opem. Hannibal
they should first or principally send succor. Hannibal,

hortator aderat ipse, qua mobilis
as an encouragement, was present in person, where a movable

turris, superans altitudine omnia munimenta
tower, exceeding in height all the fortifications

urbis, agebatur. Cum admota
of the city, was *being* urged forward. When, being brought up,

quæ nudasset muros defensoribus catapultis
it had cleared the walls of their defenders by *means of* the catapultæ

ballistisque dispositis per omnia tabulata, tum
and ballistæ ranged through all its stories, then

Hannibal, ratus occasionem, mittit ferme
Hannibal, thinking *it* a favorable opportunity, sends about

quingentos Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum
five hundred Africans, with pick-axes, to undermine

murum ab imo. Nec erat opus difficile, quod
the wall at the bottom. Nor was the work difficult, since

cæmenta non durata erant calce sed interlita
the unhewn stones were not fastened with lime, but filled in their interstices

luto, genere antiquæ structuræ. Ruebat
with clay, after the manner of ancient building. It fell.

itaque latius, quam cæderetur, perque
therefore, more extensively than it was struck, and through

patentia ruinis agmina armatorum vadebant
the open spaces of the ruins troops of armed men rushed

in urbem. Capiunt quoque editum locum,
into the city. They also obtain possession of a rising ground;

collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut haberent
and having collected thither catapultæ and ballistæ, so that they might have

castellum in urbe ipsa imminentem velut arcem,
a fortress within the city itself, commanding *it* like a citadel,

circumdant muro. Et Saguntini ducunt
they surround it with a wall: and the Saguntines raise

interiorem murum ab parte urbis nondum capta.
an inner wall before the part of the city *which was* not yet taken.

Utrimque et muniunt et pugnant summa vi:
On both sides they erect works and show battle with the utmost vigor:

sed Saguntini tuendo interiora faciunt minorem
but the Saguntines, by *thus* defending the interior parts, diminish

in dies urbem. Simul inopia omnium
daily *the size of* their city. At the same time the scarcity of all things

crescit longa obsidione, et exspectatio
increased through the length of the siege, and the expectation

externæ opis minuitur, cum Romani, unica spes
of foreign aid diminished, since the Romans, their only hope,

essent tam procul omnia circa
were at such a distance, *and* all *the country* round *was in the power*

hostium. Tamen repentina profectio Hannibalis
of the enemy. However, the sudden departure of Hannibal

in Oretanos Carpetanosque recreavit paulisper
against the Oretani and Carpetani revived for a little

affectos animos, qui duo populi, consternati
their drooping spirits; for these two nations, being exasperated

acerbitate dilectus, cum, retentis
by the severity *used* in levying *soldiers*, when, by detaining

commissoribus præbuissent metum defectionis,
the commissaries, they had afforded apprehensions of a revolt,

oppressi celeritate Hannibalis, omiserunt
were *suddenly* checked by the quickness of Hannibal, *and* laid down

arma mota.
the arms *they had* taken up.

XII.—Nec erat oppugnatio Sagunti segnior,
Nor was the siege of Saguntum *prosecuted* less vigorously;

Maharbale filio Himilconis— eum Hannibal
Maharbal, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal

præfecerat— agente rem ita impigre, ut nec
had set over *the army*, carrying on operations so actively that neither

cives nec hostes sentirent ducem abesse.
the townsmen nor their enemies perceived that the general was absent.

Is et fecit aliquot secunda prœlia, et
He both engaged in several successful battles, and

tribus arietibus discussit aliquantum muri,
with three battering-rams demolished a considerable *extent* of the wall;

ostenditque Hannibali advenienti omnia
and showed to Hannibal on his arrival the whole *ground*

strata recentibus ruinis. Exercitus itaque ductus
covered with fresh ruins. The troops were therefore led

extemplo ad arcem ipsam, atroxque prœlium
instantly against the citadel itself, and a furious combat

initum cum multorum cæde utrimque, et pars arcis
was commenced with much slaughter on both sides, and part of the citadel

capta est. Exigua spes pacis deinde tentata est
was taken. The slight chance of a peace was then tried

per duos, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum
by two *persons*; Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorcus

Hispanum. Alco— ratus moturum aliquid precibus—
a Spaniard. Alcon, thinking he could effect something by entreaties,

cum transisset, insciis Saguntinis,
having passed over, without the knowledge of the Saguntines,

ad Hannibalem noctu, postquam lacrimæ
to Hannibal by night, when his tears

nihil movebant, tristesque conditiones ferebantur,
produced no effect, and harsh conditions were offered

ut ab irato victore, factus transfuga
as from an exasperated conqueror, becoming a deserter

ex oratore, mansit apud hostem, affirmans
instead of an advocate, remained with the enemy; affirming

moriturum, qui ageret de pace sub
that *the man* would be put to death, who should treat for peace on

iis conditionibus. Postulabatur autem, redderent res
such terms. For it was required that they should make restitution

Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento,
to the Turdetani; and after delivering up all their gold and silver,

egressi urbem cum singulis vestimentis
departing from the city *each* with a single garment,

habitarent ibi, ubi Pœnus
should take up their dwelling in whatever place the Carthaginian

jussisset. Alcone abnuente Saguntinos accepturos
should order. Alcon having denied that the Saguntines would accept

has leges pacis, Alorcus, affirmans, ubi alia
these conditions of peace, Alorcus, asserting that when all else

vincantur, animos vinci, pollicetur se
is subdued the spirit is subdued, offers himself

fore interpretem ejus pacis. Erat autem tum
as the proposer of that peace. Now he was at this time

miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice amicus atque hospes
a soldier of Hannibal's, but publicly the friend and host

Saguntinis. Palam tradito telo custodibus
of the Saguntines. Having openly delivered his weapon to the guards

hostium, transgressus munimenta, deductus est—
of the enemy *and* passed the fortifications, he was conducted

et ita ipse jubebat— ad Saguntinum prætorem.
as he had himself requested, to the Saguntine prætor;

Quo cum esset factus extemplo concursus
whither when there was [made] immediately a *general* rush

omnis generis hominum, cetera multitudine submota,
of every description of people, the rest of the multitude being removed,

senatus datus est Alorco, cujus oratio
an *audience of* the senate is given to Alorcus; whose speech

fuit talis:
was to this effect:

XIII.—"Si vester cives Alco, sicut venit ad
"If your countryman Alcon, as he came to

Hannibalem ad petendam pacem, ita retulisset
Hannibal to sue for peace, had in like manner brought back

ad vos conditiones pacis ab Hannibale, hoc iter mihi
to you the terms of peace *proposed* by Hannibal, this journey of mine

fuisset supervacaneum, quo nec venissem ad vos
would have been unnecessary; as I should not have come to you

orator Hannibalis nec transfuga. Cum ille
as a deputy from Hannibal, nor *as* a deserter. Since he

manserit apud hostem aut vestra culpa aut sua—
has remained with *your* enemies, either through your fault or his own,

sua, si simulavit metum, vestra, si
(*through* his own, if he counterfeited fear; *through* yours, if

apud vos est periculum referentibus vera—
among you there be danger to those *who* tell the truth,)

veni ad vos pro vetusto hospitio,
I have come to you in consideration of the ancient *ties of* hospitality

quod est mihi vobiscum, ne ignoraretis
which subsist between us, *in order* that you may not be ignorant

esse aliquas conditiones salutis et pacis vobis.
that there are *at least* some terms of safety and peace for you.

Autem me loqui, quæ loquor apud vos, vestra causa
Now, that I speak what I address to you for your sake

nec ullius alterius, vel ea sit fides, quod
and *that* of no other, let even this be the proof: that

neque dum restitistis vestris viribus, neque dum
neither while you resisted with your own strength, nor while

sperastis auxilia ab Romanis, unquam feci
you had hopes of assistance from the Romans, did I ever make

mentionem pacis apud vos. Jam postquam
any mention of peace to you. *But* now, after

vobis est nec ulla spes ab Romanis nec vestra aut arma
you have neither any hope from the Romans, nor your own arms

aut mœnia satis defendunt vos, affero ad vos pacem
nor walls sufficiently defend you, I bring to you a peace

magis necessariam quam æquam: cujus est
rather necessary than just; of *effecting* which there may be

aliqua spes ita, si, quemadmodum Hannibal
some hope on this condition, if, as Hannibal

fert eam ut victor, sic vos audiatis
offers it in the spirit of a conqueror, so you should listen to *it*

ut victi, si habituri estis non id, quod amittitur,
as vanquished; if you will consider not what is taken *from you*

in damno, cum omnia sint victoris, sed
as loss, (since all belongs to the victor,) but

quidquid relinquitur pro munere. Urbem, quam
whatever is left, as a gift. The city, which,

jam ex magna parte dirutam habet fere totam
already for the greater part in ruins, he has almost wholly

captam, adimit vobis, agros relinquit,
in *his* possession, he takes from you; your lands he leaves *to you*,

assignaturus locum, in quo ædificetis novum
intending to assign a place where you may build a new

oppidum: omne aurum et argentum, publicum
town; all the gold and silver, *both* public

privatumque, jubet deferri ad se: vestra corpora
and private, he orders to be brought to him; your persons

que vestrorum conjugum ac liberorum servat inviolata,
and *those* of your wives and children he preserves inviolate,

si velitis exire ab Sagunto inermes
provided you are willing to depart from Saguntum, unarmed,

cum binis vestimentis. Hæc victor hostis imperat,
each with two garments. These *terms* a victorious enemy dictates;

hæc, quamquam sunt acerba atque gravia,
these, though [they are] harsh and grievous,

vestra fortuna suadet vobis. Equidem haud despero,
your condition commends to you. Indeed I do not despair,

cum potestas omnium ei facta sit, remissurum aliquid
when the power of everything is given him, that he will remit something

ex his rebus: sed vel hæc censeo potius patienda
from these terms. But even these I think *you* ought rather to endure,

quam sinatis vestra corpora trucidari, conjuges
than suffer yourselves to be slaughtered, *and* your wives

ac liberos rapi trahique ante vestra ora
and children seized and dragged *into slavery* before your faces,

jure belli."
according to the practice of war."

XIV.—Cum concilium populi
When an assembly of the people,

paulatim circumfusa multitudine permixtum esset
by the gradual crowding round of the multitude, had mingled

senatui ad audienda hæc, primores repente,
with the senate to hear these *proposals*, the chief men suddenly

secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur,
withdrawing before an answer was returned,

conjicientes omne aurum argentumque, collatum
and throwing all the gold and silver gathered,

ex publico privatoque in forum, in ignem
both from public and private *stores*, to the forum, into a fire

raptim factum ad id, plerique ipsi
hastily kindled for that *purpose*, most of them

præcipitaverunt semet eodem. Cum pavor ac
cast themselves headlong in *after* it. When the dismay and

trepidatio ex eo pervasisset totam urbem,
agitation *produced* by this *deed* had pervaded the whole city,

alius tumultus auditur insuper ex arce: turris
another uproar was heard in addition from the citadel. A tower,

diu quassata prociderat, que cum cohors
long battered, had fallen down; and when a cohort

Pœnorum impetu facto per ejus ruinam
of Carthaginians, rushing through the breach,

dedisset signum imperatori, urbem esse nudatam
had made a signal to their general that the city was destitute

solitis stationibus custodiisque, Hannibal ratus
of the usual outposts and guards, Hannibal, thinking

non cunctandum in tali occasione, aggressus
that there ought to be no delay at such an opportunity, having assaulted

urbem totis viribus cepit momento, signo dato
the city with his whole force, took *it* in a moment, command being given

ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod
that all the adults should be put to death. Which

crudele imperium cognitum est ceterum ipso eventu
cruel order was proved, however, by the event,

prope necessarium : enim cui ex his
to *have been* almost necessary ; for to whom of those men

potuit parci, qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus
could mercy have been shown, who, either shut up with their wives

ac liberis concremaverunt domos super se ipsos,
and children, burned their houses over their own heads,

aut armati fecerunt nullum finem pugnæ
or *abroad* in arms made no end of fighting

ante quam morientes?
until *prostrate* in death?

XV.—Oppidum captum est cum ingenti præda.
The town was taken with immense spoil.

Quamquam pleraque de industria corrupta erant
Though the greater part *of the goods* had been purposely damaged

ab dominis, et ira fecerat vix ullum discrimen
by their owners, and resentment had made hardly any distinction

ætatis in cædibus, et captivi fuerant
of age in the massacre, and the prisoners were

præda militum, tamen constat aliquantum pecuniæ
the booty of the soldiers; still it appears quite a sum of money

redactum esse ex pretio rerum venditarum,
was raised from the price of the effects *that were* sold,

et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam
and that much costly furniture and apparel were sent

Carthaginem. Quidam scripsere Saguntum captum
to Carthage. Some have written that Saguntum was taken

octavo mense, quam cœptum oppugnari : Hannibalem
in the eighth month after it began to be besieged ; that Hannibal

inde concessisse in hiberna novam Carthaginem,
then retired into winter-quarters to New Carthage;

quinto mense deinde, quam profectus sit
and that in the fifth month after he had set out

ab Carthagine, pervenisse in Italiam. Si quæ ita sunt
from Carthage he arrived in Italy. If this be so.

potuit non fieri, ut P. Cornelius, Tib. Sempronius
it was impossible that Publius Cornelius *and* Tiberius Sempronius

fuerint consules, ad quos et principio oppugnationis
could have been the consuls, to whom both in the beginning of the siege

Saguntini legati missi sint, et qui
the Saguntine ambassadors were despatched, and who,

in suo magistratu pugnaverint cum Hannibale, alter
during their office, fought with Hannibal; the one

ad amnem Ticinum, ambo aliquanto post
at the river Ticinus, *and* both, a considerable *time* after,

ad Trebiam. Aut omnia fuere aliquanto breviora,
at the Trebia. Either all *these events* took place *in a* somewhat shorter

aut Saguntum non cœptum est oppugnari,
period, or Saguntum was not begun to be besieged,

sed captum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius,
but invested at the beginning of *that* year, in which Publius Cornelius

Tib. Sempronius fuerunt consules. Nam pugna
and Tiberius Sempronius were consuls. For the battle

ad Trebiam potest non excessisse in annum
at Trebia could not have happened so late as the year

Cn. Servilii et C. Flaminii, quia C. Flaminius
of Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius, because Caius Flaminius

iniit consulatum Arimini, creatus
entered on his consulate at Ariminum, having been elected *thereto*

a consule Tib. Sempronio, qui, cum venisset Romam
by the consul Tiberius Sempronius, who, having repaired to Rome

post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules,
after the engagement at Trebia, for *the purpose of* creating consuls,

rediit comitiis perfectis in hiberna ad
returned, *when* the election was finished, into winter-quarters to

exercitum.
the army.

XVI.—Fere sub idem tempus et legati,
Nearly about the same time [both] the ambassadors

qui redierant ab Carthagine, retulerunt Romam,
who had returned from Carthage brought information to Rome

omnia esse hostilia, et excidium Sagunti
that all *appearances* were hostile, and the destruction of Saguntum

nuntiatum est: tantusque mæror misericordiaque
was announced. Then such grief, and pity

sociorum indigne peremptorum et pudor
for allies *so* undeservedly destroyed, and shame

non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses
for not having afforded *them* succor, and rage against the Carthaginians,

metusque de summa rerum, velut si hostis jam esset
and fear for the issue of events, as if the enemy were already

ad portas, simul cepit patres, ut,
at their gates, simultaneously took possession of the senators, that,

animi turbati tot motibus uno tempore
their minds agitated by so many passions at once,

trepidarent magis quam consulerent. Nam
they trembled with fear rather than deliberated: for

neque unquam hostem acriorem bellicosioremque
"never," *they observed*, "had an enemy more spirited and warlike

congressum secum, nec Romanam rem fuisse
entered the field with them, nor had the Roman state been *ever*

tam desidem atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque
so sunk in sloth, and unfit for war: *as to* the Sardinians, the Corsicans,

et Istros atque Illyrios magis lacessisse
the Istrians and the Illyrians, they had rather roused

quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis
than exercised the Roman arms; and with the Gauls

verius tumultuatum quam belligeratum:
it had been more properly a tumult than a war.

Pœnum veteranum hostem semper victorem
That the Carthaginian, a veteran enemy, ever victorious

durissima militia trium et viginti annorum inter
during the hardest service for twenty-three years among

gentes Hispanas, primum assuetum Hamilcare,
the tribes of Spain, first trained *to arms* under Hamilcar,

deinde Hasdrubale nunc Hannibale acerrimo duce,
then Hasdrubal, now Hannibal a most active leader

recentem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis transire
and fresh from the destruction of a most opulent city, was passing

Iberum; secum trahere tot populos
the Iberus; that *along* with them he was bringing the numerous tribes

Hispanorum excitos, conciturum
of Spain, *already* aroused, *and* was about to excite

gentes Gallicas semper avidas armorum: bellum
the nations of Gaul ever desirous of fighting; *and* that a war

cum orbe terrarum gerendum esse in Italia ac
against the world was to be maintained in Italy and

pro mœnibus Romanis.
before the walls of Rome."

XVII.—Provinciæ jam erant antea nominatæ
The provinces had already been previously named

consulibus, tum jussi sortiri: Hispania evenit
for the consuls, *but* now they were ordered to cast lots. Spain fell

Cornelio, Africa cum Sicilia Sempronio. Sex legiones
to Cornelius; Africa with Sicily to Sempronius. Six legions

decretæ in eum annum, et quantum socium
were decreed for that year, and as many of the allies as

videretur ipsis, et quanta classis
should be deemed *advisable* by them (*i. e.* the consuls), and as great a fleet as

posset parari. Romanorum scripta sunt
could be fitted out. Of Romans were enlisted

quattuor et viginti millia peditum et mille octingenti
twenty four thousand foot, and one thousand eight hundred

equites, sociorum quadraginta millia peditum, et
horse; of the allies forty thousand foot, and

quattuor millia quadringenti equites: ducentæ viginti
four thousand four hundred horse: two hundred *and* twenty

naves quinqueremes, viginti celoces deductæ.
ships of five banks of oars, *and* twenty light galleys, were launched.

Inde latum ad populum, vellent, juberent
It was then proposed to the people, "*whether* they chose *and* ordered

bellum indici populo Carthaginiensi: causaque
that war should be declared against the people of Carthage;" and for the sake

ejus belli supplicatio habita per urbem, atque dii
of that war a supplication was made through the city, and the gods

adorati, ut bellum, quod Romanus populus
were implored, that the war, which the Roman people

jussisset, bene ac feliciter eveniret. Copiæ
had ordered, might have a prosperous and happy issue. The forces

divisæ inter consules ita: Sempronio
were divided between the consuls in this manner: to Sempronius

datæ duæ legiones— erant ea quaterna millia peditum
were assigned two legions, containing each four thousand foot

et treceni equites— et sociorum sexdecim millia peditum,
and three hundred horse, and of the allies sixteen thousand foot,

mille octingenti equites, centum sexaginta
and one thousand eight hundred horse, *with* one hundred *and* sixty

naves longæ, duodecim celoces. Cum his terrestribus
ships of war, *and* twelve light galleys. With these land

maritimisque copiis Tib. Sempronius missus
and sea forces Tiberius Sempronius was despatched

in Siciliam, ita transmissurus in Africam, si
to Sicily, with a view to crossing over into Africa, in case

alter consul satis esset ad arcendum Pœnum
the other consul should be able to prevent the Carthaginian

Italia. Minus copiarum datum Cornelio,
from *invading* Italy. Fewer troops were given to Cornelius,

quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse mittebatur
because Lucius Manlius, a prætor, also had been sent

cum haud invalido præsidio in Galliam. Numerus
with no weak force into Gaul. The number

navium maxime deminutus Cornelio: sexaginta
of ships in particular was reduced to Cornelius: sixty

quinqueremes datæ— enim neque credebant
quinqueremes *only* were given *him* (for they did not believe

hostem venturum mari aut dimicaturum
that the enemy would come by sea, or would fight

ea parte belli— et duæ Romanæ legiones cum
after that mode of warfare,) and two Roman legions with

suo justo equitatu et sociorum quattuordecim
their regular *proportion of* cavalry, and of the allies fourteen

millibus peditum, mille sexcentis equitibus. Eodem
thousand foot, *and* sixteen hundred horse. In this *year*

provincia Gallia versa in Punicum bellum
the province *of* Gaul, *not as yet* exposed to the Carthaginian invasion,

habuit duas Romanas legiones et decem millia
had *posted in it* two Roman legions, and ten thousand

sociorum peditum, mille socios equites,
confederate infantry, *with* one thousand confederate horsemen

sexcentos Romanos.
and six hundred Romans.

XVIII.—His ita comparatis, ut omnia
These arrangements being thus made, in order that everything

justa fierent ante bellum, mittunt
that was proper might be done before *commencing* hostilities, they send

Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Æmilium,
Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Æmilius,

C. Licinium, Q. Bæbium, majores natu
Caius Licinius, *and* Quintus Bæbius, *men* of advanced years,

legatos in Africam, ad percunctandos Carthaginienses,
as ambassadors into Africa, to inquire of the Carthaginians,

ne Hannibal oppugnasset Saguntum publico consilio,
whether Hannibal had attacked Saguntum by public authority;

et si faterentur, id quod videbantur facturi,
and in case they should acknowledge *it*, as it seemed likely they would,

ac defenderent factum consilio publico, ut indicerent
and defend it *as* done by authority of the state, *then* to declare

bellum populo Carthaginiensi. Postquam Romani
war against the people of Carthage. After the Romans

venerunt Carthaginem, cum senatus
arrived at Carthage, when *an audience of* the senate

datus esset, et Q. Fabius nihil ultra percunctatus esset
was given *them*, and Quintus Fabius had addressed no further inquiry

quam unum, quod mandatum erat, tum unus
than the one, *with* which they had been charged, then one

ex Carthaginiensibus, "et vestra prior legatio,
of the Carthaginians *replied:* "Even your former embassy,

Romani, fuit præceps, cum deposcebatis Hannibalem
Romans, was *too* precipitate, when you demanded Hannibal *to be*

tamquam oppugnantem Saguntum suo consilio:
given up, as attacking Saguntum on his own authority:

ceterum hæc legatio, adhuc lenior verbis,
but *your* present embassy, *though* hitherto milder in words,

est re asperior: enim tunc Hanniba
is in fact more severe. For then Hannibal

et insimulabatur et deposcebatur, nunc et
was both accused and required *to be delivered up:* now both

confessio culpæ exprimitur ab nobis, et, ut
a confession of wrong is exacted from us, and, as

a confessis, res extemplo repetuntur.
from those *who have* pleaded guilty, reparation is immediately demanded.

Ego autem censeam non quærendum, Saguntum
But I think that the question is not, whether Saguntum

oppugnatum sit privato publicone consilio, sed
was attacked by private or public authority, but

utrum jure an injuria. Enim in civem nostrum,
whether *it was* with right or wrong. For in *the case of* a citizen of ours,

quid fecerit suo arbitrio aut nostro, hæc quæstio
whether he has acted by his own pleasure or ours, the *right of* inquiry

atque animadversio nostra est: una disceptatio
and *of* punishment belongs to us. The only dispute

vobiscum est licueritne fieri per fœdus.
with you is, whether it was allowed to be done by the treaty.

Quoniam itaque placet discerni,
Since, therefore, it pleases *you* that a distinction be made *between*

quid imperatores faciant publico consilio, quid
what commanders do by public authority, *and* what

sua sponte, est fœdus nobis vobiscum ictum
of their own will, there is a treaty *subsisting* between us, concluded

a consule C. Lutatio, in quo cum caveretur
by *your* consul Lutatius, in which, though provision was made

sociis utrorumque, nihil cautum est
for the allies of both *nations*, there is no provision made

de Saguntinis— enim erant necdum vestri socii.
for the Saguntines, for they were not as yet your allies.

At enim eo fœdere quod ictum est cum
But then, *you will say,* in the treaty which was made with

Hasdrubale, Saguntini excipiuntur.
Hasdrubal, the Saguntines are exempted *from hostilities,*

Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod
In answer to which I shall urge nothing but what

didici a vobis: enim vos negastis vos teneri
I have learned from yourselves. For you denied that you were bound

eo, quod fœdus C. Lutatius consul primo
by the treaty which Caius Lutatius the consul, at first

icit nobiscum quia neque ictum erat
concluded with us, because that it had neither been made

auctoritate patrum nec jussu populi:
with the approbation of the senate nor the command of the people:

aliud fœdus itaque ictum est de integro publico
and another treaty was therefore contracted anew by public

consilio. Si vestra fœdera non tenent vos nisi icta
authority. *Now* if your treaties do not bind you unless concluded

ex auctoritate aut vestro jussu, quidem fœdus
with *your* approbation and order, surely the treaty

Hasdrubalis, quod icit nobis insciis, ne potuit
of Hasdrubal, which he made without our knowledge, can not

obligare nos. Omittite proinde facere mentionem
be binding on us. Cease, therefore, to make mention

Sagunti atque Iberi, et vester animus aliquando pariat,
of Saguntum and Iberus, and let your mind at length bring forth

quod diu parturit." Tum Romanus
that *with* which it has long been in labor." Then the Roman,

facto sinu ex toga, inquit, "Hic portamus vobis
having formed a fold in his robe, said, "Here we bring to you

pacem et bellum: sumite utrum placet." Sub hanc
peace and war; take which you please." On this

vocem subclamatum est haud minus ferociter,
speech they exclaimed, no less fiercely, *in reply:*

"daret, utrum vellet:" Et cum is
"He should give whichever he chose." And when he,

iterum effuso sinu dixisset "dare bellum,"
again throwing open the fold, said "he gave war."

omnes responderunt "se accipere, et se gesturos
they all answered "that they accepted *it*, and would prosecute *it*,

iisdem animis, quibus acciperent."
with the same spirit with which they accepted *it*."

XIX.—Hæc directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio
This direct inquiry and denunciation

belli visa est magis ex dignitate Romani
of war seemed more in accordance with the dignity of the Roman

populi cum ante, tum maxime
people, both before *this time*, and more particularly

excisa Sagunto, quam disceptare verbis
after the destruction of Saguntum, than to cavil in words

de jure fœderum. Nam si esset res disceptationis
about the obligation of treaties. For if it were a subject for a controversy

verborum, quid erat fœdus Hasdrubalis comparandum
of words, in what was the treaty of Hasdrubal to be compared

cum priore fœdere Lutatii, quod mutatum est,
with the former treaty of Lutatius, which was altered?

cum in fœdere Lutatii diserte additum esset
Since in the treaty of Lutatius it was expressly added,

id fore ratum ita, si populus censuisset·
"that it should be valid *only* on condition that the people ratified *it*;

in fœdere Hasdrubalis fuerit
but in the treaty of Hasdrubal, there was

nec quidquam tale exceptum et fœdus
no such exception; and *besides* *this* treaty

comprobatum sit ita silentio tot annorum
was confirmed in such a manner by the silence of so many years,

eo vivo ut ne quidem mortuo auctore
while he *was* still living, that not even after the death of its author

quidquam mutaretur. Quamquam et si staretur
was any change made *in it*. Although, even were they to abide

priore fœdere erat satis cautum
by the former treaty, there was sufficient security *provided*

Saguntinis, exceptis sociis utrorumque: nam
for the Saguntines, by excepting the allies of both *states*: for

neque additum erat iis qui tunc esset,
neither was it added, "those who then were,"

nec ne qui postea assumerentur: et
nor "those who should afterwards be admitted:" and

cum liceret assumere novos socios, quis
as it was *evidently* allowable to admit new allies, who

censeret æquum aut quemquam recipi
could think *it* reasonable, either that a *people* should *not* be received

in amicitiam ob nulla merita, aut
into friendship for any services *whatever;* or that

receptos in fidem non defendi? tantum,
once taken under protection, they should not be defended? provided only

socii Carthaginiensium ne aut sollicitarentur
the allies of the Carthaginians should neither be solicited

ad defectionem, aut desciscentes sua sponte
to revolt, nor, revolting of their own accord,

reciperentur. Romani legati, sicuti
be received. The Roman ambassadors, according as

imperatum erat iis Romæ, trajecerunt ab Carthagine
orders had been given them at Rome, passed over from Carthage

in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut pellicerent
into Spain, in order to visit the nations, *and either* to persuade

in societatem aut averterent a
them into an alliance, or *at least* dissuade *them* from *joining*

Pœnis. Venerunt primum ad Bargusios,
the Carthaginians. They came first to the Bargusii,

a quibus benigne excepti, quia tædebat
by whom being favorably received, because they were tired

Punici imperii, erexerunt multos populos
of the Carthaginian government, they excited many *of the* states

trans Iberum ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ. Inde
beyond the Iberus to the desire of a revolution. Thence

ventum est ad Volcianos, quorum responsum
they came to the Volciani, whose answer,

celebre per Hispaniam avertit ceteros populos
noised *with applause* through Spain, deterred the other states

ab societate Romana. Enim ita maximus natu
from *joining in* alliance with the Romans. For thus the oldest *member*

ex iis in concilio respondit: "quæ verecundia est,
in their assembly replied: "What sense of shame is it,

Romani, postulare vos uti præponamus
Romans, to ask of us that we should prefer

vestram amicitiæ Carthaginiensium, cum vos
your friendship to that of the Carthaginians, when you, *though*

socii prodideritis Saguntinos, qui fecerunt id
their allies, have betrayed the Saguntines, (who contracted *such*

crudelius quam
friendship with you,) with greater cruelty than *that with which*,

Pœnus hostis perdidit? Ibi censeo
the Carthaginian, their enemy, destroyed *them?* There, methinks,

quæratis socios, ubi clades Saguntina
you should look for allies, where the disaster of Saguntum

ignota est: populis Hispanis ruinæ Sagunti
is unknown. To the states of Spain the ruins of Saguntum

erunt documentum, sicut lugubre, ita insigne,
will remain a warning as melancholy as memorable,

ne quis confidat fidei aut societati Romanæ."
that no one should confide in the faith or alliance of Rome."

Inde jussi abire extemplo finibus
Having been then ordered to depart immediately from the territories

Volcianorum deinde tulere benigniora verba
of the Volciani, they afterwards received *no* kinder words

ab nullo concilio Hispaniæ. Itaque
from any assembly in Spain. Therefore *after*

peragrata Hispania transeunt in Galliam.
having gone about through Spain, they pass over into Gaul.

XX.—In iis nova terribilisque species
Among the latter (*i. e.* the Gauls) a new and alarming spectacle

visa est quod venerunt— ita erat mos gentis—
was seen, by reason of their coming (such is the custom of the nation)

armati in concilium. Cum extollentes verbis
in arms to the assembly. When, extolling in their discourse

gloriam virtutemque Romani populi ac magnitudinem
the renown and valor of the Roman people, and the greatness

imperii petissent, ne darent transitum
of their empire, they requested that *the Gauls* would not grant a passag

per suas urbes agrosque Pœno
through their cities and territories to the Carthaginian *who was*

inferenti bellum Italiæ, tantus risus dicitur
preparing to invade Italy, such a laugh, it is said,

ortus cum fremitu, ut juventus
was raised, *accompanied* with a yell, that the youths

vix sedaretur a magistratibus majoribusque:
were with difficulty brought to order by the magistrates and elder members:

adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est, censere,
so absurd and shameless did the request seem, to propose

ne Galli transmittant bellum in Italiam,
that the Gauls should not suffer the war to pass into Italy,

id avertere in se ipsos que objicere suos agros
but should draw it on themselves and expose their own lands

populandos pro alienis. Fremitu
to be devastated, instead of *those of* strangers. The uproar

tandem sedato responsum est legatis,
being at length appeased, answer was given to the ambassadors,

neque Romanorum esse meritum
that neither *on the part* of the Romans was *any* kindness *observed*

in se neque injuriam Carthaginiensium,
towards them, nor ill-treatment *on the part* of the Carthaginians,

ob quæ sumant arma aut pro Romanis
on account of which they should take up arms either in favor of the Romans

aut adversus Pœnos. Contra ea sese audire homines
or against the Carthaginians. On the contrary, they had heard that men

suæ gentis pelli agro finibusque Italiæ
of their nation had been driven from the lands and confines of Italy

a Romano populo pendereque stipendium et pati
by the Roman people, that they had to pay a tribute, and suffered

cetera indigna. Ferme eadem dicta auditaque
other indignities." Nearly the same was said and heard

in ceteris conciliis Galliæ, nec auditum quidquam
in the other assemblies of Gaul; nor did they hear anything

satis hospitale pacatumve prius, quam venere
very friendly or pacific before they came

Massiliam. Ibi omnia inquisita ab sociis
to Marseilles. There everything, *that had been* ascertained by the allies

cum cura ac fide cognita, animos
with diligence and fidelity, was made known *to them*,— "that the minds

Gallorum jam ante præoccupatos esse ab Hannibale:
of the Gauls had been already prepossessed by Hannibal,

sed ne quidem illi ipsi gentem fore
but that not even by him would *that* nation be *found*

satis mitem— adeo ferocia atque indomita
very tractable, (so ferocious and ungovernable

esse ingenia,— ni animi principum
were their tempers,) unless the affections of the chief.

subinde concilientur auro cujus gens
should every now and then be conciliated with gold, of which *that* people

est avidissima. Ita peragratis populis
are most covetous." Having thus gone round through the tribes

Hispaniæ et Galliæ legati redeunt Romam,
of Spain and Gaul, the ambassadors return to Rome,

haud ita multo post quam consules profecti erant
not long after the consuls had set out

in provincias. Invenerunt omnem civitatem erectam
for their provinces. They found the whole city on tip-toe

in exspectationem belli, fama satis constante
in expectation of war, the report being sufficiently confirmed,

Pœnos jam transmisisse Iberum.
that the Carthaginians had already passed the Iberus.

XXI.—Hannibal, capto Sagunto, concesserat
Hannibal, after the taking of Saguntum, had retired

novam Carthaginem in hiberna, ibique auditis,
to New Carthage into winter-quarters; and there, having heard

quæ forent acta decretaque Romæ, quæque
what had been done and decreed at Rome, and [what]

Carthagine, seque esse non solum ducem
at Carthage, and that he was not only the leader

sed etiam causam belli, partitis divenditisque
but likewise the cause of the war, *after* having distributed and sold off

reliquiis prædæ, ratus nihil ultra differendum,
the remains of the plunder, thinking there ought to be no longer delay,

convocat milites Hispani generis; inquit,
he calls together his soldiers of the Spanish race *and* speaks *to this effect*.

"Ego credo, socii et vos ipsos cernere,
"I believe, fellow-soldiers, that even you yourselves perceive tha

omnibus populis Hispaniæ pacatis aut nobis finiendam
all the tribes of Spain being reduced to peace, we must either conclude

militiam que dimittendos esse exercitus, aut
our campaigns and disband our armies, or

transferendum bellum in alias terras: enim ita
transfer the war to other regions: for thus

hæ gentes florebunt bonis non solum pacis
these nations will flourish amid the blessings not only of peace,

sed etiam victoriæ, si quæremus ex aliis gentibus
but also of victory, if we seek from other countries

prædam et gloriam. Cum itaque militia
spoils and renown. Since, therefore, a campaign

longinqua a domo instet, incertumque sit, quando
far from home soon awaits *you*, and it is uncertain when

visuri sitis vestras domos et quæ
you shall *again* see your homes and *all* that

sunt ibi cara cuique, si quis vestrum vult invisere suos,
is there dear to you, if any one of you desires to visit his *friends*,

do commeatum. Edico adsitis
I grant *him* leave of absence. I give *you* orders *to* be here

primo vere, ut bene juvantibus diis
at the beginning of spring, that, with the good assistance of the gods,

incipiamus bellum futurum ingentis gloriæ
we may enter on a war *which* will prove *one* of great glory

prædæque." Potestas visendi domos ultrò oblata
and spoil." *This* power of visiting their homes, voluntarily offered,

erat grata fere omnibus et jam desiderantibus suos
was acceptable to almost all, [both] already longing *to see* their friends,

et providentibus in futurum longius desiderium.
and foreseeing in future a still longer absence.

Quies per totum tempus hiemis inter labores
Repose through the whole season of winter, between toils

aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit
already undergone and those *that were* soon to be endured, renewed

corpora animosque ad patienda omnia
the vigor of their bodies and minds to encounter all *difficulties*

de integro. Primo vere convenere
afresh. At the beginning of spring they assembled

ad edictum. Hannibal, cum recensuisset
according to command. Hannibal, when he had reviewed

auxilia omnium gentium, profectus Gades
the auxiliaries of all the nations, having gone to Gades,

exsolvit vota Herculi, obligatque se novis votis,
fulfilled his obligations to Hercules, and bound himself by new vows,

si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde
provided his other *projects* should have a prosperous issue. Then

partiens curas simul in inferendum
dividing his attention at the same time between the offensive

atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse peteret
and defensive *operations of the* war, lest, while he was advancing on

Italiam terrestri itinere per Hispaniam Galliasque,
Italy by a land journey through Spain and Gaul,

Africa esset nuda apertaque Romanis ab Sicilia,
Africa should be unprotected and exposed to the Romans from Sicily,

statuit firmare eam valido præsidio.
he resolved to strengthen it with a powerful force

Pro eo ipse petiit supplementum ex Africa,
For this *purpose* he requested a reinforcement from Africa

maxime levium armis jaculatorum, ut Afri
chiefly of light-armed spearmen, in order that the Africans

facerent stipendia in Hispania, Hispani in Africa,
might do service in Spain, *and* the Spaniards in Africa,

uterque futurus melior milites procul ab domo,
each likely to be a better soldier at a distance from home,

velut obligati mutuis pignoribus. Misit in Africam
as if bound by mutual pledges. He sent into Africa,

pedites tredecim millia octingentos quinquaginta
of infantry, thirteen thousand eight hundred *and* fifty

cetratos, octingentos septuaginta Baleares funditores
targeteers eight hundred *and* seventy Balearic slingers

mille ducentos equites mixtos ex multis gentibus.
and one thousand two hundred horsemen, composed of various nations.

Has copias jubet partim esse præsidio
These forces he orders partly to be *used* *as* a garrison

Carthagini, partim distribui per Africam.
for Carthage, *and* partly to be distributed through Africa.

Simul jubet quatuor millia delectæ juventutis
At the same time he orders four thousand chosen youth,

conscripta conquisitoribus missis in
whom he had enlisted by *means of* commissaries sent among

civitates, duci Carthaginem eosdem præsidium
the *several* states, to be conducted to Carthage both *as* a garrison

et obsides.
and *as* hostages.

XXII.—Ratus Hispaniam neque negligendam
Judging *also* that Spain ought not to be neglected,

atque ideo haud minus, quod erat haud ignarus
(and the less, because he was aware

eam circumitam ab Romanis legatis ad sollicitandos
that it had been traversed by the Roman ambassadors, to solicit

animos principum, destinat eam provinciam
the friendship of the chiefs,) he assigns that province

Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, firmatque eum
to Hasdrubal his brother, a man of active spirit, and strengthens him

maxime Africis præsidiis, undecim millibus octingentis
chiefly with African troops: eleven thousand eight hundred

quinquaginta Afrorum peditum, trecentis Liguribus,
and fifty African foot, three hundred Ligurians,

quingentis Balearibus. Ad hæc auxilia peditum
and five hundred Balearians. To these forces of infantry

additi quadringenti equites Libyphœnices—
were added four hundred horsemen *of the* Liby-Phœnicians,

genus mixtum Punicum Afris—
a race *composed of* a mixture of Carthaginians with Africans;

et Numidiæ Maurique accolæ Oceani ad
of Numidians and Moors *who* border on the Ocean, to *the number of*

mille octingenti et parva manus Ilergetum
one thousand eight hundred, and a small band of Ilergetes

ex Hispania, ducenti equites, et,
from Spain, *amounting to* two hundred horse; and

ne quid genus terrestris auxilii deesset,
that no description of land force might be wanting,

quatuordecim elephanti. Classis data præterea
fourteen elephants. A fleet was given *him* besides

ad tuendam maritimam oram, quia poterat credi
to defend the sea-coast, (because it might be supposed

Romanos tum quoque gesturos rem ea parte
that the Romans would then [too] carry on operations after the manner

belli, qua vicerant,
of warfare, by which they had *formerly* prevailed,)

quinquaginta quinqueremes, duæ quadriremes,
fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes,

quinque triremes: sed triginta et duæ quinqueremes
and five triremes: but *only* thirty-two quinqueremes

et quinque triremes erant aptæ instructæque remigio.
and the five triremes were fully equipped and manned with rowers

Ab Gadibus redit ad hiberna exercitus Carthaginem
From Gades he returned to the winter-quarters of the army at Carthage

Atque inde profectus ducit præter urbem
and thence setting out, he led *his forces* by the city

Etovissam ad Iberum maritimamque oram
Etovissa to the Iberus and the sea-coast.

Ibi fama est juvenem divina specie
There, it is reported a youth of divine figure

visum ab eo in quiete, qui diceret
was seen by him in his sleep, who said,

se missum ab Jove ducem Hannibali
that he was sent by Jupiter *as* the guide of Hannibal

in Italiam: proinde sequeretur, neque usquam
into Italy, *and* that he should, therefore, follow *him*, nor in any direction

deflecteret oculos a se. Pavidum secutum primo,
turn his eyes away from him." Filled with terror he followed at first

usquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, deinde
looking nowhere *either* around or behind: *but* afterwards,

cura humani ingenii, cum agitaret animo,
through the curiosity of human nature, when he revolved in his mind

quidnam id esset quod vetitus esset respicere,
what that could be on which he was forbidden to look back,

eum nequivisse temperare oculis: tum vidisse
he could not restrain his eyes; he then saw

post sese serpentem mira magnitudine ferri
behind him a serpent of wonderful size moving along

cum ingenti strage arborum ac virgultorum, ac
with an immense destruction of trees and bushes, and

post nimbum insequi cum fragore cœli.
after *it* a cloud following with thunderings from the skies;

Tum quærentem, quæ esset ea moles
and that then inquiring "what was that great commotion,

quidve prodigii, audisse esse
and what *the cause* of the prodigy," he heard *in reply*: "That it was

vastitatem Italiæ: pergeret porro ire,
the devastation of Italy: *that* he should continue to advance forward,

nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata esse in occulto.
nor inquire further, but suffer the fates to remain in obscurity."

XXIII.—Lætus hoc visu trajecit copias
Cheered by this vision he transported his forces.

tripartito Iberum, præmissis,
in three divisions, across the Iberus, having sent forward *emissaries*

qui conciliarent donis animos Gallorum,
to conciliate by presents the minds of the Gauls,

qua exercitus erat traducendus, que
through whose *country* the army was to be led, and

specularentur transitus Alpium. Traduxit Iberum
to explore the passes of the Alps. He brought across the Iberu

nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum.
ninety thousand infantry *and* twelve thousand cavalry.

Inde subegit Ilergetes Bargusiosque et Ausetanos
He then reduced the Ilergetes, the Bargusii, the Ausetani,

et Lacetaniam, quæ subjecta est
and *the province of* Lacetania, which lay at the foot

Pyrenæis montibus, que præfecit Hannonem
of the Pyrenæan mountains; and he placed Hanno in command

omni huic oræ, ut fauces, quæ jungunt Hispanias
over all this tract, that the narrow gorges, which connect Spain

Galliis essent in potestate. Decem millia peditum
with Gaul, might be under his power. Ten thousand foot

et mille equites data Hanno ad præsidium
and a thousand horse were assigned to Hanno for the defence

regionis obtinendæ. Postquam exercitus
of the country he was to occupy. After the army

cœptus est traduci per saltum Pyrenæum,
began to march through the defiles of the Pyrenees,

certiorque rumor de Romano bello manavit
and a more positive rumor of the Roman war spread

per barbaros tria millia Carpetanorum peditum
among the barbarians, three thousand of the Carpetanian infantry

inde averterunt iter. Constabat
[thereupon] turned back [from their march]. It clearly appeared

non tam motos bello quam
that they were not so much swayed by the *prospect of the* war as

longinquitate viæ insuperabilique transitu Alpium
by the length of the journey and the insuperable passage of the Alps.

Hannibal, quia erat anceps revocare aut retinere eos
Hannibal, because it was hazardous to recall or detain them

vi, ne feroces animi ceterorum etiam irritarentur,
by force, lest the ferocious tempers of the rest might also be irritated,

remisit domos supra septem millia hominum, quos
sent home above seven thousand men, whom

et ipse senserat gravari militia, simulans
he also had observed to be annoyed with the service, pretending

Carpetanos quoque dimissos ab se.
that the Carpetani had likewise been dismissed by him.

XXIV.—Inde, ne mora atque otium sollicitaret
Then, lest delay and ease might unsettle

animos, transgreditur Pyrenæum cum reliquis copiis,
their minds, he crosses the Pyrenees with the rest of his forces,

et locat castra ad oppidum Iliberri. Galli
and pitches his camp near the town of Illiberis. The Gauls,

quamquam audiebant bellum inferri Italiæ, tamen,
though they had heard that the war was directed against Italy, yet,

quia erat fama Hispanos trans
because there was a report that the Spaniards on the other side of

Pyrenæum subactos vi, validaque præsidia
the Pyrenees had been reduced by force, and *that* a powerful guard

imposita, consternati ad arma metu servitutis
was imposed *on them*, being roused to arms through dread of slavery,

conveniunt aliquot populi Ruscinonem.
assembled several states at Ruscino.

Ubi quod nuntiatum est Hannibali, magis metuens
When this was announced to Hannibal, he, having more fear of

moram quam bellum misit oratores ad eorum regulos,
the delay than *of* the war, sent envoys to *say to* their princes,

semet velle colloqui cum iis ipsum, et illi
" that he wished to confer with them in person; and *that* they

vel propius accederent Iliberrim, vel se processurum
should either come nearer to Illiberis, or that he would advance

Ruscinonem, ut congressus facilior esset ex propinquo:
to Ruscino, that their meeting might be facilitated by vicinity:

nam et se lætum accepturum eos in sua castra,
for that he would either be happy to receive them into his camp,

se ipsum nec cunctanter venturum ad eos: enim
or would himself without hesitation come to them: since

se advenisse Galliæ hospitem, non hostem,
he came into Gaul *as* a friend, *and* not *as* an enemy,

nec stricturum gladium, si liceat per Gallos
and would not draw the sword, if let alone by the Gauls,

ante, quam venisset in Italiam. Hæc et quidem
before he arrived in Italy." These *proposals*, indeed,

per nuntios. Ut vero reguli Gallorum,
were made by his messengers. But when the princes of the Gauls

extemplo motis castris ad Iliberrim, venerunt
having immediately moved their camp to Illiberis, came

haud gravate ad Pœnum, capti donis,
without reluctance to the Carthaginian, being captivated by his presents,

transmiserunt exercitum per suos fines prætei
they suffered his army to pass through their territories by

oppidum Ruscinonem cum bona pace.
the town of Ruscino, without *any* molestation.

XXV.—Interim nihil ultra perlatum erat
In the meantime no further *intelligence* had been brought

in Italiam Romam a legatis Massiliensium, quam
into Italy to Rome by the ambassadors of Marseilles, than

Hannibalem transisse Iberum, cum Boii,
that Hannibalem had passed the Iberus; when the Boii,

perinde ac si jam transisset Alpes, defecerunt
as if he had already passed the Alps, revolted

sollicitatis Insubribus, nec tam ob veteres iras
after instigating the Insubrians; not so much through their ancient enmity

in Romanum populum quam quod ægre patiebantur
towards the Roman people, as on account of their having felt aggrieved

colonias Placentiam Cremonamque nuper deductas
that the colonies *of* Placentia and Cremona had been lately established

in Gallicum agrum circa Padum.
in the Gallic territory about the Po.

Itaque repente arreptis armis facto impetu
Having, therefore, suddenly taken up arms, *and* made an attack

in eum ipsum agrum fecerunt tantum terroris
on that very territory, they caused such terror

ac tumultus, ut non modo agrestis multitudo
and confusion, that not only the rustic population.

sed ipsi Romani triumviri C. Lutatius, C. Servilius,
but even the Roman commissioners, Caius Lutatius, Caius Servilius

T. Annius, qui venerant ad assignandum agrum,
and Titus Annius, who had come to assign the lands,

diffisi mœnibus Placentiæ confugerint Mutinam.
distrusting the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina.

Nomen Lutatii est haud dubium: quidam annales
About the name of Lutatius there is no doubt: *but* some annals,

pro C. Servilio et T. Annio habent Q. Acilium
instead of Caius Servilius and Titus Annius, have Quintus Acilius

et C. Herennium, alii P. Cornelium Asinam
and Caius Herennius; others, Publius Cornelius Asina

et C. Papirium Masonem. Id est quoque dubium,
and Caius Papirius Maso. This *point* is also uncertain,

legati missi ad expostulandum ad Boios
whether the ambassadors sent to expostulate with the Boii

violati sint, an inpetus sit factus in triumviros
suffered violence or *whether* an attack was made on the commissioners

metantes agrum. Cum obsiderentur Mutinæ,
while measuring out the lands. Whilst they were shut up in Mutina,

et gens rudis ad artes oppugnandarum urbium,
and a people unskilled in the arts of attacking towns,

eadem pigerrima ad militaria opera,
and at the same time most sluggish at military operations,

assideret segnis muris intactis,
lay inactive before the walls *which they had* not touched,

simulari de pace cœptum agi,
a pretended proposal for an accommodation was set on foot;

legatique evocati ad colloquium ab principibus
and the ambassadors, being invited out to a conference by the chiefs

Gallorum comprehenduntur non modo contra jus
of the Gauls, are seized, not only contrary to the law

gentium, sed violata etiam fide, quæ data erat
of nations, but in violation [also] of the faith which was pledged

in id tempus, Gallis negantibus dimissuros eos,
on that *very* occasion, the Gauls declaring that they would not set them free

nisi obsides redderentur sibi. Cum hæc
unless *their own* hostages were returned to them. When this *treatment*

de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina præsidiumque
of the ambassadors was made known *to him*, and *that* Mutina and its garrison

esset in periculo, L. Manlius prætor accensus
were in danger, Lucius Manlius, the prætor, inflamed

ira ducit agmen effusum ad Mutinam.
with resentment, led his army in haste to Mutina.

Erant tunc silvæ circa viam,
There were at that time woods on both sides of the road,

plerisque incultis: ibi profectus
most *of the ground* being uncultivated. There, having advanced

inexplorato, præcipitatus in insidias,
without having examined *the country*, he fell suddenly into an ambuscade;

que cum multa cæde suorum ægre emersit
and after much slaughter of his *men*, with difficulty made his way

in apertos campos. Ibi castra communita; et,
into the open plains. Here a camp was fortified, and

quia spes defuit Gallis ad tentanda ea
because confidence was wanting to the Gauls to attack it,

animi militum refecti sunt, quamquam satis constabat
the spirits of the soldiers were revived, although it was sufficiently evident

res accisas. Iter deinde cœptum
that their strength was *much* impaired. The journey was then commenced

de integro, nec, dum agmen ducebatur
anew; nor, while the army was led *in march*

per patentia loca, hostis apparuit: ubi silvæ
through the open tracts, did the enemy appear: *but* when the woods

rursus intratæ, tum adorti postremos cum
were again entered, then falling on their rear, amid

magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium occiderunt
great confusion and alarm of all, they slew

septingentos milites, ademere sex signa. Ubi
seven hundred soldiers, *and* carried off six standards. When

evasere e invio atque impedito saltu, fuit finis
they had escaped from the pathless and entangled thicket, there was an en

et Gallis territandi et Romanis
[both] to the Gauls of striking terror and to the Roma

pavendi. Inde facile tutantes agmen
of being panic-struck; and afterwards, easily defending their mar

apertis locis Romani contendere Tanetum,
through the open ground, the Romans proceeded to Tanetum,

vicum propinquum Pado. Ibi ad tempus munimento
a village near the Po; where by a temporary fortification,

commeatibusque fluminis et etiam auxilio
and the supplies *conveyed* by the river, and also by the aid

Brixianorum Gallorum tutabantur se adversus
of the Brixian Gauls, they defended themselves against

in dies crescentem multitudinem hostium.
the daily increasing multitude of their enemies.

XXVI.—Postquam perlatus est qui repens
When account was brought of this sudden

tumultus Romam, et patres acceperunt Punicum
disturbance to Rome, and the senators learned that the Punic

bellum auctum insuper Gallico, jubent C. Atilium
war had increased by addition of the Gallic, they order Caius Atilius,

prætorem ferre auxilium Manlio cum una Romana
a prætor, to carry assistance to Manlius with one Roman

egione et quinque millibus sociorum conscriptis
legion and five thousand of the allies, enlisted

a consule novo dilectu, qui sine ulla certamine—
by the consul in the late levy; who, without any contest,

enim hostes abscesserant metu— pervenit Tanetum.
(for the enemy had retired through fear,) arrived at Tanetum.

Et P. Cornelius, nova legione transcripta
At the same time Publius Cornelius, a new legion having been levied

in locum ejus, quæ missa erat cum prætore,
in the room of that which had been sent with the prætor,

profectus ab urbe sexaginta navibus longis,
setting out from the city with sixty ships of war,

præter oram Etruriæ Ligurumque et inde
by the coast of Etruria and Liguria, and then

montes Salyûm pervenit Massiliam, et locat castra
the mountains of the Salyes, arrived at Marseilles, and pitched his camp

ad proximum ostium Rhodani— enim amnis
on the nearest mouth of the Rhone, (for the stream,

divisus decurrit in mare pluribus—
dividing itself, flows down to the sea through several *channels*,)

vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse
scarcely as yet well believing that Hannibal had passed

Pyrenæos montes. Ut animadvertit quem
the Pyrenæan mountains. *But* when he ascertained that he

quoque agitare de transitu Rhodani,
was also taking steps for a passage of the Rhone,

incertus quonam loco occurreret ei, militibus
uncertain in what place he might meet him, his soldiers

necdum satis refectis ab jactatione maritima,
not yet being sufficiently recovered from the tossing of the sea,

præmittit interim trecentos delectos equites
he sends forward, in the mean time, three hundred chosen horsemen,

Massiliensibus ducibus et Gallis auxiliaribus
with Massilian guides and Gallic auxiliaries

ad exploranda omnia visendosque hostes ex tuto.
to explore all *the country*, and observe the enemy from a safe *distance*

Hannibal, ceteris pacatis metu aut pretio,
Hannibal, the other *states* being pacified by fear or bribes,

jam pervenerat in agrum Volcarum, validæ gentis
had now come into the territory of the Volcæ, a powerful nation.

colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani: sed,
They, indeed, dwell on both sides of the Rhone: but

diffisi Pœnum posse arceri agro
doubting that the Carthaginian could be driven from the country

citeriore, ut haberent flumen
on the hither side, *in order* that they might have the river

pro munimento trajectis ferme omnibus suis
as a defence, having transported almost all their *effects*

trans Rhodanum obtinebant armis ulteriorem ripam
across the Rhone, they occupied in arms the farther bank

amnis. Hannibal donis simul pellicit
of the river. Hannibal, by *means of* presents [at once] persuades

ceteros accolas fluminis et eorum ipsorum,
the other inhabitants of the river-*side*, and those also of *the Volcæ* themselves,

quos suæ sedes tenuerant, ad contrahendas naves
whom their homes had detained, to collect ships

undique fabricandasque; simul et ipsi
from every quarter, and to build *others*; and they at the same time themselves

cupiebant exercitum trajici suamque regionem
desired that the army should be transported, and their country

levari quamprimum tanta turba hominum
relieved, as soon as possible, from the vast multitude of men

urgente. Ingens vis navium itaque
encumbering *it*. A great number of vessels, therefore,

coacta est lintriumque temere paratarum
were brought together, and of boats rudely constructed

ad vicinalem usum: Gallique primum inchoantes
for the neighboring passages; and the Gauls first beginning *the plan*,

cavabant alias novas ex singulis arboribus,
hollowed out some new *ones* from single trees;

et deinde milites ipsi, simul inducti copia
and then the soldiers themselves, at once induced by the plenty

materiæ simul facilitate operis, raptim faciebant
of materials and the easiness of the work, hastily formed

informes alveos, quibus transveherent se
clumsy hulks, in which they could transport themselves

suaque, curantes nihil, dummodo
and their *baggage*, caring about nothing *else*, provided

possent innare aquæ et capere onera.
they would *but* float and contain a burden.

XXVII.—Jamque omnibus satis comparatis
And now *when* all things were sufficiently prepared

ad trajiciendum, hostes ex adverso obtinentes
for crossing, the enemy over against *them*, occupying

omnem ripam equites virique, terrebant:
the whole bank, horse and foot, deterred *them*.

ut averteret quos, jubet Hannonem filium
But in order to dislodge them, *Hannibal* orders Hanno, the son

Bomilcaris prima vigilia noctis ire cum parte
of Bomilcar, at the first watch of the night, to proceed with a part

copiarum, maxime Hispanis, unius diei iter
of the forces, principally Spanish, one day's journey

adverso flumine, et, trajecto amni, ubi primum possit
up the river; and having crossed it where he might first be able,

quam occultissime, circumducere agmen, ut,
as secretly as possible, to lead round his detachment, that,

cum sit opus facto adoriatur hostem ab tergo.
when there was occasion for the feat, he might attack the enemy on the rear.

Galli dati duces ad id edocent,
The Gauls, given *him* *as* guides for the purpose, inform *him*

ferme quinque et viginti millia supra inde amnem
that about twenty-five miles above that *place* the river,

circumfusum parvæ insulæ ostendere transitum,
spreading round a small island showed the passage.

ubi dividebatur, latiorem, alveoque eo
where it divided itself, broader, and the channel consequently

minus alto. Ibi materia raptim cæsa
shallower. At this place timber was quickly cut down

ratesque fabricatæ, in quibus viri equique
and rafts formed, on which men, horses,

et alia onera trajicerentur. Hispani
and other weighty matters might be conveyed over. The Spaniards,

sine ulla mole, conjectis vestimentis in utres,
without *making* any difficulty, having thrust their clothes into leathern bags,

ipsi incubantes cætris superpositis
and themselves leaning on their bucklers placed under *them*,

tranavere flumen. Et alius exercitus trajectus
swam over the river. And the rest of the army, having passed over

ratibus junctis, positis castris prope flumen,
on the rafts joined together, *and* pitched their camp near the river,

fessus itinere nocturno atque labore operis
being fatigued by the journey of the night and the labor of the work,

reficitur quiete unius diei, duce intento
refreshed themselves with rest for one day, their leader being anxious

ad exsequendum consilium opportune. Profecti
to execute his design at a proper season. Setting out

postero die ex loco significant prodito fumo
next day from *this* place, they signify, by raising a smoke,

transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi
that they had crossed, and were not far distant; which, when

Hannibal accepit. ne deesset tempori,
Hannibal understood, that he might not be wanting on the opportunity,

dat signum ad trajiciendum. Pedes jam habebat
he gives the signal for crossing. The infantry already had

lintres aptatas paratasque. Agmen navium
the boats equipped and in readiness; A line of ships

superiore parte transmittens equites
higher up, transporting the horsemen

fere propter equos nantes, ad
for the most part near their horses swimming *beside them*, *in order to*

excipiendum impetum adversi fluminis,
break the force of the current.

præbebat tranquillitatem lintribus infra trajicientibus.
rendered *the water* smooth for the boats, passing below.

Magna pars equorum trahebantur nantes loris
A great part of the horses were led *across* swimming *held* by bridles

a puppibus, præter eos, quos imposuerant in naves
from the stern, except those which they put on board

instratos frenatosque, ut essent
saddled and bridled, *in order* that they might be *ready*

usui equiti extemplo egresso in ripam.
to be used by the rider immediately after landing on the strand.

XXVIII.—Galli occursant in ripam cum
The Gauls run down to the bank to meet *them* with

variis ululatibus cantuque sui moris, quatientes
various whoopings and songs according to their custom, shaking

scuta super capita vibrantesque tela
their shields above their heads, and brandishing their weapons

dexteris, quamquam tanta vis navium
in their right *hands*, although such a vast number of ships

ex adverso terrebat cum ingenti sono fluminis
in front *of them* alarmed *them*, *together* with the loud roaring of the river,

et vario clamore nautarum et militum, et qui
and the mingled clamors of the mariners and soldiers, both *of those* who

nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui
were struggling to break through the force of the current, and *of those* who

ex altera ripa hortabantur suos trajicientes.
from the opposite bank, were encouraging their *friends* on their passage

Satis paventes tumultu adverso terribilior
While sufficiently dismayed by *this* tumult in front, a more terrifying

clamor jam adortus ab tergo, castris captis
shout now assails *them* from behind, their camp having been taken

ab Hannone: mox et ipse aderat, anceps que terror
by Hanno; presently he himself came up, and a two-fold terror

circumstabat, et tanta vi armatorum
encompassed *them*, both such a multitude of armed men

evadente in terram e navibus et improvisa acie
landing from the ships, and *this* unexpected army

premente ab tergo. Postquam Galli conati
pressing on their rear. When the Gauls, having attempted

facere vim utroque, pellebantur,
to force *the enemy* on either side *of them*, were *themselves* repulsed,

perrumpunt, qua iter visum maxime patere,
they break through where a way seemed most open,

liffugiuntque trepidi in suos vicos passim. Hannibal
and fly in consternation to their villages around. Hannibal,

jam spernens tumultus Gallicos trajectis
now despising *these* tumultuary onsets of the Gauls, having brought over

ceteris copiis per otium locat castra. Credo
the rest of his forces at leisure, encamps *on the spot*. I *should* suppose

fuisse varia consilia trajiciendorum elephantorum:
there were various plans for transporting the elephants,

certe memoria rei actæ variata.
at least the accounts of the manner *in which* it was done are various.

Quidam tradunt elephantis congregatis
Some relate, that, *after* the elephants *were all* brought together

ad ripam ferocissimum ex iis irritatum
to the river-side, the fiercest of them being provoked to anger

ab suo rectore, cum sequeretur refugientem nantem
by his keeper, and pursuing him *when* taking refuge *in and* swimming

in aquam, traxisse gregem, ipso impetu
across the water, drew *down* the *rest of the* herd; the mere force

fluminis rapiente in alteram ripam, ut
of the stream hurrying *them* to the opposite bank, when

vadum destitueret quemque timentem altitudinem.
the bottom had failed each, fearful of the depth.

Ceterum magis constat trajectos ratibus:
But it is more *generally* agreed that they were conveyed across on rafts;

ut id foret ante rem tutius consilium, est
and as this would appear, before execution, the safer method, it is

pronius ad fidem re ita acta. Unam ratem
now easier to believe *that* the business was so effected. One raft,

ducentos pedes longam, quinquaginta latam
two hundred feet long *and* fifty broad,

porrexerunt a terra in amnem, superiore parte quam
they extended from the bank into the river, the upper part *of* it,

religatam ripæ pluribus validis retinaculis,
being firmly fastened to the shore with several strong cables,

ne deferretur secunda aqua, constraverunt
that it might not be carried down by the stream, they covered

injecta humo in modum pontis, ut belluæ
with a layer of earth, like a bridge, so that the beasts

audacter ingrederentur velut per solum. Altera ratis
might without fear walk on it as over solid ground. Another raft

æque lata centum pedes longa, apta ad trajiciendum
equally broad, *and* a hundred feet long, fit for crossing

flumen, copulata est huic, et, cum elephanti
the river, was joined to this *first;* and when the elephants,

acti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam, feminis
being driven over the fixed raft as on a road, the females

prægredientibus, transgressi sunt in minorem
going foremost, passed over to the smaller *one which*

applicatam, vinculis, quibus leviter annexa erat,
was joined to it, the ropes, with which it had been slightly tied,

extemplo resolutis, pertrahitur ab aliquot actuariis
being instantly loosed, it was towed away by several light

navibus ad alteram ripam. Primis ita expositis
vessels to the other bank. The first having been thus landed

alii deinde repetiti sunt ac trajecti. Donec
the rest were then returned for and carried across. As long as

agerentur velut continenti ponte,
they were driven, as it were, on a continuous bridge,

nihil sane trepidabant: primus pavor erat cum
they were not in the least alarmed. The first fear was, when,

rate soluta ab ceteris raperentur in altum:
the raft being detached from the rest, they were hurried into the deep.

ibi urgentes inter se extremis
Then, pressing close to one another *as* those at the edges

cedentibus ab aqua, edebant aliquantum trepidationis,
drew back from the water, they occasioned a good deal of disorder,

donec ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset
till mere terror, on their seeing water all around, produced

quietem. Quidam etiam sævientes excidere in flumen,
quiet. Some, indeed, becoming infuriated, fell into the river;

sed, stabilee ipso pondere dejectis rectoribus,
but, steadied by their own weight, having thrown off their riders.

quærendis pedetentim vadis evasere in terram.
and seeking step by step the shallows, they escaped to the shore.

XXIX.—Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, Hannibal
While the elephants were conveyed over, Hannibal,

interim miserat quingentos Numidas equites
in the mean time, had sent five hundred Numidian horsemen

ad castra Romana speculatum, ubi et quantæ
towards the camp of the Romans, to discover where and how numerous

copiæ essent et quid pararent. Trecenti
their forces were, and what they were designing. The three hundred

Romanorum equites missi, ut ante dictum est, ab
Roman horse, sent, as was before said, from

ostio Rhodani occurrunt huic alæ equitum. Prœlium
the mouth of the Rhone, meet this band of cavalry. An engagement

editur atrocius quam pro numero
takes place, more furious than *was common* for *such* a number

pugnantium: nam præter multa vulnera cædes
of combatants; for, besides many wounds, the loss of life

utrimque fuit etiam prope par, fugaque et pavor
on both sides was also nearly equal: and the flight and dismay

Numidarum dedit victoriam Romanis jam
of the Numidians gave victory to the Romans now

admodum fessis. Victores ceciderunt ad centum
exceedingly fatigued. *Of the* conquerors there fell one hundred

sexaginta, nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum,
and sixty, not all Romans, but partly Gauls·

victi amplius ducenti. Hoc principium
of the vanquished more than two hundred. This prelude

omenque simul belli, ut portendit Romanis
and omen likewise of the war, as it portended to the Romans

prosperum eventum summæ rerum, ita victoriam
a prosperous issue of the whole, so *did it also* a victory

haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis.
by no means unbloody, and *only at the price* of a dangerous struggle

Ut, re ita gesta, sui redierunt ad
When, after the action had thus occurred, his own *men* returned to

utrumque ducem, nec sententia poterat stare Scipioni
each general, no fixed plan could be adopted by Scipio

et, nisi ut ipse caperet conatus ex
on the one hand, except that he should form his measures from

consiliis cœptisque hostis. Et Hannibalem
the designs and undertakings of the enemy; and, on the other, Hannibal,

incertum, utrum intenderet iter cœptum
uncertain whether he should pursue the march *he had* commenced

in Italiam, an manus consereret cum
into Italy, or come to an engagement with

eo, qui primus Romanus exercitus se obtulisset, adventus
the first Roman army *that* presented itself, the arrival

legatorum Boiorum regulique Magali,
of ambassadors from the Boii, and of a petty prince *called* Magalus,

avertit a præsenti certamine, qui affirmantes
diverted from an immediate encounter; who, declaring

se fore duces itinerum, socios
hat they would be the guides of his journey, *and* the companions

periculi, censent Italiam aggrediendam
of his dangers, gave *it as* their opinion, that Italy ought to be attacked

integro bello, viribus nusquam
with the entire *force of* the war, his strength having been nowhere

ante libatis. Multitudo quidem timebat hostem
previously impaired. The troops, indeed, feared the enemy,

memoria superioris belli nondum oblitterata
for the memory of the former war *was* not yet obliterated;

sed magis metuebat immensum iter Alpesque,—
but *much* more did they dread the immense journey and the Alps,

rem horrendam fama utique
a matter exceedingly formidable by report, particularly

inexpertis.
the inexperienced.

XXX.—Hannibal itaque, postquam ipsi sententia
Hannibal, therefore, as soon as his own resolution

stetit pergere ire atque petere Italiam, advocata
was fixed to proceed forward and advance on Italy, having called

concione versat animos militum varie
an assembly, works upon the minds of his soldiers in various ways,

castigande adhortandoque: se mirari, quinam
by reproof and exhortation. "He wondered," *he said*, "what

repens terror invaserit pectora
sudden terror could have taken possession of breasts *hitherto*

semper impavida: per tot annos eos facere
always undismayed. During such a number of years they had made

stipendia vincentes, neque excessisse Hispania
their campaigns with conquest; nor had left Spain

ante, quam omnes gentesque et terræ, quas duo
before all the nations and countries, which two

diversa maria amplectantur, essent Cathaginiensium:
opposite seas embrace, were *subjected* to the Carthaginians.

deinde indignatos, quod Romanus populus
Then seized with indignation, that the Roman people

postularet, quicumque obsedissent Saguntum
demanded all who had besieged Saguntum

dedi sibi velut ob noxam, trajecisse
to be delivered up to them, as on account of a crime, they had passed

Iberum ad delendum nomen Romanorum
the Iberus to blot out the name of the Romans,

liberandumque orbem terrarum. Nemini
and to emancipate the world. To none

iter tum visum longum, cum intenderent id
did the march then seem long, though they were pursuing it

ab occasu ad exortus solis: nunc, postquam cernant
from the setting to the rising of the sun. Now, when they saw

multo majorem partem itineris emensam,
by far the greater part of the journey accomplished,

saltum Pyrenæum superatum inter ferocissimas
the passes of the Pyrenees surmounted in the midst of the fiercest

gentes, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, trajectum
nations, the Rhone, that mighty river, crossed

tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, etiam vi
in *the face of* so many thousands of Gauls opposing *them*, even the fury

fluminis ipsius domita, habeant Alpes
of the river itself having been overcome · *nay, when* they had the Alps

in conspectu, alterum latus quarum sit Italiæ,
within view, the other side of which was *a part* of Italy,

in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere,—
just in the gates of the enemy's *country*, they grew weary and halted.

credentes Alpes esse quid aliud quam
imagining the Alps to be— what else than

altitudines montium? Fingerent altiores jugis
lofty mountains? Suppose *them* higher than the summits

Pyrenæi:— profecto nullas terras contingere cœlum
of the Pyrenees, surely no *part of the* earth reached to the heaven,

nec esse inexsuperabiles humano generi. Alpes
nor was insurmountable by mankind. *These* Alps

quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere
in reality were inhabited, cultivated, produced and supported

animantes. Pervias esse paucis— et
living beings. Were they passable by small parties and *impassable*

exercitibus? Eos ipsos legatos, quos cernant,
by armies? Those very ambassadors, whom they saw *before them*,

non transgressos Alpes elatos sublime pennis: ne
had not crossed the Alps *by* being carried aloft on wings; nor

eorum majores quidem indigenas, sed
had their ancestors, indeed, *been* natives of the soil, but

cultores Italiæ advenas tuto transmisisse
settling in Italy from foreign countries, had safely crossed

has ipsas Alpes sæpe ingentibus agminibus cum
those very Alps, often in vast bodies, with

conjugibus ac liberis, modo migrantium.
their wives and children, after the manner of *other* emigrants.

Armato militi, portanti nihil secum præter
To the armed soldier, carrying nothing with him but

instrumenta belli, quid quidem esse invium aut
the implements of war, what in reality was impassable or

inexsuperabile? Ut caperetur Saguntum,
insuperable? In order to gain possession of Saguntum,

quid laboris, quid periculi esse per octo menses
what toils, what dangers were for eight months

exhaustum? Petentibus Romam— caput
undergone? *Now*, when striking for Rome, the capital

orbis terrarum— quidquam videri adeo asperum
of the world, could anything appear *to them* so perilous

atque arduum, quod moretur inceptum? Gallos
or difficult as to retard their enterprise? The Gauls

quondam cepisse ea quæ Pœnus
formerly gained possession of that *very country* which the Carthaginian

desperet posse adiri. Aut proinde cederent
despairs of being able to approach. Either, therefore, they must yield

animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties
in spirit and valor to a nation during those times so frequently

victæ ab se, aut sperent finem
vanquished by them; or they must look for the termination

itineris campum interjacentem Tiberi ac
of their march *in* the field lying between the Tiber and

mœnibus Romanis."
the walls of Rome."

XXXI.—Jubet incitatos his adhortationibus
He orders them, reanimated by these exhortations,

curare corpora atque parare se ad iter. Postero die
to refresh themselves and prepare for the journey. On the following day

profectus adversa ripa Rhodani petit
proceeding upward along the bank of the Rhone, he makes for

mediterranea Galliæ, non quia esset rectior via
the interior parts of Gaul; not because it was the more direct route

ad Alpes, sed credens quantum recessisset a mari,
to the Alps, but believing *that* the farther he withdrew from the sea,

Romanum fore minus obvium, cum quo
the Romans would be less in his way; with whom

non erat in animo conserere manus priusquam
he had no intention *of* coming to battle before

ventum foret in Italiam. Quartis castris pervenit
he should have arrived in Italy. After four days' march he came

ad Insulam. Ibi amnes Isara Rhodanusque,
to the Island. Here the rivers Isara and Rhone,

decurrentes ex diversis Alpibus, amplexi
running down from different *parts of the* Alps, *after* encompassing

aliquantum agri confluunt in unum: nomen
a pretty large tract of ground, flow into one: the name

Insulæ inditum campis mediis.
of the "Island" is given to the plains *that* lie between *them*.

Allobroges incolunt prope, gens jam inde
The Allobroges dwell near, a nation even in those times

inferior nulla gente Gallica opibus aut fama. Erat
inferior to none in Gaul in power and reputation. They were

tum discors: fratres ambigebant certamine
at that time at variance. *Two* brothers were engaged in a struggle

regni. Major, et qui prius imperitarat,
for the sovereignty. The elder, [and one] who had before been king,

nomine Brancus, pellebatur ab minore fratre et
by name Brancus, was driven out by the younger brother, and

cœtu juniorum, qui minus jure
a combination of the younger *men*, who, inferior in right,

poterat plus vi. Cum disceptatio hujus seditionis
had more of power. When the decision of this quarrel

peropportuna delata esset ad Hannibalem, factus
was most opportunely referred to Hannibal, being appointed

arbiter regni, restituit imperium majori,
arbitrator of the kingdom, he restored the government to the elder,

quod ea fuerat sententia senatus principumque.
because such had been the opinion of the senate and of the chief men

Ob id meritum est adjutus commeatu
In return for this service he was assisted with *a supply of* provisions,

copiaque omnium rerum, maxime vestis, quam
and plenty of all necessaries, particularly of clothing which

Alpes infames frigoribus cogebant præparari.
the Alps, notorious for extreme cold, made it necessary to be provided

Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum, cum
After settling the disputes of the Allobroges, when

jam peteret Alpes, instituit iter non
he now made for the Alps, he directed his course *thither*, not

recta regione, sed flexit ad lævam in
by the straight road, but turned to the left into

Tricastinos; inde per extremam oram
the *country of the* Tricastini; thence through the extreme boundary

Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, via
of the Vocontian territory he advanced into *that of* the Tricorii, his way

haud usquam impedita, priusquam pervenit ad flumen
not being anywhere obstructed, until he came to the river

Druentiam. Is et ipse amnis Alpinus
Druentia. This stream also, *having* its source among the Alps

est omnium fluminum Galliæ difficillimus transitu:
is, of all the rivers in Gaul the most difficult to pass;

nam, cum vehat ingentem vim aquæ, tamen
for, though it conveys a vast body of water, yet

non patiens est navium, quia coercitus nullis ripis,
it does not admit of ships; because, being confined by no banks,

fluens pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis, semper
and flowing in several and not always the same channels, continually

nova vada novosque gurgites— et ob eadem
forming new shallows and new whirlpools, (on which account

via quoque est incerta pediti— ad hoc
the passage is also uncertain to a person on foot,) *and* besides

volvens glareosa saxa, præbet nihil stabile nec tutum
rolling down loose gritty stones, it affords no firm or safe *footing*

ingredienti. Et forte tum, auctus imbribus,
to *such as* enter *it*. Happening too, at that time, to be swelled by rains,

fecit ingentem tumultum transgredientibus, cum
it caused the utmost disorder among *the troops on* their passage, when.

super cetera ipsi turbarentur
in addition to other *difficulties*, they were of themselves confused

sua trepidatione atque incertis clamoribus.
by their own hurry and uncertain shouts.

XXXII.—Fere triduo postquam Hannibal movit
About three days after Hannibal moved

a ripa Rhodani, consul P. Cornelius venerat
from the bank of the Rhone, the consul Publius Cornelius had come

agmine quadrato ad castra hostium, facturus
with his forces in order of battle to the camp of the enemy, intending to make

nullam moram dimicandi. Ceterum ubi videt
no delay in fighting. But when he saw

munimenta deserta se nec facile assecuturum
the fortifications deserted, and that he could not easily come up with

tantum progressos, rediit ad mare ac naves
them so far in advance *before him*, he returned to the sea and his fleet

ita facilius tutiusque occursurus Hannibali descendenti
in order more easily and safely to encounter Hannibal *when* descending

ab Alpibus. Tamen Hispania, provinciam quam
from the Alps. However, that Spain, the province which

sortitus erat, ne esset nuda Romanis auxiliis, misit
he had obtained by lot, might not be destitute of Roman auxiliaries, he sent

fratrem Cn. Scipionem cum maxima parte copiarum
his brother Cneius Scipio with the greater part of his forces

adversus Hasdrubalem, non tantummodo ad tuendos
against Hasdrubal, not merely to protect

veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam
the old allies and conciliate new, but also

ad pellendum Hasdrubalem Hispania: ipse
to drive Hasdrubal out of Spain. He himself

cum admodum exiguis copiis repetit Genuam,
with a very small force, repaired to Genoa,

defensurus Italiam eo exercitu, qui erat circa Padum
intending to defend Italy with the army which was around the Po.

Ab Druentia itinere maxime campestri
From the Druentia, by a road *that lay* principally through level country,

Hannibal cum bona pace Gallorum incolentium
Hannibal, without any molestation from the Gauls inhabiting

ea loca pervenit ad Alpes. Tum, quamquam res
those regions, arrived at the Alps. And now though the scene

prius præcepta erat fama, qua incerta
had been previously anticipated from report, (by which uncertainties

solent ferri in majus vero, tamen altitudo montium visa
are wont to be exaggerated,) yet the height of the mountains *when* viewed

ex propinquo nivesque prope immixtæ cœlo,
in *close* proximity, and the snows almost mingling with the sky,

informia tecta imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaque
the shapeless huts standing on the cliffs, the cattle and beasts of burden

torrida frigore, homines intoı si et inculti,
shivering with cold, the people squalid and wildly dressed,

omnia animalia inanimaliaque rigentia gelu,
all things, *in short*, animate and inanimate, stiffened with frost,

cetera fœdiora visu quam dictu,
besides other *circumstances* more shocking to be seen than described

renovarunt terrorem. Erigentibus agmen in primos clivos
renewed their alarm. To them, marching up the first acclivities,

montani apparuerunt insidentes tumulos imminentes,
the mountaineers appeared occupying the heights overhead;

qui, si insedissent occultiores valles,
who, if they had posted themselves in the more concealed valleys,

coorti repente ad pugnam dedissent
might, *by* rushing out suddenly to the attack, have occasioned

ingentem fugam stragemque. Hannibal jussit
great flight and havoc. Hannibal commanded

signa consistere; præmissisque Gallis ad visenda loca,
the troops to halt, and having sent forward Gauls to examine the ground,

postquam comperit esse non transitum ea,
when he found there was no passage on that *side*,

locat castra quam extentissima valle potest
he pitches his camp in the widest valley he could *find*,

inter omnia confragosa præruptaque. Tum
among *places* all rugged and precipitous. Then,

edoctus per eosdem Gallos cum immiscuissent se
having learned from the same Gauls, when they had mixed

colloquiis montanorum, abhorrentes
in conversation with the mountaineers, (*from whom* they differed

haud sane multum lingua moribusque, saltum obsideri
but little in language and manners,) that the pass was blocked up

tantum interdiu, nocte quemque dilabi
only during the day, and that at night each withdrew

in sua tecta, subiit prima luce tumulos,
to his own dwelling, he advanced at the first dawn to the eminences,

ut ex aperto atque interdiu facturus vim per angustias.
as *if* designing openly and by day to force his way through the defile.

Die deinde consumpto simulando aliud,
The day then being spent in feigning a different *attempt*

quam quod parabatur, cum communissent castra
from that which was in preparation, when they had fortified the camp

eodem loco, quo constiterant, ubi primum sensit
in the same place where they had halted, as soon as he perceived

montanos digressos tumulis custodiasque
that the mountaineers had retired from the heights, and that the guards

laxatas factis in speciem pluribus ignibus
were withdrawn, having made, for a show, a greater number of fires

quam pro numero manentium,
than *was* proportioned to the number of *troops* remaining *in camp*,

relictisque impedimentis cum equite et
and leaving behind the baggage, with the cavalry and

maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis—
the greatest part of the infantry, he himself with a light-armed band,

quoque viro acerrimo— raptim evadit angustias,
every man *of them* daringly brave, pushed rapidly through the pass,

conseditque iis ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant.
and took post on those very heights which the enemy had occupied.

XXXIII.—Prima luce deinde castra mota,
At dawn of light the next *day* the camp broke up,

et reliquum agmen cœpit incedere. Montani
and the rest of the army began to move forward. The mountaineers,

signo dato jam conveniebant ex castellis
on a signal being given, were now coming together out of their fortresses

ad solitam stationem, cum repente
to their usual station, when, on a sudden,

conspiciunt alios hostes imminentes super caput
they perceive a part of the enemy over-hanging *them* from above,

occupata sua arce, alios transire via.
in possession of their own strong post, *and* the rest passing along the road

Utraque res objecta simul oculis animisque,
Both these objects, presented at the same time to the eye and the mind,

defixit eos immobiles parumper: deinde,
made them stand motionless for a little while; *but* afterwards

ut videre trepidationem in angustiis agmenque
when they observed the confusion in the pass, and that the marching body

misceri suo ipsum tumultu, maxime
was thrown into disorder by its own hurried movement, *and* particularly

equis consternatis, rati quidquid terroris ipsi adjecissent
by the horses taking fright, thinking that whatever terror they added

satis fore ad perniciem, decurrunt
would suffice for the destruction *of the host*, they scramble along

perversis rupibus, assueti juxta invia ac
the cragged rocks, *as* being accustomed alike to pathless and

devia. Tum vero Pœni oppugnabantur
circuitous *ways*. Then indeed the Carthaginians were opposed

simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum,
at once by the enemy and by the difficulties of the ground;

eratque plus certaminis inter ipsos quam cum hostibus
and there was a greater struggle among themselves than with the enemy,

quoque sibi tendente, ut prius evaderet periculo.
every one [for himself] striving to get first out of danger.

Et equi maxime faciebant infestum agmen,
But the horses, in particular, imperilled the ranks,

qui territi dissonis clamoribus, quos nemora
which, affrighted at the dissonant clamors which the groves

etiam repercussæque valles augebant, trepidabant,
[of course] and the re-echoing valleys multiplied, fell into confusion,

et forte icti aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur,
and *if* by chance struck or wounded, they were so dismayed

ut facerent ingentem stragem simul hominum
that they occasioned immense destruction both of men

ac sarcinarum omnis generis. Cumque angustia
and baggage of every description: and, as the pass

utrimque essent diruptæ præcipitesque, turba
on both sides was broken and precipitous, *this* turmoil

dejecit multos in immensum altitudinis
cast down many to an immense depth,—

quosdam et armatos: sed jumenta devolvebantur
some even *of the* armed men; but the beasts of burden were rolled down

cum oneribus modo ruinæ maximæ. Quamquam
together with their loads like the fall of *some* vast *fabric*. Though

quæ erant fœda visu tamen Hannibal continuit
these *disasters* were shocking to view, yet Hannibal kept his place

parumper ac suos, ne augeret tumultum
for a while and *restrained* his men, lest he should increase the tumult

ac trepidationem: deinde, postquam vidit
and confusion; *but* afterwards, when he saw

agmen interrumpi, periculumque esse, ne traduxisset
the line broken, and that there was danger that he would bring over

exercitum incolumem nequidquam
his army safely to no purpose

exutum impedimentis, decurrit ex superiore loco,
when deprived of their baggage, he hastened down from the higher ground

et, cum ipso impetu fudisset hostem,
and while by sheer impetuosity he routed the *forces of the* enemy,

quoque auxit tumultum suis. Sed
he at the same time increased the disorder among his own: but

is tumultus sedatur momento temporis, postquam
this confusion was composed in a moment, after

itinera liberata erant fuga montanorum; mox
the roads were cleared by the flight of the mountaineers; *and* presently

omnes traducti nec modo per otium
the whole *army* was conducted through not only without disturbance

sed prope silentio. Inde capit castellum, quod erat
but almost without noise. He then seized a stronghold which was

caput ejus regionis, viculosque circumjectos,
the capital of that district, and the little villages that lay around *it*,

et aluit exercitum per triduum pecoribus
and fed his army for three days with the cattle

ac cibo captivo; et eo triduo, quia
and corn *he had* taken; and during these three days, as *the soldiers*

nec impediebantur montanis perculsis
were neither obstructed by the mountaineers, *who had been* daunted

primo nec magnopere loco, confecit aliquantum viæ.
at the first *onset*, nor yet much by the ground, he made considerable way.

Inde perventum ad alium populum frequentem
He then came to another state abounding,

ut inter montanos cultoribus. Ibi
for a mountainous country, with inhabitants; there

est prope circumventus non aperto bello, sed
he was nearly overcome, not by open war but

suis artibus— fraude et insidiis. Magno natu
by his own arts,— treachery and ambush. *Some men* of advanced age,

principes castellorum veniunt ad Pœnum oratores,
governors of their forts, came to the Carthaginian *as* deputies,

memorantes, doctos utili exemplo
professing, "that having learned from the profitable example

malis alienis, malle experiri
of the calamities of others, they wished rather to make trial of

amicitiam quam vim Pœnorum:
the friendship than *of* the strength of the Carthaginians:

itaque obedienter facturos imperata,
that they would therefore obediently execute his commands; *and begged that*

acciperet commeatum ducesque itineris et obsides
he would accept of provisions and guides on his march, and hostages

ad fidem promissorum. Hannibal, cum respondisset
for the sincerity of their promises." Hannibal, when he had answered *them*

benigne, ratus nec temere credendum
in a friendly manner, thinking that they should neither be rashly trusted

nec aspernandum, ne repudiati aperte fierent
nor *yet* rejected, lest *if* repulsed they might openly become

hostes, acceptis obsidibus, quos dabant et
enemies. having received the hostages whom they proffered, and

usus commeatu, quem ipsi detulerant
made use of the provisions which they had, of their own accord, brought down

in viam, sequitur eorum duces, nequaquam ut
to the road, follows their guides, by no means as

inter pacatos agmine composito.
among a friendly *people* *but* with his line *of march* in close order.

Elephanti et equites erant primum agmen, ipse
The elephants and cavalry formed the van, *and* he himself

incedebat cum robore peditum
followed with the main body of the infantry,

sollicitus circumspectansque omnia. Ubi
carefully inspecting every *particular*. When

ventum est in viam angustiorem et
they came into a road narrower *than the rest* and

subjectam altera parte insuper imminenti jugo,
lying on one side beneath an overhanging eminence

barbari coorti undique ex insidiis petunt
the barbarians, rising up on all sides from their ambush, assail *them*

a fronte, ab tergo, comminus eminus, devolvunt
in front and rear, at close quarters *and* from a distance, *and* roll down

ingentia saxa in agmen. Maxima vis hominum
huge stones on the army. The most numerous body of men

urgebat ab tergo: in eos acies peditum versa
pressed on the rear; against whom the array of infantry, facing about

fecit haud dubium, quin, nisi extrema agminis
for the attack, made it very obvious, that, had not the rear of the army

fuissent firmata, ingens clades accipienda fuerit
been well supported, a heavy loss must have been sustained

in eo saltu. Tunc quoque ventum est ad extremum
in that pass. Even as it was, they came to the extremity

periculi ac prope perniciem: nam dum Hannibal
of danger, and almost *to* destruction: for whilst Hannibal

cunctatur dimittere agmen in angustias
hesitates to lead down his division into the defile,

quia, ut ipse erat præsidio equitibus
because, though he himself was a protection to the cavalry,

non ita reliquerat quidquam auxilii peditibus
he had not in the same way left any aid to the infantry

ab tergo, montani occursantes per obliqua
in the rear, the mountaineers, charging obliquely,

interrupto medio agmine insedere
and on having broken through the middle of the army, took possession of

viam, unaque nox acta est Hannibali sine equitibus
the road; and one night was spent by Hannibal without his cavalry

atque impedimentis.
and baggage.

XXXV.—Postero die barbaris jam intercursantibus
Next day the barbarians [now] rushing on the centre

segnius copiæ junctæ, saltusque superatus
less vigorously, the forces were reunited, and the defile passed,

haud sine clade, tamen majore pernicie
not without loss, but yet with a greater destruction

jumentorum quam hominum. Inde jam montani
of beasts of burden than of men. Thenceforward the mountaineers

concursabant pauciores et magis more latrocinii
fell upon *them* *in* smaller parties [and] more like *an attack* of robbers

quam belli, modo in primum modo
than war, sometimes on the van, sometim

in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus daret
on the rear, according as the ground afforded *them*

opportunitatem aut progressi
advantage or *stragglers* advancing before *the rest*,

morative fecissent aliquam occasionem. Sicut elephanti
or staying behind, gave them an opportunity. Though the elephants

agebantur per præcipites artas vias magna mora,
were driven through the steep *and* narrow roads with great loss of time,

ita, quacumque incederent præbebant agmen tutum
yet, wherever they went they rendered the army safe

ab hostibus, quia insuetis metus erat
from the enemy, because unaccustomed *to such creatures* they were afraid

adeundi propius. Nono die perventum est in jugum
of approaching too nearly. On the ninth day they arrived at the summit

Alpium, pleraque per invia et errores,
of the Alps, mostly through pathless *tracts*, and *after many* stray-goings

quos aut fraus ducentium faciebant, aut, ubi
which either the treachery of their guides occasioned, or, when

iis non esset fides, temere initæ valles
these were not trusted, their rashly entering the valleys,

a conjectantibus iter. Biduum stativa habita
on their own conjectures of the route. For two days they remained encamped

in jugo, quiesque data militibus fessis labore
on the summit; and rest was given to the soldiers, exhausted with toil

ac pugnando: aliquotque jumenta, quæ
and fighting; and several beasts of burden, which

prolapsa erant in rupibus, sequendo vestigia agminis
had fallen among the rocks, following the track of the army,

pervenere in castra. Fessis tædio
came into the camp. *Already* worn out with weariness

tot malorum casus nivis etiam,
of so many hardships, a fall of snow [also,]

jam occidente sidere Vergiliarum,
(it being now the *season of the* setting of the constellation of the Pleiades,)

adjecit ingentem terrorem Signis
added very much *to the* consternation *of the troops.* On the standards

motis prima luce, cum agmen incederet segniter
being moved forward at day-break, when the army marched slowly

per omnia oppleta nive, pigritiaque et desperatio
over *ground* entirely covered with snow, and languor and despair

emineret in vultu omnium, Hannibal
strongly appeared in the countenances of all, Hannibal,

prægressus signa, jussis militibus consistere
having advanced before the standards, *and* ordered the soldiers to halt

in quodam promontorio, unde erat prospectus
on a certain eminence, from which there was a prospect

longe ac late, ostentat Italiam camposque
far and wide, points out *to them* Italy, and the plains

Circumpadanos subjectos Alpinis montibus:
about the Po, stretching along *the foot of* the Alpine mountains;

que eos tum transcendere mœnia non modo
and *told them* "they were now scaling the walls not only

Italiæ, sed etiam urbis Romanæ. Cetera
of Italy, but also of the city of Rome; that the rest *of the*

fore plana, proclivia, uno aut summum
journey would be smooth *and* down-hill; *and* after one or, at most,

altero prœlio habituros arcem et caput Italiæ
a second battle, they would have the bulwark and capital of Italy

in manu ac potestate. Agmen inde cœpit procedere,
in their power and disposal." The army then began to advance,

hostibus jam nihil ne quidem tentantibus præter
the enemy now making no further attempts beyond

parva furta per occasionem. Ceterum iter fuit
petty thefts, as opportunity *offered.* But the journey was

multo difficilius quam fuerat in ascensu, ut
much more difficult than it had been in the ascent, since *the declivity*

Alpium sicut pleraque breviora ab Italia sunt
of the Alps, as being generally shorter on the side of Italy, is

ita arrectiora. Enim ferme omnis via erat
consequently more perpendicular; for nearly all the road was

præceps, angusta, lubrica, ut possent neque
precipitous, narrow *and* slippery, so that they could neither

sustinere se a lapsu, nec, qui paulum titubassent,
keep themselves from sliding; nor *could those*, who made the least stumble,

afflicti hærere suo vestigio, occiderentque,
on having fallen, hold themselves to their footing, but tumbled,

et homines et jumenta, alii super alios.
both men and beasts, promiscuously over one another.

XXXVI.—Deinde ventum ad rupem
They then came to a ridge

multo angustiorem atque saxis ita rectis, ut
much more narrow, and *composed* of rock so upright, that

expeditus miles tentabundus retinensque manibus
a light-armed soldier, making the trial, and clinging with his hands to

virgulta ac stirpes eminentes circa
the bushes and roots *which* appeared here and there,

posset ægre demittere sese. Locus jam ante
could with difficulty lower himself down. The ground, even before

præceps natura recenti lapsu terræ
very steep by nature, had, by a recent falling away of the earth,

abruptus erat in altitudinem admodum mille pedum.
been broken off to the depth of at least one thousand feet.

Ibi cum equites constitissent velut ad finem viæ,
Here when the cavalry had halted, as if at the end of their journey,

nuntiatur Hannibali miranti, quæ res moraretur
it is announced to Hannibal, wondering what obstructed

agmen, rupem esse inviam. Deinde digressus ipse
the march, that the cliff was impassable. Then, going up himself

ad visendum locum: res visa haud dubia quin
to view the place. it seemed clear *to him* that

circumduceret agmen, quamvis longo ambitu, per
he must lead his army round *it*, by however great a circuit, through

invia, nec antea trita circa. Ea vero via
the pathless *and* never-before-trodden *regions* around. But this route *also*

fuit insuperabilis: nam, cum nova modicæ altitudinis
proved impracticable; for, while the new *snow* of a moderate depth

esset super veterem nivem intactam pedes
remained on the old, *that had* not been removed, their footsteps

insistebant facile ingredientium molli
were planted with ease as they walked upon *the first*, *which was* soft

nec peraltæ: ut vero dilapsa est incessu
and not too deep; but when *that* was dissolved by the treading

tot hominum jumentorumque, ingrediebantur per
of so many men and beasts, they *then* walked on

nudam glaciem infra, tabemque fluentem
the naked ice below, and *through* the dirty fluid *formed*

liquescentis nivis. Ibi erat tetra luctatio,
by the melting snow. Here there was a wretched struggle,

ut a lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium, et
because of the slippery ice not admitting a *firm* foothold, and

pede se fallente citius in prono; et, seu
the foot slipping more readily by reason of the slope; and, whether

se adjuvissent in assurgendo manibus seu genu,
they assisted themselves in rising by their hands or knees,

ipsis adminiculis prolapsis, iterum corruerent: nec
these props themselves giving way, they would tumble again; nor

erant stirpes radicesve circa, ad quas quisqua
were there *any* stumps or roots near, on which one

posset manu aut pede eniti; ita
might with hand or foot support himself; so that

tantum volutabantur in levi glacie tabidaque nive.
they only floundered on the smooth ice and *amid* the melted snow.

Tamen jumenta interdum etiam secabant infimam
However, the beasts of burden sometimes even cut into this lower

nivem ingredientia, et
bed *of* snow *by merely* treading upon it, and *sometimes*, *when*

prolapsa jactandis gravius ungulis in
they lost their footing, by striking more strongly with their hoofs in

connitendo penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque,
their struggling, they broke it entirely through; so that most *of them*,

velut capta pedica, hærerent in dura et alta concreta
as if taken in a trap, stuck fast in the hard and deeply-frozen

glacie.
ice.

XXXVII.—Tandem hominibus atque jumentis
At length, after men and beasts

fatigatis nequidquam castra posita in jugo,
were fatigued to no purpose, a camp was fixed on the summit,

loco purgato ad id ipsum ægerrime
the ground being cleared for that purpose with very great difficulty,

tantum nivis fuit fodiendum atque egerendum.
so much snow was there to be dug out and carried away.

Milites inde ducti ad muniendam rupem,
The soldiers were then employed to make a way down the steep.

per quam unam via poterat esse,
through which alone a passage could be *effected*;

cum esset cædendum saxum dejectis
and as it was necessary to cut through the rocky mass, having felled

detruncatisque immanibus arboribus circa,
and lopped *a number of* huge trees *which stood* near,

faciunt ingentem struem lignorum, que, cum et
they make *of them* a vast pile of timber, and as soon as

vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset,
a strong wind fit for exciting the flames arose,

eam succendunt, infusoque aceto ardentia saxa
they set fire to it, and, pouring vinegar on the heated stones,

putrefaciunt. Rupem ita torridam
they made them crumble *to pieces*. *Through* the rock, thus heated

incendio pandunt ferro, molliuntque clivos
by the fire, they open a way with iron *instruments*, and soften its declivities

modicis anfractibus, ut non solum jumenta, sed
by gentle windings, so that not only the beasts of burden, but

etiam elephanti possent deduci. Quadriduum
even the elephants could be brought down. Four days

consumptum circa rupem, jumenta
were spent about *this* rock, the cattle

prope absumptis fame: enim cacumina sunt fere nuda,
nearly perishing through hunger: for the summits are for the most part bare,

et, si est quid pabuli, nives obruunt. Inferiora
and if there is any pasture the snows bury *it*. The lower parts

habent valles et quosdam apricos colles,
contain valleys and some sunny hills,

rivosque prope silvas et jam loca
and rivulets at the side of the woods, and [presently] scene

digniora cultu humano. Ibi jumenta
more worthy of the abode of man. There the beasts of burden

missa in pabulum, et quies data triduo hominibus
were sent out to pasture, and rest given for three days to the men,

fessis muniendo. Inde descensum ad planum,
fatigued with forming the passage. They then descended into the plains,

et locis et ingeniis accolarum
both the country and the dispositions of the inhabitants

jam mollioribus.
being now less rugged.

XXXVIII.—Hoc modo maxime perventum est
In this manner chiefly they came

in Italiam, quinto mense, ut quidam auctores sunt,
to Italy, in the fifth month (as some authors relate)

a nova Carthagine, superatis Alpibus quinto decimo die.
after *leaving* New Carthage, having crossed the Alps in fifteen days.

Quantæ copiæ Hannibali fuerint transgresso in Italiam
What number of forces Hannibal had on arriving in Italy,

nequaquam constat inter auctores. Qui scribunt
is by no means agreed upon by authors. Those who state *them*

plurimum, fuisse centum millia peditum,
at the highest *make them* amount to one hundred thousand foot

viginti equitum: qui minimum,
and twenty *thousand* horse; those who *state them* at the lowest, *say*

viginti millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius
twenty thousand foot *and* six of horse. Lucius Cincius

Alimentus, qui scribit se captum ab Hannibale,
Alimentus, who writes that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal,

moveret maxime auctor, nisi confunderet numerum
would influence *me* most *as* an authority, did he not confound the number

additis Gallis Liguribusque: cum his— est magis
by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. Including these, (*who*, it is more

verisimile affluxisse, et ita quidam auctores sunt—
probable, flocked to him *afterwards*, and so some authors assert,)

octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum adducta
he says that eighty thousand foot *and* ten *thousand* horse were brought

in Italiam : autem audisse ex ipso Hannibale,
into Italy ; and that he had heard from Hannibal himself,

postquam transierit Rhodanum, amisisse
that, after crossing the Rhone, he had lost

triginta sex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum
thirty six thousand men, and an immense number

equorum et aliorum jumentorum. Cum constet
of horses and other beasts of burden. As it is agreed on

inter omnes digressum in Italiam e Taurinis,
by all, that he descended into Italy from the *country of the* Taurini,

quæ erat proxima gens Galliæ, eo magis miror
[which was] the next nation to the Gauls, I am the more surprised

ambigi, quanam transierit Alpes, et
that it should be doubtful by what *road* he crossed the Alps ; and

vulgo credere transgressum Penino,—
that it should commonly be believed that he passed over the Pennine

atque inde nomen inditum ei jugo Alpium.
mountain, and that thence the name was given to that ridge of the Alps.

Cœlius dicit transisse per jugum Cremonis :
Cœlius says that he passed over the top of *Mount* Cremo :

ambo qui saltus deduxerint eum non in Taurinos,
both which passes would have brought *him,* not to the Taurini,

sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos. Nec
but through the Salassian mountaineers to the Libuan Gauls. Neither

est verisimile ea itinera ad Galliam tum patuisse,
is it probable that these roads into Gaul were then open, *since those*

utique quæ ferunt ad Peninum fuissent obsæpta
especially, which lead to the Pennine *hill* would have been blocked up

gentibus semigermanis : neque hercule,
by nations half German ; nor indeed,

si id forte movet quem, Veragri,
(if this *argument* should have weight with any one,) do the Veragri,

incolæ ejus jugi, norunt nomen inditum
the inhabitants of this ridge, know of the name being given

his montibus ab ullo transitu Pœnorum,
these mountains from any passage *over them* by the Carthaginians

sed ab eo, quem montani appellant Peninum,
but from the *divinity*, whom the mountaineers style Peninus,

sacratum in summo vertice.
worshipped on the highest summit.

XXXIX.—Peropportune ad principia
Very opportunely for the commencement

rerum bellum motum erat Taurinis,
of his operations, a war had broken out with the Taurini

proximæ genti, adversus Insubres. Sed Hannibal
the nearest nation, against the Insubrians. But Hannibal

non poterat armare exercitum, ut esset auxilio
could not put his troops under arms so as to be of service

alteri parti, sentientem maxime in reficiendo
to either party, *because they now* felt most sensibly, in remedying *them.*

mala ante contracta: enim otium ex labore,
the maladies *they had* before contracted: for rest after toil,

copia ex inopia cultus ex illuvie
plenty after scarcity, *and* care *of their persons* after *a course of* filth

tabeque, varie movebat squalida et prope efferata
and nastiness, had variously affected their squalid and almost savage-*looking*

corpora. Ea fuit causa P. Cornelio consuli
bodies. This was the reason *that* Publius Cornelius, the consul,

cum venisset Pisas navibus, festinandi ad Padum
when he had arrived at Pisa with his fleet, hastened to the Po,

exercitu accepto a Manlio Atilioque trione
though the troops *he had* received from Manlius and Atilius *were* raw

et trepido in novis ignominiis, ut
and disheartened by their late disgraces, in order that

manus consereret cum hoste nondum refecto.
he might come to battle with the enemy *when* not yet recruited.

Sed cum consul venit Placentiam, Hannibal
But when the consul came to Placentia, Hannibal

jam moverat ex stativis, que expugnarat vi
had already moved from his quarters, and taken by storm

unam urbem Taurinorum, caput ejus gentis,
one city of the Taurini, the metropolis of that nation

quia non veniebat volentis in amicitiam: et
because they did not come willingly into his alliance; and

junxisset sibi, non solum metu sed etiam
he would have gained over to him, not only from fear, but also

voluntate, Gallos accolas Padi, ni adventus
from inclination, *all* the Gauls dwelling near the Po, had not the arrival

consulis subito oppressisset circumspectantes tempus
of the consul suddenly checked *them* while watching for an opportunity

defectionis. Hannibal et movit ex
of revolt. Hannibal likewise advanced *towards them* from

Taurinis, ratus Gallos incertos,
the country of the Taurini, thinking that the Gauls *still* uncertain

quæ pars sequenda esset secuturos præsentem.
what party they should join, would follow him *if* present *among them*.

Exercitus erant jam prope in conspectu, ducesque
The armies were now almost in sight *of each other*, and the leaders,

sicuti nondum satis noti inter se ita convenerant,
though not yet thoroughly acquainted, were yet come together

uterque jam imbutus quadam admiratione alterius.
when each *was* already imbued with a certain admiration of the other.

Nam et nomen Hannibalis jam ante excidium Sagunti
For the name of Hannibal, even before the destruction of Saguntum,

erat celeberrimum apud Romanos, et Hannibal
was highly famed among the Romans; and Hannibal

credebat Scipionem præstantem virum eo ipso, quod
believed Scipio *to be* a superior man, from the very *fact* that

potissimum lectus esset dux adversus se.
he was particularly chosen *to act as* commander against himself.

Et auxerant opinionem inter se, Scipio, quod
They had increased, too, their estimation of each other: Scipio, because,

relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat Hannibali
though left behind in Gaul, he had met Hannibal

transgresso in Italiam, Hannibal, et tam audaci conatu
at his coming down into Italy; Hannibal, by his daring attempt

trajiciendarum Alpium et effectu. Scipio tamen
of passing the Alps, and by its accomplishment. Scipio, however,

occupavit trajicere Padum, et motis castris
was the first to cross the Po, and having removed his camp

ad amnem Ticinum, exorsus est talem orationem
to the river Ticinus, he delivered the following oration

causa adhortandorum militum, priusquam
for the sake of encouraging his soldiers before

educeret in aciem:
he led them out to battle:

XL.—"Milites, si educerem eum exercitum
"Soldiers, if I were conducting that army

in aciem, quem habui mecum in Gallia,
to the battle-field, which I had with me in Gaul,

supersedissem loqui apud vos: enim quid referret
I should have refrained from addressing you; for *of* what use would it be

adhortari aut eos equites, qui egregie vicissent
to exhort either those horsemen who *so* gloriously vanquished

hostium equitatum ad flumen Rhodanum, aut eas
the enemy's cavalry at the river Rhone, or those

legiones, cum quibus secutus hunc ipsum hostem
legions with whom, pursuing this very enemy

fugientem habui pro victoria confessionem
flying *before us*, I obtained in lieu of victory, a confession

cedentis ac detractantis certamen? Nunc,
of superiority, shown by his retreat and refusal to fight? Now,

quia ille exercitus scriptus provinciæ Hispaniæ
because that army, enlisted for the province of Spain,

gerit rem cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis
is employed with my brother Cneius Scipio under my auspices,

ibi, ubi senatus populusque Romanus voluit
in the place where the senate and people of Rome, wished

eum gerere, ego, ut haberetis consulem
him to serve; *and since* I, that you might have a consul *for your*

ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Pœnos, ipse obtuli me
leader against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have offered myself

voluntario huic certamini, pauca verba
voluntarily for this contest, a few words

facienda sunt novo imperatori apud milites
are required to be addressed from a new commander to soldiers

novos. Ne ignoretis genus
unacquainted *with him.* That you may not be ignorant of the nature

belli neve hostem, milites, vobis pugnandum est
of the war nor *of* the enemy, *know*, soldiers, that you are to fight

cum iis, quos priore bello vicistis terra
with those whom, in the former war, you conquered *both* on land

marique, a quibus exegistis stipendium
and sea; from whom you have exacted tribute

per viginti annos, a quibus habetis Siciliam
for twenty years *past;* from whom you hold Sicily

ac Sardiniam capta præmia belli. In hoc certamine
and Sardinia, taken *as* the prizes of victory. In the present contest,

igitur vobis illisque erit is animus, qui solet esse
therefore, you and they will have those feelings, which are wont to be*long*

victoribus et victis. Nec illi nunc pugnaturi sunt,
to the victors and the vanquished. Nor will they now go to battle

quia audent, sed quia necesse est,
because they are confident, but because it is unavoidable;

nisi creditis eos, qui detractavere pugnam
unless you suppose that those who declined the engagement

exercitu incolumi, nactos esse plus spei
when their forces *were* entire, have acquired greater confidence

amissis duabus partibus peditum equitumque
after the loss of two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry

in transitu Alpium, cum pæne plures perierint
in the passage over the Alps; after almost greater numbers have perished

quam supersint. At enim sunt pauci quidem,
than survive. But, *you will say,* they are few indeed,

sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora
but vigorous in mind and body; *men* whose power

ac vires vix ulla vis possit sustinere. Immo
and strength scarce any force may withstand. On the contrary

effigies, umbræ hominum enecti
they are but the resemblances, mere shadows of men, rendered lifeless

fame, frigore, illuvie, squalore, contusi ac
by hunger, cold, filth *and* nastiness; battered and

debilitati inter saxa rupesque. Ad hoc artus
disabled among the rocks and precipices. *Add to this,* their joints

prægusti, nervi rigentes nive, membra torrida
benumbed, their sinews stiffened with the snow, their limbs shrivelled

gelu, arma quassata fractaque, equi claudi
by the frost, their armor shattered and broken, their horses lamed

ac debiles. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite
and enfeebled. With such cavalry, with such infantry,

pugnaturi estis, non hostes, extremas reliquias hostium
you are to fight; not enemies, *but only* the last remains of enemies,

habebitis. Ac vereor nihil magis quam ne, cum
you will have *to face*. And I fear nothing more than that, when

vos pugnaveritis Hannibalem, Alpes videantur vicisse.
you have fought Hannibal, the Alps may appear to have conquered

sed forsitan decuit ita, deos ipsos,
him. But perhaps it was fitting *so to be*,— that the gods themselves,

sine ulla humana ope, committere ac profligare bellum
without any human aid, should commence and carry forward the war

cum populo ac duce ruptore fœderum,
against a nation and commander *guilty of* a breach of treaties;

nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus,
and that we, who, next to the gods, have been injured,

conficere commissum ac profligatum.
should *then* finish *the contest* *thus* commenced and nearly completed.

Non vereor, ne quis existimet me loqui hæc
I am not afraid that any *of you* will think I say this

magnifice causa vestri adhortandi animo ipsum
ostentatiously for the sake of encouraging you, *while* in my own mind

aliter affectum esse: licuit ire cum meo exercitu
I am differently affected. I was at liberty to go with my army

in Hispaniam meam provinciam, quo jam profectus eram,
into Spain, my own province, whither I had already set out;

ubi haberem et fratrem participem consilii
where I should have had a brother *as* the sharer of *my* councils

ac socium periculi, et Hasdrubalem potius quam
and companion of *my* dangers, and Hasdrubal, instead of

Hannibalem hostem, et haud dubie
Hannibal, *for my* antagonist, and without question

minorem molem belli: tamen, cum prætereherer navibus
a less laborious war: nevertheless, as I sailed along

oram Galliæ, egressus in terram ad famam hujus hostis,
the coast of Gaul, having landed on hearing of this enemy,

præmisso equitatu, movi castra ad Rhodanum.
and having sent forward the cavalry, I moved my camp to the Rhone.

Prœlio equestri, qua parte copiarum
In a battle of cavalry, with which part of *my* forces *alone*

fortuna conserendi manum data est,
the opportunity of coming to an engagement was afforded,

fudi hostem: quia non poteram assequi terra
I routed the enemy; *and* because I could not overtake by land

agmen peditum, quod raptim agebatur
his army of infantry, which was rapidly hurried away

in modum fugientium, regressus ad naves,
as if retreating, *I* returned to *my* ships; *and*,

quanta maxima celeritate potui, tanto circuitu
with the utmost expedition I could *make*, through such a long circuit

maris terrarumque obvius fui huic timendo hosti
by sea and land, I have met this formidable enemy

in radicibus Alpium. Utrum videor, cum declinarem
at the foot of the Alps. Whether do I appear while declining

certamen incidisse improvisus, an occurrere
an engagement, to have fallen in unawares *with him* or to encounter *him*

in ejus vestigiis, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum?
in his route, to challenge and drag *him* out to decide the contest?

Juvat experiri, utrum per viginti annos terra
I am anxious to try whether, in *these* twenty years *past*, the earth

repente ediderit alios Carthaginienses, an
has all at once produced *a* new *breed of* Carthaginians, or *whether*

sint iidem, qui pugnaverunt ad insulas
they are the same *with those* who fought at the islands

Ægates, et quos emisistis ab Eryce æstimatos
Ægates, and whom you permitted to depart from Eryx, valued

duodevicenis denariis: et utrum hic Hannibal sit,
at eighteen denarii *a head*; and whether this Hannibal be,

ut ipse fert, æmulus itinerum Herculis, an
as he himself gives out, the rival of the expeditions of Hercules, or

relictus a patre vectigalis stipendiariusque
one left by his father the tributary and taxed subject

et servus Romani populi: nisi scelus Saguntinum
and slave of the Roman people; *who*, did not his guilt at Saguntum

quem agitaret, profecto respiceret, si non
drive him to frenzy, would certainly reflect, if not

victam patriam, certe domum patremque
upon his conquered country, at least on his family, and his father,

et fœdera scripta manu Hamilcaris, qui
nd the treaties written by the hand of Hamilcar; who

jussus ab nostro consule deduxit præsidium ab Eryce
upon orders from our consul, withdrew the garrison from Eryx;

qui fremens mœrensque accepit graves leges
who, indignant and grieving, accepted the burdensome conditions

impositas victis Carthaginiensibus; qui pactus est
imposed on the conquered Carthaginians; who agreed

decedens Sicilia dare stipendium Romano populo.
to depart from Sicily *and* pay tribute to the Roman people.

Itaque, milites, ego velim vos pugnare non solum
Wherefore, soldiers, I wish that you may fight, not only

eo animo quo soletis adversus
with that spirit, with which you are wont *to take the field* against

alios hostes, sed cum quidam indignatione atque ira,
other foes, but with a degree of indignation and resentment,

velut si videatis vestros servos repente ferentes arma
as if you saw your own slaves suddenly taking arms

contra vos. Licuit interficere clausos ad Erycem
against you. We might have killed them when shut up at Eryx,

fame, ultimo humanorum supplicio, licuit trajicere
by hunger, the severest of human tortures; we might have carried over

victricem classem in Africam atque intra paucos dies
our victorious fleet to Africa, and in a few days,

sine ullo certamine delere Carthaginem. Precantibus
without opposition, have demolished Carthage. At their supplications

dedimus veniam, emisimus ex obsidione,
we granted pardon; we released *them* from the blockade;

fecimus pacem cum victis, deinde, cum
we made peace with them *when* conquered; afterward, when

urgerentur cum bello Africo, duximus
they were distressed by a war in Africa, we considered *them*

nostræ tutelæ. Pro his impertitis, veniunt,
under our protection. *In return* for these favors, they come,

sequentes furiosum juvenem, oppugnatum
following *the lead of* a hot-brained youth, to invade

nostram patriam. Atque utinam vobis hoc certamen
our country. And I wish that on your side this contest

esset tantum pro decore et non pro salute
was merely for glory, and not for safety.

Non vobis est pugnandum de possessione Siciliæ
You are not to fight about the possession of Sicily

ac Sardiniæ de quibus agebatur quondam, sed
and Sardinia, concerning which the dispute was formerly, but

pro Italia: nec est alius exercitus ab tergo, qui,
in defence of Italy: neither is there another army behind, which,

nisi nos vincimus, obsistat hosti, nec sunt aliæ Alpes,
if we should not conquer, can resist the enemy; nor are there other Alps,

dum quas superant nova præsidia possint comparari.
during their passage over which new forces might be procured.

Hic, milites, est obstandum, velut si pugnemus
Here, soldiers, we must make a stand, as if we were fighting

ante mœnia Romana. Unusquisque putet se protegere
before the walls of Rome. Let every one consider that he is protecting

armis non suum corpus, sed conjugem ac
with his arms, not *only* his own person, but his wife and

parvos liberos; nec agitet solum domesticas curas,
infant children; nor let him entertain solely *his own* domestic concerns,

sed identidem reputet hoc animo, senatum populumque
but frequently revolve [this] in his mind, that the senate and people

Rom um nunc intueri nostras manus; qualis
of Rome now anxiously regard our efforts; *that* according as

nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fore
our strength and valor shall be, such henceforward will be

fortunam illius urbis ac Romanis imperii."
the fortune of that city and of the Roman empire."

XLII.—Hæc consul apud Romanos. Hannibal
Such *words* the consul *addressed* to the Romans. Hannibal,

ratus militibus adhortandos rebus prius quam
considering that his soldiers ought to be roused by deeds rather than

verbis, circumdato exercitu ad spectaculum,
by words, having drawn his army around for the spectacle,

statuit in medio captivos montanos vinctos,
placed in their midst the captive mountaineers bound in fetters:

Gallicisque armis projectis ante eorum pedes,
and *after* Gallic arms *had been* thrown at their feet,

jussit interpretem interrogare, ecquis
he ordered an interpreter to ask, "whether any *among them*

vellet si levaretur vinculis que acciperet
was willing, provided he be released from chains— and receive,

victor equum et arma, decertare ferro.
if victorious, a horse and armor— to combat with the sword?"

Cum omnes ad unum poscerent ferrum pugnamque,
When they all to a man called for the sword and combat,

et sors dejecta esset in id, quisque
and lots were cast *into the urn* for that *purpose*, every one

optabat se eum, quem fortuna legeret in id certamen:
wished himself the person whom fortune might select for the contest;

et, cujusque sors exciderat, cum tripudiis sui moris
while each one, whose lot came out, dancing *according* to their custom,

raptim capiebat arma, alacer, exsultans gaudio
eagerly snatched up the arms, full of spirit, *and* exulting with joy

inter gratulantes. Ubi vero dimicarent,
amid *the* congratulations *of his comrades*. But when they were fighting,

is erat habitus animorum non modo inter homines
such was the state of feeling, not only among their companions

ejusdem conditionis, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo,
in the same circumstances, but [even] among the spectators in general,

ut fortuna vincentium non magis laudaretur,
that the fortune of those who conquered was not praised more

quam bene morientium.
than *that* of those who died bravely.

XLIII.—Cum dimisisset sic affectos
When he had dismissed the *soldiers*, thus affected

spectatis aliquot paribus, inde advocata
after viewing several pairs *of combatants*, having then summoned

concione, fertur locutus apud eos ita:
an assembly, he is said to have spoken to them in the following manner:

"si, milites, mox in æstimanda vestra fortuna
"If, soldiers, you shall by and by, in judging of your own fortune,

habueritis eundem animum, quem habuistis paulo ante
preserve the same feelings which you experienced a moment ago

in exemplo sortis alienæ, vicimus.
in the example of the fate of others, we have *already* conquered;

Enim illud erat neque modo spectaculum, sed
for that was not merely a spectacle, but,

veluti quædam imago vestræ conditionis. Ac nescio
as it were, a certain representation of your own condition. And I know not

an fortuna circumdederit vobis majora vincula
whether fortune has *not* thrown around you *still* stronger bonds

majoresque necessitates quam vestris captivis.
and more urgent necessities than around your prisoners

Dextra lævaque duo maria claudunt, ne habentibus
On the right and left two seas enclose *you*, without your possessing

nullam navem quidem ad effugium; amnis Padus
a single ship even for escape: the river Po

contra— Padus major ac violentior Rhodano,—
in front, the Po larger and more impetuous than the Rhone,

Alpes ab tergo, vix transitæ vobis integris ac vigentibus,
the Alps behind, scarcely passed by you *when* fresh and vigorous,

urgent. Hic, milites, ubi primum occurristis
hem *you* in. Here, soldiers, where you have first met

hosti, est vincendum aut moriendum: et eadem
the enemy, you must conquer or die: and the same

fortuna, quæ imposuit necessitatem pugnandi,
fortune which has imposed the necessity of fighting,

proponit vobis victoribus ea præmia, quibus
holds out to you, *if* victorious, rewards, than which

nomines ne solent optare ampliora quidem ab
men are not wont to desire greater, even from

immortalibus diis. Si nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus
the immortal gods. Were we, by our bravery, to recover

tantum Siciliam ac Sardiniam, ereptas nostris parentibus,
only Sicily and Sardinia, wrested from our fathers,

pretia tamen essent satis ampla: quidquid
the recompense would [still] be sufficiently ample: *but* whatever,

partum congestumque tot triumphis Romani possident
acquired and amassed by so many triumphs, the Romans possess,—

id omne cum ipsis dominis vestrum futurum est.
all, with its masters themselves, will become yours.

In hanc tam opimam mercedem agite, capite arma
To *gain* this very excellent reward, hasten, *then*, *and* seize your arms

cum bene juvantibus diis. Satis adhuc consectando
with the favorable assistance of the gods. Long enough in pursuing

pecora in vastis montibus Lusitaniæ Celtiberiæque
cattle among the desert mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia,

vidistis nullum emolumentum tot laborum
you have seen no emolument from so many toils

periculorumque: tempus est jam vos facere ditia
and dangers: the time is now *come* *for* you to make rich

ac opulenta stipendia, et emensos tantum itineris
and profitable campaigns, and, *after* measuring such a length of way

per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes,
through so many mountains and rivers, and so many armed nations,

mereri magna pretia operæ. Hic fortuna
to reap abundant reward for your labor. Here fortune

dedit vobis terminum laborum, hic
has granted you the termination of your toils; here,

emeritis stipendiis dabit dignam mercedem.
on your finishing your *course of* service, will she give *you* due retribution.

Nec existimaritis victoriam fore tam difficilem, quam
And do not imagine that the victory will be as difficult as

nominis bellum magni est: Sæpe et contemptus
the character of the war is important. Often has a despised

hostis edidit cruentum certamen, et inclyti populi
enemy maintained a bloody contest, and renowned nations

regesque victi sunt perlevi momento. Nam,
and kings been vanquished by a very slight effort; for,

dempto uno hoc fulgore Romani nominis,
setting aside singly the present splendor of the Roman name,

quid est, cur illi comparandi sint vobis ?
what remains in which they can be compared to us ?

Ut taceam vestram militiam viginti annorum
To pass over in silence your service, for *the last* twenty years,

cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna,
performed with so great bravery and so great success,

pervenistis huc ab columnis Herculis,
you have made your way to this place from the pillars of Hercules,

ab Oceano ultimisque terminis terrarum, vincentes
from the ocean, and the remotest limits of the world, *advancing* victorious

per tot ferocissimos populos Hispaniæ et Galliæ
through so many *of the* fiercest nations of Spain and Gaul.

pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone,
You will *now* fight with an army of raw troops, *which*

hac ipsa æstate cæso, victo, circumsesso
during this very summer *was* beaten, routed, *and* besieged

a Gallis, adhuc ignoto suo duci ignorantique
by the Gauls,— *an army* as yet unknown to its general, and *itself* ignorat

ducem. An prope natum, certe eductum,
of the commander. Shall *I*, if not born, at least educated,

in prætorio clarissimi imperatoris patris,
in the *very* tent of that most illustrious general my father ;

domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque, victorem eundem
/ the subjugator of Spain and Gaul ; the conqueror, likewise,

non modo Alpinarum gentium sed— quod est
not only of the Alpine tribes, but, what is

multo majus— Alpium ipsarum me conferam
much more, of the Alps themselves ; shall I compare myself

cum hoc semestri duce, desertore sui exercitus ? cui
with this six-months' general, a deserter from his own army ? to whom,

si quis demptis signis ostendat hodie
if anyone, taking away the ensigns *from both*, should show this day

Pœnos Romanosque, habeo certum ignoraturum,
he Carthaginians and Romans, I am sure that he would not know

utrius exercitus sit consul. Ipse, milites,
of which army he was consul. *As for* myself, soldiers,

ego non æstimo illud parvi, quod est nemo vestrum,
I do not regard it *as* of small account, that there is not one of you

ante cujus oculos non sæpe ediderim aliquod
before whose eyes I have not often achieved some

militare facinus, cui idem ego non possim
military exploit; *and* to whom, on the other hand, I cannot,

spectator ac testis virtutis referre
as having been a spectator and witness of his bravery, recount

sua decora notata temporibus locisque.
his own honorable *acts* *with* the marks of time and place.

Cum millies laudatis a me
With *soldiers* *who have* a thousand times *been* honored by me with praises

donatisque, alumnus vestrum omnium prius quam
and presents, I, *who was* a pupil to you all before

imperator, procedam in aciem adversus
I became your commander, will enter the field against men

ignorantes ignotosque inter se.
unknowing and unknown to each other.

XLIV.—"Quocumque circumtuli oculos, video
"On whatever side I turn my eyes, I observe

omnia plena animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem,
that every thing *is* full of spirit and firmness; a veteran infantry;

equites frenatos infrenatosque generosissimarum
cavalry, *both* with and without the bridle, *composed* of the most gallant

gentium, vos fidelissimos fortissimosque socios,
nations; you, *our* most faithful and valiant allies,

vos Carthaginienses pugnaturos cum ob patriam
and you, Carthaginians, ready to fight as well for the sake of your country

tum ob justissimam iram. Inferimus bellum,
as from the justest resentment. We *are* the assailants *in* the war,

descendimusque in Italiam infestis signis, pugnaturi
and descend in o Italy with hostile standards; *and we* shall fight

tanto audacius fortiusque, quanto major spes, animus
so much more boldly and bravely, as the confidence *and* courage

inferentis major est quam arcentis.
of the attacking *party* are greater than *those* of the defensive.

Præterea dolor, injuria, indignitas accendit
Besides suffering, injury *and* indignity inflame

et stimulat animos: primum depoposcerunt me
and stimulate our spirits; *for*, first, they demanded me

ducem ad supplicium, deinde omnes vos
your leader for punishment; and then, all of you

qui oppugnassetis Saguntum: deditos
who had laid siege to Saguntum. *Had we been* given up,

affecturi fuerunt ultimis cruciatibus. Crudelissima
they would have visited us with the severest tortures. *That* supremely cruel

ac superbissima gens facit omnia sua
and arrogant nation considers everything its own,

suique arbitrii: censet æquum se imponere modum
and at its own disposal; thinks it right that it should prescribe

cum quibus habeamus bellum, cum quibus pacem:
with whom we are to have war, with whom, peace:

circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium
circumscribes and shuts us up by the boundaries of mountains

fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque observat
and rivers, which we must not pass; *yet* observes not *itself*

eos terminos quos statuit. 'Ne transieris Iberum
the limits which it establishes. 'Pass not the Iberus, *they say*

tibi sit ne quid rei cum Saguntinis.' Saguntum est
have nothing *to do* with the Saguntines.' *But* Saguntum is

ad Iberum: 'te moveris vestigio nusquam!'
on (*not across*) the Iberus: 'you must not move a step in any direction.'

Parum est quod adimis meas veterrimas provincias
Is it a small thing that you take away my most ancient provinces

Siciliam ac Sardiniam? Etiam Hispanias?
Sicily and Sardinia? *Will you take* Spain also?

et inde cessero: transcendes in Africam:
and should I withdraw thence, you will cross over into Africa—

Transcendes autem dico? miserunt duos consules
will cross, did I say? they have sent the two consuls

hujus anni unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam.
of this year one to Africa, the other to Spain.

Nihil relictum est nobis unquam, nisi quod
There is nothing left to us any where, except what

vindicaremus armis. Illis licet esse timidis
we can assert to ourselves by arms. Those may be cowards

et ignavis, qui habent respectum, quos
and dastards who have *something* to look back upon whom,

fugientes per tuta ac pacata itinera suus ager,
flying through safe and unmolested roads, their own lands

sua terra accipient: necesse est vobis esse
and their own country will receive: there is a necessity for you to be

fortibus viris, et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve
brave [men]; and *since* all between victory and death

abruptis certa desperatione, aut vincere aut,
is broken off *from you* by inevitable despair, either to conquer or,

si fortuna dubitabit, oppetere mortem in prœlio
if fortune should waver, to meet death in battle

potius quam in fuga. Si hoc bene fixum est
rather than in flight. If this be well fixed

destinatumque in animo omnibus, dicam iterum,
and determined in the minds of you all, I affirm again,

vicistis: enim nullum acrius telum datum est
you are conquerors. For never keener weapon was given

ab immortalibus diis homini ad vincendum."
by the immortal gods to man for *the achievement of* victory."

XLV.—Animi militum utrimque cum accensi essent
The courage of the soldiers on both sides being animated

ad certamen iis adhortationibus, Romani
to the contest by these exhortations, the Romans

jungunt ponte Ticinum, causaque tutandi pontis
throw a bridge over the Ticinus, and, for the sake of defending the bridge,

imponunt castellum insuper; hostibus occupatis
erect a fort on it. *While* the enemy *was* employed

opere Pœnus mittit Maharbalem cum
in *this* work, the Carthaginian sends Maharbal with

ala, quingentis Numidarum equitibus, ad
a squadron of five hundred Numidian horse, to

depopulandos agros sociorum Romani populi:
ravage the lands of the allies of the Roman people.

jubet Gallis parci quam maxime,
He *gives* orders that the Gauls should be spared as much as possible.

animosque principum sollicitari ad defectionem.
and the minds of their chiefs be instigated to a revolt.

Ponte perfecto Romanus exercitus traductus
The bridge completed, the Roman army *was* led across

in agrum Insubrium, consedit quinque millia passuum
into the country of the Insubrians, *and* took up its station five miles

a Victumulis. Ibi Hannibal habebat castra
from Victumulæ. At this place Hannibal lay encamped;

propereque revocato Maharbali atque equitibus,
and having quickly recalled Maharbal and the horsemen,

cum cerneret certamen instare, ratus
when he perceived that a battle was approaching, thinking that,

ad cohortandos milites satis nihil unquam dictum
for encouraging the soldiers, enough could never be spoken

præmonitumque, pronuntiat vocatis
or addressed *by way of* admonition, he announces to them *when* summoned

ad concionem certa præmia, in spem quorum
to an assembly, stated rewards, in expectation of which

pugnarent: sese daturum agrum in Italia,
they might fight: "he would give them land," *he told them*, "in Italy,

Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit,
Africa, *or* Spain, where-*ever* each one should choose

immunem ipsi qui accepisset
exempt from *all* charges to the person who should receive *it*,

liberisque: qui maluisset pecuniam quam agrum
and to his children: should any prefer money to land,

se satisfacturum ei argento; qui sociorum
he would satisfy him in silver; *to* those of the allies who

vellent fieri cives Carthaginienses, facturum potestatem;
wished to become citizens of Carthage, he would grant *that* privilege;

qui mallent redire domos se daturum operam,
as to those who chose rather to return home, he would take care

ne vellent fortunam cujus suorum popularium
that they should not wish the situation of any one of their countrymen

mutatam esse secum. Servis quoque prosecutis
exchanged for their own." To the slaves also *who* attended

dominos proponit libertatem, que se redditurum
their masters he promised freedom, and that he would give

dominis bina mancipia pro his. Utque scirent
the owners two slaves in the room of *each of* these. And that they might know

ea fore rata, retinens læva manu agnum,
that these *promises* were certain, holding in his left hand a lamb,

dextera silicem, precatus Jovem ceterosque deos
and in his right a flint-stone, he prayed to Jupiter and the other gods, that,

si falleret, se mactarent ita, quemadmodum
he was false *to his word*, they would slay him in like manner as

ipse mactasset agnum, et secundum precationem
he slew the lamb; and after *this* imprecation

elisit pecudis caput saxo. Tum vero omnes—
he broke the animal's head with the stone. Then in truth all,

acceptis velut diis auctoribus quisque
receiving, as it were, the gods *as* sureties, each

in suam spem— rati id moræ
for *the fulfilment of* his own hopes, *and* thinking that the only delay

ad potienda sperata, quod
in obtaining *the object of* their wishes *arose* because

nondum pugnarent, uno animo et una voce
of their not yet being engaged, with one mind and one voice

poscunt prœlium.
demanded the battle.

XLVI.—Haudquaquam tanta alacritas
By no means so great an alacrity

erat apud Romanos, super cetera
prevailed among the Romans, *who*, besides other *matters*, *were*

etiam territos recentibus prodigiis: nam et lupus
also alarmed by recent prodigies; for [both] a wolf

intraverat castra, laniatisque obviis ipse evaserat
had entered the camp, and *after* tearing those *he* met made his escape

intactus, et examen apum consederat in arbore
unhurt; and a swarm of bees had pitched on a tree

imminente prætorio. Procuratis quibus,
overhanging the *general's* tent. After expiating these *prodigies*,

Scipio profectus cum equitatu expeditisque jaculatoribus
Scipio, having set out with his cavalry and light-armed spearmen

ad castra hostium *ad* speculandasque ex propinquo
towards the camp of the enemy, to observe from a near point

copias, quantæ et cujus generis essent,
their forces, how numerous, and of what description they were,

fit obvius Hannibali et ipsi progresso cum
was met by Hannibal *who had* himself also advanced with

equitibus ad exploranda circa loca. Neutri primo
his cavalry to reconnoitre the adjacent grounds. Neither at first

cernebant alteros; deinde pulvis oriens densior
descried the other: *but* afterwards the dust, arising *in* thicker

incessu tot hominum equorumque fuit signum
clouds by the moving of so many men and horses, gave notice

propinquantium hostium. Utrumque agmen consistit
of approaching enemies. Both detachments halted,

et sese expediebant ad prœlium: Scipio locat
and were preparing themselves for battle. Scipio places

jaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte, Romanos
his spearmen and Gallic cavalry in front; the Romans

quodque roboris sociorum fuit in subsidiis:
and what force of allies was *at hand*, in reserve.

Hannibal accipit frenatos equites in medium,
Hannibal draws the bridled cavalry into the centre,

firmat cornua Numidis. Clamore
and strengthens his wings with Numidians. *When* the shout

vixdum sublato jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia
was scarcely raised, the spearmen fled among the reserve

ad secundam aciem: inde erat certamen equitum
to the second line: then there was a conflict of the cavalry,

aliquamdiu anceps: dein, quia pedites
for some time doubtful; *but* afterward, on account of the footmen,

intermixti equos turbabant, multis
intermixed *with them*, throwing the horses into confusion, many

labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus,
of the riders falling from their horses, or dismounting

ubi vidissent suos circumventos premi, pugna
where they saw their *friends* surrounded *and* hard pressed, the battle

ex magna parte jam venerat ad pedes, donec
for the most part now came *to be fought* on foot: until

Numidæ, qui erant in cornibus paulum circumvecti
the Numidians, who were in the wings, having made a small circuit,

se ostenderunt ab tergo. Is pavor perculit Romanos,
showed themselves on the rear. That alarm dismayed the Romans,

vulnusque consulis periculumque propulsatum
and the wound of the consul, and the danger *to his life*, warded off

intercursu filii tum primum pubescentis
by the interposition of his son, then just *arriving at* the age of maturity

auxit pavorem. Hic erat juvenis quem laus
augmented their fears. This is the *same* youth *to* whom the renown

perfecti hujusce belli penes est appellatus Africanus
of terminating this war belongs, *and who* was styled Africanus,

ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Pœnisque.
on account of his glorious victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

Fuga tamen jaculatorum, quos Numidæ invaserunt
The flight, however, of the spearmen, whom the Numidians attacked

primos, fuit maxime effusa. Alius equitatus
first, was the most disorderly. The rest of the cavalry,

confertus, protegens non modo armis sed etiam
in a close body, protecting, not only with their arms, but also

suis corporibus consulem acceptum in medium,
with their bodies, the consul *whom they had* taken into the centre,

reduxit in castra nusquam cedendo
brought *him* back to the camp without anywhere giving way

trepide neque effuse. Cœlius delegat decus
in disorder or precipitation. Cœlius attributes the honor

servati consulis ad servum natione Ligurem:
of saving the consul to a slave, by nation a Ligurian.

equidem malim de filio esse verum,
For my part I should rather wish *that the account* about the son was true,

quod et plures auctores tradidere et fama
which also most authors have transmitted, and the report *of which*

obtinuit.
has obtained *general credit*.

XLVII.—Hoc fuit primum prœlium cum
This was the first battle with

Hannibale; quo facile apparuit et Pœnum
Hannibal; in which it clearly appeared that the Carthaginian

esse meliorem equitatu, et ob id patentes campos,
was superior in cavalry; and, consequently, that open plains,

quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, esse non aptos
such as lie between the Po and the Alps, were not suited

Romanis gerendo bello. Proxima nocte
to the Romans for carrying on the war. On the following nigh

itaque, militibus jussis colligere vasa silentio,
therefore, the soldiers being ordered to prepare their baggage in silence,

castra mota ab Ticino festinatumque est ad Padum.
the camp broke up from the Ticinus, and they hastened to the Po,

ut ratibus, quibus junxerat
in order that, the rafts, by which *the consul* had formed *a bridge over*

flumen, nondum resolutis, trajiceret copias
the river, being not yet loosened, he might carry over his forces

sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis. Pervenere
without tumult or pursuit of the enemy. They arrived

Placentiam prius quam Hannibal satis sciret
at Placentia before Hannibal had certain information of

profectos ab Ticino. Tamen cepit
their departure from the Ticinus. Nevertheless he made prisoners

ad sexcentos moratorum in citeriore ripa,
six hundred *men*, *who* delayed on the hither bank,

segniter solventes ratem. Non potuit transire
and were slowly unbinding the raft. He could not pass over

pontem ut extrema resoluta erant,
the bridge, *however*, *for*, as soon as the extremities were untied

tota rate labente in secundam aquam. Cœlius
the whole *collection of* rafts floated down the stream. Cœlius

auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis
relates that Mago, with the cavalry and the Spanish

peditibus extemplo transnasse flumen, Hannibalem
infantry, immediately swam over the river; *and* that Hannibal

ipsum traduxisse exercitum per vada superiora Padi,
himself led over the *rest of the* army, through fords higher up the Po,

elephantis oppositis in ordinem ad sustinendum
the elephants being opposed *to the stream* in a line to break

impetum fluminis. Ea vix fecerint fidem
the force of the current. These *accounts* can hardly gain credit

peritis ejus amnis; nam est neque verisimile
with *people* acquainted with that river; for it is not probable

equites superasse tantam vim fluminis
that the cavalry could bear up against the great violence of the stream,

salvis armis equisque, ut jam
without losing their arms and horses, even allowing

utres inflati transvexerint omnes Hispanos;
that leathern bags inflated had transported all the Spaniards;

et vada Padi, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis
and the fords of the Po, by which an army encumbered with baggage

posset traduci, fuerint petenda circuitu
could make a passage, must have been sought by a circuit

multorum dierum. Auctores sunt potiores apud me,
of many days' *march*. *Those* authors are more credited by me,

qui tradunt vix biduo locum inventum
who relate that, with difficulty, after two days' *search*, a place was found

rate jungendo flumini; ea
where *a bridge of* rafts could be thrown across the river; *and that* over this

expeditos Hispanorum equites præmissos
the light-armed Spanish cavalry was sent forward

cum Magone. Dum Hannibal moratus circa flumen
under Mago. Whilst Hannibal delaying beside the river,

audiendis legationibus Gallorum, trajicit
to give audience to the embassies of the Gauls, was bringing over

gravius agmen peditum, interim Mago
the heavy-armed forces of infantry, in the mean time Mago

equitesque contendunt ad hostes Placentiam
and his horsemen proceed towards the enemy at Placentia

unius diei itinere ab transitu fluminis. Hannibal
one day's journey after passing the river. Hannibal

paucis diebus post communivit castra sex millia
a few days after fortified a camp six miles

a Placentia, et postero die, directa acie
from Placentia, and next day, drawing up his forces

in hostium conspectu, fecit potestatem pugnæ.
in the enemy's view, gave *them* an opportunity of fighting.

XLVIII.—Nocte insequenti cædes facta est
On the night following a slaughter was made

in Romanis castris ab auxiliaribus Gallis, tamen
in the Roman camp by the auxiliary Gauls, *which* however

major tumultu quam re. Ad
appeared greater from the tumult than *it proved* in reality. [About]

duo millia peditum et ducenti equites, trucidatis
two thousand infantry and two hundred horse having killed

vigilibus ad portas, transfugiunt ad Hannibalem;
the guards at the gates, desert to Hannibal;

quos Pœnus allocutus benigne, et accensos
whom the Carthaginian, having addressed kindly, and animated

spe ingentium donorum, dimisit quemque
by the prospect of vast rewards, dismissed each

in suas civitates ad sollicitandos animos popularium.
to their *respective* states to gain over the minds of their countrymen.

Scipio, ratus eam cædem esse signum defectionis
Scipio, thinking that this outrage was a signal for the revolt

omnium Gallorum, contactosque eo scelere
of all the Gauls, and that, contaminated by that foul deed,

ituros ad arma velut rabie injecta,
they would rush to arms as if a frenzy *had been* sent among *them*,

quamquam erat adhuc gravis vulnere,— tamen
though he was still much distressed by *reason of* his wound, yet

profectus ad fluvium Trebiam quarta vigilia
setting out for the river Trebia at the fourth watch

insequentis noctis agmine tacito, jam movet
of the following night with his army in silence, [now] removes

castra in altiora loca collesque impeditiores equiti.
his camp to higher ground and *to* hills more embarrassing to the cavalry

Fefellit minus quam ad Ticinum; Hannibalque
He escaped observation less than at the Ticinus; and Hannibal,

missis primum Numidis deinde omni equitatu
sending on first the Numidians, and then all the cavalry,

turbasset utique novissimum agmen,
would have thrown into confusion at least the rear of the army,

ni Numidæ aviditate prædæ devertissent
had not the Numidians, out of their greediness for plunder, turned aside

in vacua castra Romana. Ibi dum, perscrutantes
into the forsaken camp of the Romans. There whilst, closely examining

omnia loca castrorum, terunt tempus,
every part of the camp, they waste time,

nullo satis digno pretio moræ, hostis
with no adequate recompense for the delay, the enemy

emissus est de manibus; et cum conspexissent Romanos
slipped out of their hands; and when they saw the Romans

jam transgressos Trebiam metantesque castra,
already across the Trebia, and measuring out their camp.

occiderunt paucos moratorum interceptos citra flumen.
they kill a few of the loiterers intercepted on that side of the river.

Scipio nec patiens ultra vexationem vulneris
Scipio unable to endure any longer the irritation of his wound

in jactanti via, et ratus exspectandum
in *travelling over* the jolting road, and thinking that he ought to wait for

collegam— enim et jam audierat revocatum
his colleague, (for he had now heard that he was recalled

ex Sicilia— communiit locum delectum, qui
from Sicily,) fortified a space of chosen ground which,

prope flumen visus est tutissimus stativis. Cum
being near the river, seemed safest for a fixed station. When

Hannibal consedisset nec procul inde, quantum elatus
Hannibal had taken post not far from thence, being as much elated

victoria equestri, tantum anxius inopia,
with the victory of his cavalry, as *he was* full of anxiety about the scarcity

quæ in dies excipiebat major, euntem
which every day assailed *him* more severely, marching *as he did*

per hostium agros, commeatibus nusquam præparatis,
through an enemy's country, *and* supplies being nowhere provided,

mittit ad vicum Clastidium, quo Romani
he sends to the village *of* Clastidium, where the Romans

congesserant magnum numerum frumenti. Ibi
had collected a large store of corn. There,

cum pararent vim spes proditionis
whilst they were preparing for an assault, the hope of a betrayal *of the town*

facta; Dasio Brundisino præfecto præsidii
was held out *to them*: Dasius, a Brundusian, the governor of the garrison,

corrupto quadringentis nummis aureis
having been corrupted for four hundred pieces of gold,

nec magno pretio sane, Clastidium traditur
(not a large bribe by any means,) Clastidium is surrendered

Hannibali. Id fuit horreum Pœnis
to Hannibal. This served *as* a granary for the Carthaginians

sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos
while encamped on the Trebia. Towards the prisoners

ex tradito præsidio nihil sævitum est,
of the surrendered garrison, no harsh treatment was *observed*,

ut fama clementiæ colligeretur
in order that a character for clemency might be acquired

in principio rerum.
at the commencement of *his* proceedings.

XLIX.—Cum bellum terrestre constitisset
While the war by land was at a stand

ad Trebiam, interim res gestæ terra marique
beside the Trebia, in the mean time operations went on by land and sea

circa Siciliam insulasque imminentes Italiæ,
in and around Sicily and the *other* islands adjacent to Italy,

et a Sempronio consule, et ante ejus adventum.
both under Sempronius the consul, and before his arrival.

Viginti quinqueremes missæ a Carthaginiensibus cum
Of twenty quinqueremes, sent by the Carthaginians with

mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiæ,
one thousand soldiers, to ravage the coast of Italy,

novem tenuerunt Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani,
nine arrived at Liparæ, eight at the island of Vulcan,

tres æstus avertit in fretum. Ad eas conspectas
and three the tide drove into the strait. On these being seen

a Messana duodecim naves missæ ab Hierone rege
from Messana, twelve ships were despatched by Hiero king

Syracusanorum, qui forte erat tum Messanæ,
of Syracuse, who happened to be then at Messana,

opperiens Romanum consulem, deduxerunt naves
waiting for the Roman consul, *and* they brought the vessels

in portum Messanam captas nullo repugnante.
into port to Messana, having captured *them* without any resistance.

Cognitum ex captivis, præter viginti naves,
It was discovered from the prisoners, that, besides the twenty ships,

cujus classis ipsi essent missas in Italiam,
to which fleet they belonged, *and which* had been despatched against Italy,

quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes petere Siciliam
thirty-five other quinqueremes were on their way to Sicily

ad sollicitandos veteres socios: præcipuam curam esse
to gain over their ancient allies: that their main object was

occupandi Lilybæi; credere quoque eam classem
the getting possession of Lilybæum, and they believed that that fleet

dejectam ad insulas Ægates eadem tempestate,
had been driven to the islands Ægates by the same storm

qua ipsi disjecti forent. Hæc, sicut
by which they themselves had been dispersed. These *tidings*, just as

audita erant, rex præscribit M. Æmilio
they had been received, the king communicates to Marcus Æmilius

prætori cujus provincia Sicilia erat, monetque,
the prætor, whose province Sicily was, and advises *him*

ut teneret Lilybæum firmo præsidio. Extemplo et
to occupy Lilybæum with a strong garrison. Immediately [too]

legati tribunique circa prætorem
the lieutenant-generals and tribunes, *who were* with the prætor,

missi ad civitates: intenderent suos
were sent *off* to the *several* states, *with orders to* keep their *men*

ad curam custodiæ; ante omnia Lilybæum
on vigilant guard; *that*, above all things, Lilybæum

teneri; edicto proposito, ut,
should be secured: a proclamation having been published that

ad paratum belli, socii navales deferrent
in addition to *such* preparation for war, the crews should carry dow

ad naves cocta cibaria decem dierum, ne quis, ubi
to their ships dressed provisions for ten days, so that no one, when

signum datum esset, faceret moram conscendendi;
the signal was given, might delay in embarking;

perque omnem oram, qui
and *that*, along the whole coast, these *stationed*

ex speculis prospicerent adventantem classem
at the watch-towers should look out for the approaching fleet

hostium. Simul itaque Carthaginienses, quamquam
of the enemy. As soon, therefore, as the Carthaginians, (though

de industria morati erant cursum navium, ut
they had purposely slackened the course of their ships, so that

accederent Lilybæum ante lucem,
they might reach Lilybæum *just* before daybreak,)

præsensum est tamen, quia et luna erat pernox,
were descried notwithstanding; because both the moon shone all night,

et veniebant armamentis sublatis, signum
and they came with their sails set up, the signal

extemplo datum ex speculis, et ad arma
was instantly given from the watch towers, and *the summons* to arms

conclamatum est in oppido, et conscensum in naves.
was shouted through the town, and they embarked in the ships:

Pars militum in muris inque stationibus
one half of the soldiers *were left* on the walls and at the stations

portarum, pars erant in navibus. Et
of the gates, the other were on *board* the fleet. On the other hand

Carthaginienses, quia cernebant rem
the Carthaginians, because they perceived that the encounter

haud fore cum imparatis, se abstinuerunt
would not be with *an* unprepared *enemy*, kept back

portu usque ad lucem, eo tempore absumpto
from the harbor until daylight, that interval being spent

demendis armamentis aptandaque classe ad pugnam.
in taking down their rigging and getting ready the fleet for action.

Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut
When day came, they drew back their fleet into the *open* sea, that

esset spatium pugnæ, navesque hostium
there might be room for the battle, and *that* the ships of the enemy

haberent liberum exitum e portu. Nec Romani
might have a free egress from the harbor. Nor did the Romans

detractavere pugnam, freti et memoria
decline an engagement, *being* emboldened both by the recollection

gestarum rerum circa ea ipsa loca et multitudine
of their *former* successes near that very spot, and by the numbers

ac virtute militum.
and valor of their soldiers.

L.—Ubi evecti sunt in altum, Romanu
When they got into the *open* sea, the Romans

velle conserere pugnam et conferre vires
showed a desire to come to close fight, and to make a trial of strength

ex propinquo: Pœnus contra
hand to hand. The Carthaginians, on the other hand,

malle eludere, et gerere rem arte, non vi,
wished to elude *them*, and to effect the business by skill, not by force,

facereque certamen navium quam virorum
and to make it a contest of ships *rather* than of men

aut armorum. Nam ut habebant classem
or arms: for though they had their fleet

affatim instructam sociis navalibus, ita inopem
abundantly supplied with mariners, yet *it was* deficient

milite; et, sicubi navis conserta esset
in soldiers; and when a ship was grappled,

haudquaquam par numerus armatorum pugnabat
a very unequal number of armed men fought

ex ea. Ubi quod animadversum est et sua
on *board of* it. When this was observed, [both] their

multitudo auxit animum Romanis, et
fulness of number increased the courage of the Romans, and

paucitas minuit illis: septem Punicæ naves
their fewness diminished *that of* the others. Seven Carthaginian ships

extemplo circumventæ, ceteræ ceperunt fugam. I
were immediately surrounded; the rest took to flight. In

captis navibus milites nautæque
the captured ships, *there were of* soldiers and mariners

mille et septingenti, in his tres nobiles
one thousand seven hundred, among them three noble

Carthaginiensium. Romana classis rediit incolumis
Carthaginians The Roman fleet returned without loss

in portum una navi tantum perforata, sed ea ipsa
to the harbor, one ship only being pierced, and even that

quoque reduce. Secundam hanc pugnam—
also brought *into port.* After this engagement,

qui Messanæ erant nondum gnaris ejus—
while those at Messana were still uninformed of it,

Tib. Sempronius consul venit Messanam. Ei intranti
Tiberius Sempronius the consul arrived at Messana. On his entering

fretum rex Hiero classem armatam ornatamque
the strait, King Hiero, *with* a fleet completely equipped,

duxit obviam, transgressusque
sailed out to meet *him,* and having passed

ex regia in navem prætoriam, gratulatus
from the royal ship into *that of* the general, he congratulated *him*

advenisse sospitem cum navibus et exercitu,
on having arrived safe with his ships and army,

precatusque transitum in Siciliam prosperum ac
and prayed that his expedition to Sicily *might be* prosperous and

felicem: deinde exposuit statum insulæ et
happy: he then represented *to him* the state of the island and

conata Carthaginiensium, pollicitusque est,
the designs of the Carthaginians, and promised that,

eo animo, quo juvenis adjuvisset
with the same spirit with which he had in his youth supported

Romanum populum priore bello, adjuturum
the Roman people during the former war, he would *now* assist *them*

senem, sese gratis præbiturum frumentum
in his old age; that he would gratuitously furnish *supplies of* corn

vestimentaque legionibus navalibusque sociis
and clothing to the legions and naval crews

consulis: grande periculum esse Lilybæo
of the consul; *adding* that great danger was *threatening* Lilybæum

maritimisque civitatibus, et novas res fore
and the maritime states, and that a revolution would be

volentibus quibusdam. Ob hæc visum consuli
acceptable to some *of them.* For these *reasons* it appeared to the consul

nihil cunctandum, quin peteret Lilybæum
that *he* ought to make no delay but to repair to Lilybæum

classe: et rex regiaque classis profecti una.
with his fleet: [and] the king and royal squadron set out along with *him*.

Inde navigantes accipere pugnatum
After being on the sail they learned that there had been a battle

ad Lilybæum hostiumque naves fusas et captas.
at Lilybæum, and that the enemy's ships had been scattered and taken.

LI.—A Lilybæo consul, dimisso Hierone
From Lilybæum the consul, after dismissing Hiero

cum regia classe, relictoque prætore ad tuendam oram
with the royal fleet, and leaving the prætor to defend the coast

Siciliæ, ipse trajecit in insulam Melitam, quæ
of Sicily, himself passed over to the island *of* Melita, which

tenebatur a Carthaginiensibus: advenienti
was held *in possession* by the Carthaginians. On his arrival,

Hamilcar filius Gisgonis, præfectus præsidii,
Hamilcar, the son of Gisgo, commander of the garrison,

cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum,
with little less than two thousand soldiers,

oppidumque cum insula traditur.
and the town *together* with the island, are delivered up *to him*.

Inde reditum post paucos dies Lilybæum,
From thence he returned, after a few days, to Lilybæum,

captivique et a consule et a prætore,
and the prisoners *taken*, both by the consul and by the prætor,

præter viros insignes nobilitate, venierunt sub corona.
except persons illustrious for their rank, were sold at auction.

Postquam consul censebat Siciliam satis tutam
When the consul considered that Sicily *was* sufficiently secured

ab ea parte, trajecit ad insulas Vulcani, quia
on that side, he crossed over to the islands of Vulcan, because

erat fama Punicam classem stare ibi,
there was a report that the Carthaginian fleet was stationed there.

nec quisquam hostium inventus circa eas insulas.
but not one of the enemy was discovered about those islands.

Forte jam transmiserant ad vastandam oram
As it happened, they had already passed over to ravage the coast

Italiæ, depopulatoque agro Viboniensi,
of Italy, and having laid waste the territory of Vibo

etiam terrebant urbem. Exscensio facta hostium
were also threatening the city. *This* descent made by the enemy

in Viboniensem agrum nuntiatur consuli
on the Vibonensian territory was announced to the consul

repetenti Siciliam; litteræque traduntur
as he was returning to Sicily; and letters were delivered *to him*,

missæ ab senatu de transitu Hannibalis
that had been forwarded by the senate, about the passage of Hannibal

in Italiam, et ut ferret auxilium
into Italy, and *containing orders* that he should bring assistance

collegæ primo quoque tempore. Anxius
to his colleague at his very earliest opportunity. Perplexed

multis curis simul, extemplo misit exercitum
with *having so* many anxieties at once, he instantly sent his army,

impositum in naves supero mari Ariminum,
embarked in the fleet, by the upper sea to Ariminum

attribuit tuendam agrum Viboniensem
assigned the defence of the territory of Vibo

maritimamque oram Italiæ Sexto Pomponio
and the sea-coast of Italy, to Sextus Pomponius,

legato cum viginti quinque navibus longis,
his lieutenant-general, with twenty-five ships of war;

explevit classem quinquaginta navium prætori
made up a fleet of fifty sail for the prætor

M. Æmilio: ipse compositis rebus Siciliæ
Marcus Æmilius; *and* he himself after settling the affairs of Sicily,

legens oram Italiæ decem navibus, pervenit
coasting along the shore of Italy with ten ships, arrived

Ariminum; inde profectus cum suo exercitu
at Ariminum, whence he set out with his army

ad flumen Trebiam conjungitur collegæ.
for the river Trebia, *and* formed a junction with his colleague.

LII.—Jam ambo consules, et quidquid erat
And now both the consuls and the whole

Romanarum virium oppositum Hannibali
of the Roman strength being opposed to Hannibal

satis declarabat aut Romanum imperium
made it sufficiently obvious either that the Roman empire

posse defendi illis copiis aut nullam aliam spem
could be defended by those forces, or that no other hope

esse. Tamen alter consul minutus
was *left*. Nevertheless the one consul being dispirited

uno prœlio equestri et suo vulnere, malebat
by the late battle of the cavalry, and his own wound, wished

rem trahi: alter recentis animi
operations to be deferred; *while* the other, *still* unsubdued of spirit

eoque ferocior patiebatur nullam dilationem.
and on that account the more impetuous, was impatient of any delay.

Galli tum incolebant quod agri
Gallic *tribes* at that time inhabited *the tract* of country that

est inter Trebiam Padumque, in certamine
lies between the Trebia and the Po, *who* in *this* contest

duorum præpotentium populorum per ambiguum
of two such potent nations, by a doubtful

favorem haud dubie spectantes gratiam victoris.
neutrality, *were* evidently looking forward to the favor of the conqueror.

Romani id æquo satis, modo
The Romans *regarded* this *conduct* composedly enough, provided

ne quid moverint, Pœnus ferebat
they took no active part at all; *but* the Carthaginian bore *it*

periniquo animo dictitans se venisse accitum
with great discontent, giving out that he had come invited

ab Gallis ad eos liberandos. Ob eam iram
by the Gauls to set them at liberty. On account of that resentment,

ut simul aleret militem
and in order that he might at the same time maintain his troops,

præda, jussit duo millia peditum et
with plunder, he ordered two thousand foot an

mille equites plerosque Numidas, quosdam et Gallos
one thousand horse mostly Numidians, *with* some Gauls

mixtos populari omnem agrum deinceps usque
intermixed, to ravage the whole country from thence onward

ad ripas Padi. Galli egentes ope,
to the banks of the Po. The Gauls, destitute of support.

cum ad id servassent animos dubios,
though they had hitherto kept their inclinations doubtful,

coacti ab auctoribus injuriæ declinant
being *now* compelled by the authors of the injury, turn

ad futuros vindices, missisque legatis
to *those* who would be their avengers; and having sent ambassadors

ad consulem orant auxilium Romanorum terræ
to the consul, they implore the protection of the Romans for a country

laboranti ob nimiam fidem cultorum
which was suffering for the too great fidelity of its inhabitants

in Romanos. Nec causa nec tempus agendæ rei
towards the Romans. Neither the cause nor the time of pleading it

placebat Cornelio; gensque erat suspecta ei
was satisfactory to Cornelius; and the nation was suspected by him

cum ob multa infida facinora, tum, ut alia
both on account of many treacherous actions, and, though others

abolevissent vetustate, ob
might have been forgotten through length of time, on account of

recentem perfidiam Boiorum: Sempronius contra
the recent perfidy of the Boii. Sempronius, on the contrary,

censebat esse maximum vinculum continendis
was of opinion that it would be the strongest bond for holding

sociis in fide, quosque primos, qui
the allies to their allegiance, *if* the very first who

eguissent ope defensos. Tum collega
stood in need of aid had found protection. Then, *while* his colleague

cunctante mittit suum equitatum, admixtis
hesitated, he sends his own cavalry, in company

ferme mille jaculatoribus peditum, ad defendendum
with about a thousand spearmen on foot, to protect

Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam. Cum
the Gallic territory beyond the Trebia. *These*, when

inopinatos invasissent sparsos et incompositos,
they had unexpectedly attacked the *enemy while* scattered and disordered

plerosque ad hoc graves præda, fecere
and most of them also encumbered with spoil, caused

ingentem terrorem cædemque ac fugam usque ad
great consternation, slaughter, and flight even as far as

castra stationesque hostium; unde pulsi
the camp and outposts of the enemy; whence being repulsed

multitudine effusa rursus restituere prœlium
by the numbers *that* poured out, they again renewed the fight

subsidio suorum: inde sequentes
upon reinforcement from their own *party*. Then pursuing

cedentesque varia pugna, cum ad extremum
and retreating in doubtful battle, though they at last

æquassent certamen, tamen fama victoriæ fuit
left the contest equal, yet the fame of the victory was

major Romanorum quam hostium.
more with the Romans than the enemy.

LIII.—Ceterum nemini omnium videri
But to no one [of all] did it appear

major justiorque quam consuli ipsi:
more important and just than to the consul himself.

efferri gaudio se vicisse ea parte
He was transported with joy "that he had conquered with that part

copiarum, qua alter consul foret victus:
of the forces, with which the other consul had been defeated;

animos militibus restitutos ac refectos,
the spirits of the soldiers," *he said*, "were restored and revived;

esse nec quemquam præter collegam, qui vellet
there was no one except his colleague, who would wish

dimicationem dilatam: eum magis ægrum animo
an engagement delayed; that he, more disordered in mind

quam corpore horrere memoria vulneris
than in body, shuddered, through recollection of his wound,

tela ac aciem: sed non esse senescendum
at arms and battle. But *others* ought not to sink into feebleness

cum ægro: enim quid ultra differri
along with a sick man: for to what *purpose* was farther delay

aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium
or waste of time? What third consul, what other

exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium
army was to be waited for? The camp of the Carthaginians

esse in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis: non
was in Italy, and almost in sight of the city. *It was* not

Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademptas victis,
Sicily and Sardinia, *which were* taken from them *when* vanquished,

nec Hispaniam cis Iberum peti, sed
nor Spain on this side of the Iberus, *that* were aimed at, but

Romanos pelli solo patrio
that the Romans should be driven from the land of their fathers

terraque, in qua geniti forent: "quantum" inquit
and the soil in which they were born. How deeply," he continued,

"nostri patres ingemiscant soliti bellare
"would our fathers groan, *who were* wont to wage war

circa mœnia Carthaginis, si videant nos,
around the *very* walls of Carthage, if they were to see us,

suam progeniem, duos consules consularesque exercitus
their offspring, two consuls and *two* consular armies,

paventes intra castra in media Italia; Pœnum
skulking within our camp in the heart of Italy, *and* a Carthaginian

fecisse suæ ditionis quod sit agri inter
holding under his dominion the whole *extent* of country between

Alpes Apenninumque!" Hæc agere
the Alps and the Apennines!" In this manner did he argue,

assidens ægro collegæ, hæc in prætorio
sitting beside his sick colleague, *and* likewise at the headquarters,

prope concionabundus. Et propinquum tempus
almost in the style of a harangue. Besides, the approaching period

comitiorum stimulabat, ne bellum differretur
of the elections stimulated *him*, lest the war should be protracted

in novos consules, et occasio vertendæ
till the new consuls *were chosen*; as well as the opportunity of turning

gloriæ in se unum, dum collega erat æger: jubet
all the glory to himself, while his colleague lay sick. He orders

milites itaque, Cornelio dissentiente nequidquam,
the soldiers, therefore, (Cornelius remonstrating to no purpose,)

parari ad propinquum certamen. Hannibal,
to get ready for an immediate engagement. Hannibal,

cum cerneret quid foret optimum hosti,
as he clearly saw what *conduct* would be best for the enemy,

vix habebat ullam spem consules acturos quidquam
scarcely entertained any hope that the consuls would do anything

temere atque improvide. Cum sciret ingenium
without caution and foresight; *but* when he discovered that the disposition

alterius, prius cognitum fama deinde re,
of the one, first known from report, *and* afterwards from experience,

esse percitum ac ferox, credereteque factum
was fiery and presumptuous, and believed *that* it *was* rendered

ferocius prospero certamine cum
still more presumptuous by the successful engagement with

suis prædatoribus haud diffidebat fortunam
his predatory troops he did not doubt that an opportunity

gerendæ rei adesse: tempus cujus
of coming to action was near at hand,— an occasion which

erat intentus sollicitusque, ne quod prætermittet,
he was earnestly solicitous not to leave unimproved,

dum miles hostium esset tiro, dum vulnus faceret
while the troops of the enemy were raw, while his wound rendered

meliorem ex ducibus inutilem, dum animi Gallorum
the better of the *two* commanders useless, *and* while the spirits of the Gauls

vigerent; quorum sciebat ingentem multitudinem
were fresh; of whom he knew that a great number

secuturam segnius, quanto longius
would follow *him* with the less zeal the farther

traherentur ab domo. Cum ob hæc taliaque,
they were drawn away from home. When for these and similar *reasons*,

speraret certamen propinquum, et cuperet,
he hoped that an engagement *was* near, and desired,

si cessaretur, facere, Gallique—
if there should be *any* delay, to bring it about *himself*; and *when* the Gauls,

tutiores speculatores ad exploranda ea, quæ vellet,
who were the safer spies to ascertain what he wished,

quia militabant in utrisque castris— retulissent
as they served in both camps, had brought intelligence

Romanos paratos esse pugnæ, Pœnus
that the Romans were prepared for battle, the Carthaginian

cœpit circumspectare locum insidiis.
began to look about for a place for an ambuscade

LIV.—In medio erat rivus
In the middle *between the camps* was a rivulet,

clausus utrimque peraltis ripis, et circa obsitus
bordered on each side with very high banks, and covered around

palustribus herbis et virgultis vepribusque, quibus
with marshy plants, and with the bushes and brambles with which

inculta ferme vestiuntur: ubi
uncultivated *grounds* are usually overspread; *and* when,

quem circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit
riding around it, he had, with his *own* eyes, thoroughly examined

locum satis latebrosum tegendo quoque equites,
the place, sufficiently covert for concealing even horsemen,

ait Magoni fratri, "hic erit locus, quem
he said to Mago his brother: "This is the spot which

teneas: delige ex omni pedite atque equite
you must occupy. Choose out from the whole *number of* horse and foot

centenos viros, cum quibus venias ad me
a hundred men *of each*, with whom come to me

prima vigilia: nunc est tempus curare corpora."
at the first watch. Now is the time to refresh their bodies."

Prætorium ita missum. Mox Mago aderat
The council was thus dismissed; and presently Mago came forward

cum delectis. "Cerno" inquit Hannibal
with his chosen *band*. "I see," said Hannibal,

"robora virorum: sed uti valeatis non modo animis,
"the efficiency of the men; but that you may be strong, not only in spirit,

sed etiam numero, eligite singulis vobis ex turmis
but also in number, pick out each of you from the troops

manipulisque novenos similes vestri: Mago monstrabit
and companies nine men like yourselves: Mago will show *you*

locum quem insideatis: habetis hostem
the place, where you are to lie in wait. You will have an enemy

cæcum ad has artes belli." Ita dimissis
who is blind to these stratagems of war." Having thus sent off

mille equitibus, mille peditibus Magoni, Hannibal
a thousand horse *and* a thousand foot under Mago, Hannibal

jubet Numidas equites obequitare transgressos
orders the Numidian cavalry to ride up, *after* crossing

flumen Trebiam prima luce portis hostium,
the river Trebia at the first light, to the gates of the enemy,

elicereque hostem ad pugnam jaculando
and to draw them out to battle by discharging *their weapons*

in stationes, deinde, certamine injecto,
against the guards; and then, on the fight being commenced,

cedendo sensim pertrahere citra flumen. Hæc mandata
y retreating leisurely to decoy *them* across the river. These *were* his orders

Numidis: ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque
to the Numidians: to the other leaders of the infantry and cavalry

præceptum, ut juberent omnes
instructions were given that they should order all *their men*

prandere, deinde armatos equisque instratis
to dine; and then, under arms and with their horses accoutred,

exspectare signum. Sempronius, avidus certaminis,
to await the signal. Sempronius, eager for the contest,

eduxit ad primum tumultum Numidarum
led out, on the first tumult *raised* by the Numidians,

omnem equitatum— ferox ea parte virium—
all the cavalry, *being* full of confidence in that part of his forces;

deinde sex millia peditum, postremo omnes copias
then six thousand foot; *and*, at last, the entire *body of* troops,

ad jam ante destinatum concilio. Forte erat
to the *place* previously determined in his plan. It happened to be

brumæ tempus et nivalis dies in locis interjectis
the winter season and a snowy day in *those* places *which* lie between

Alpibus Apenninoque, etiam prægelidis
the Alps and the Apennines, and *are* excessively cold

propinquitate fluminum ac paludium. Ad hoc
by the proximity of rivers and marshes. Besides this,

hominibus atque equis eductis raptim,
both men and horses being drawn out in a hurry

non ante capto cibo, non adhibita ulla ope
without having first taken food, or employed any means

ad arcendum frigus, inerat nihil caloris,
to keep off the cold, there was want of warmth in *their bodies*,

et quidquid appropinquabant auræ fluminis,
and the nearer they approached to the blasts from the river,

acrior vis frigoris afflabat: ut vero insequentes
a keener degree of cold blew upon *them*. But when, in pursuit of

refugientes Numidas ingressi sunt aquam—
the flying Numidians, they entered the water,

et erat aucta imbri nocturno tenus pectoribus
(and it was swollen by rain in the night as high as their breasts,)

tum utique corpora omnibus egressis rigere,
then in truth the bodies of all, *on* landing, were *so* benumbed

ut vix esset potentia tenendorum armorum,
that they were scarcely capable of holding their arms;

et jam die procedente etiam deficere fame
and, as the day advanced, they also grew faint through hunger,

simul lassitudine.
as well as from fatigue.

LV.—Interim miles Hannibalis ignibus factis
Meanwhile the soldiers of Hannibal, fires having been kindled

ante tentoria, oleoque misso per manipulos,
before their tents, and oil sent through the companies

ut mollirent artus, et cibo capto per otium,
to soften their limbs, and their food having been taken at leisure,

ubi nuntiatum est hostes transgressos flumen,
as soon as it was announced that the enemy had passed the river,

capit arma alacer animis corporibusque, atque
seized their arms with vigor of mind and body, and

procedit in aciem. Locat ante signa Baleares,
advanced to the battle. *Hannibal* placed before the standards the Balearians

levem armaturam ferme octo millia hominum;
and light-armed troops *to the amount of* nearly eight thousand men;

dein graviorem armis peditem, quod erat
then the heavier-armed infantry, [which was]

virium, quod roboris. In cornibus circumfudit
the main part of his power and strength. On the wings he posted

decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus statuit
ten thousand horse, and on their extremities stationed

elephantos divisos partem in utramque.
the elephants having apportioned half for each *wing*.

Consul, cum equites sequentes
The consul, seeing that his cavalry, *by* pursuing *the enemy*

effusos exciperentur incauti
in a disorderly manner, had been checked, *while* unprepared,

ab Numidis subito resistentibus, revocatos
by the Numidians suddenly turning upon *them*, *on their* being recalled

signo dato receptui, circumdedit peditibus.
by the signal [given] for retreat, posted them on *the flanks of* the foot.

Erant duodeviginti millia Romani,
There were *in his army* eighteen thousand Romans,

viginti socium Latini nominis; præterea auxilia
twenty *thousand* allies of the Latin name, besides the auxiliary *forces*

Cenomanorum; sola Gallica gens ea manserat
of the Cenomani, the only Gallic nation that had persevered

in fide. His copiis concursum est.
in its fidelity. With these forces they came to the engagement.

Prœlium ortum est a Balearibus: quibus cum
The battle was begun by the Balearians. Whom when

legiones obsisterent majore robore, leves armaturæ
the legions resisted with superior force, the light-armed troops

propere deductæ sunt in cornua; quæ res effecit,
were hastily drawn off to the wings; and the consequence was

ut Romanus equitatus extemplo urgeretur: nam cum
that the Roman cavalry were quickly overpowered; for when

quattuor millia jam vix resisterent per se
their four thousand already with difficulty maintained their ground

decem millibus equitum, plerisque integris
against ten thousand *of the enemy's* cavalry for the most part fresh,

et fessi, obruti sunt insuper
while they were exhausted, they were overwhelmed in addition

nube velut jaculorum conjecta a Balearibus:
by a cloud, as it were, of javelins, discharged by the Balearians.

ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus,
Besides this, the elephants, looming up in the extremities of the wings,

equis maxime territis non modo visu,
(the horses being greatly terrified not only at their appearance,

sed insolito odore, faciebant late fugam
but their unusual smell,) occasioned a general rout

Pugna pedestris erat par magis animis quam viribus,
The fight between the infantry was equal rather in courage than strength;

quas Pœnus attulerat recentes in prœlium
for as to the latter the Carthaginians brought theirs fresh into the battle,

paulo ante curatis corporibus: contra
having a little while before recruited themselves; *while*, on the contrary

corpora Romanis jejuna fessaque et rigentia geli
the bodies of the Romans enfeebled by fasting and fatigue, and stiff with cold,

torpebant. Restitissent tamen
were quite benumbed. They would have made a stand, however,

animis, si foret solum pugnatum cum pedite:
by *dint of* courage, if they had only had to fight with the infantry.

sed et Baleares pulso equite jaculabantur
But both the Balearians, having beaten off the cavalry, poured darts

in latera, et elephanti jam sese tulerant
on their flanks, and the elephants had now made their way

in mediam aciem peditum, et Mago Numidæque,
to the centre of the line of infantry; while Mago and the Numidians,

simul acies præterlata est eorum latebras
as soon as the army had passed by their lurking-place

improvida, exorti fecere
without observing *them*, started up at once, *and* caused

ingentem tumultum ac terrorem ab tergo. Tamen
dreadful confusion and terror in the rear. Nevertheless

in tot circumstantibus malis, acies aliquamdiu
amid so many surrounding dangers, the line for some time

mansit immota, maxime præter spem omnium
remained unbroken, *and*, most contrary to the expectation of all,

adversus elephantos: eos velites locati
against the elephants. These the light-infantry, stationed

ad id ipsum et avertere conjectis verrutis,
for that purpose, turned back by plying *them* with iron javelins;

et insecuti aversos fodiebant sub caudis, qua
and, following them behind, pierced *them* under the tails, where

accipiunt vulnera maxime molli cute.
they received the wounds in the softest skin.

LVI.—Trepidantes jam propeque consternatos
The elephants, thus put into disorder, and now almost driven in terror

in suos Hannibal jussit agi
against their own *party*, Hannibal ordered to be led away

media acie in extremam, adversus auxiliares
from the centre of the line to its extremity, against the auxiliary

Gallos ad sinistrum cornu: extemplo ii fecere
Gauls on the left wing. In an instant they occasioned

haud dubiam fugam, novusque terror additus
unequivocal flight; and a new alarm was added

Romanis, ut viderunt sua auxilia fusa. Cum
to the Romans when they saw their auxiliaries routed. As

jam pugnarent in orbem, cum alii nequissent
they were now fighting in a circle, and the others were unable

evadere, ferme decem millia hominum itaque,
to escape, about ten thousand men, in consequence,

perrupere media acie Afrorum, quæ
broke through the middle of the line of the Africans, which

firmata erat Gallicis auxiliis, cum ingenti cæde
was supported by the Gallic auxiliaries, with immense slaughter

hostium: et cum neque reditus esset in castra
of the enemy: and since they neither could return to the camp,

interclusis flumine, neque possent præ imbri
being shut out by the river, nor were able, by reason of the heavy rain,

satis decernere qua ferrent opem
satisfactorily to determine in what *part* they should lend succor

suis, perrexere recto itinere Placentiam.
to their friends, they proceeded by the direct road to Placentia.

Deinde plures eruptiones factæ in omnes partes;
After this several irruptions were made in all directions;

et qui petiere flumen, aut absumpti sunt
and *those* who pushed towards the river were either drowned

gurgitibus, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi,
in the eddies, or, in the midst of their indecision about entering,

oppressi ab hostibus: qui sparsi erant passim
were cut off by the enemy. *Some* who had been scattered abroad

per agros fuga sequentes vestigia
through the country in *their* flight, *by* following the traces

cedentis agminis, contendere Placentiam: aliis
of the retreating army, made their way to Placentia, others

timor hostium fecit audaciam ingrediendi flumen,
the fear of the enemy inspired with boldness to enter the stream,

transgressique pervenerunt in castra. Imber
and these, having crossed *it*, arrived at the camp. The rai

mixtus nive et intoleranda vis frigoris absumpsi
mixed with snow, and the intolerable severity of the cold, destroyed

et multos homines et jumenta et prope omnes
many men and beasts of burden and almost all

elephantos. Flumen Trebia fuit finis
the elephants. The river Trebia was the termination

Pœnis insequendi hostis; et rediere
of the Carthaginians' pursuit of the enemy; and they returned

in castra ita torpentes gelu, ut vix sentirent
to the camp so benumbed with cold, that they could scarcely feel

lætitiam victoriæ: Insequenti nocte itaque, cum
joy for the victory. On the following night, therefore, though

præsidium castrorum, et ex magna parte militum
the guard of the *Roman* camp and a great part *at least* of the soldiers

quod erat reliquum, trajicerent Trebiam ratibus,
that remained passed the Trebia on rafts,

aut sensere nihil, obstrepente pluvia,
they either perceived nothing *of the matter* through the noise made by the rain,

aut, quia præ lassitudine ac vulneribus
or, being that from their weariness and wounds

jam nequabant moveri, dissimularunt
they were now unable to bestir themselves, pretended

esse sentire; Pœnisque quietis
that they did not perceive *it;* and the Carthaginians lying quiet,

exercitus perductus est ab consule Scipione tacito
the army was led by the consul Scipio in silent

agmine Placentiam, inde trajectus Pado
march to Placentia, thence transported across the Po

Cremonam, ne una colonia premeretur
to Cremona, lest one colony should be *too much* burdened

hibernis duorum exercituum.
by the winter-quarters of two armies.

LVII.—Tantus terror ex hac clade
Such consternation on account of this disaster

perlatus est Romam, ut crederent hostem
had spread to Rome, that *people* supposed the enemy

jam venturum ad urbem infestis signis,
would come directly to the city with hostile standards,

esse nec quidquam spei aut ope, quo
and that there was neither hope nor aid by which

arcerent vim portis mœnibusque : uno consule
they might repel his attack from the gates and walls. One consul

victo ad Ticinum, altero revocato, ex
having been defeated at the Ticinus, the other recalled from

Sicilia, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus
Sicily, *and now* both consuls *and their* two consular

exercitibus victis, quos alios duces,
armies having been vanquished, what other commanders,

quas alias legiones esse, quæ arcessantur? Consul
what other legions were there, that could be sent for? The consul

Sempronius advenit ita territis, transgressus
Sempronius came to them *whilst* thus dismayed, having passed

ingenti periculo per equites hostium effusos
with the utmost hazard through the cavalry of the enemy, scattered

passim ad prædandum, audacia magis quam
in every direction in search of plunder, with boldness rather than

consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive,
with *any* plan or hope of escaping observation, or of making resistance

si non falleret. Habitis comitiis consularibus,
if he should not escape it. After holding the election of consuls,

id unum quod maxime desiderabatur in præsentia,
the only thing which was particularly wanting at present,

rediit in hiberna : consules creati
he returned to the winter-quarters. The consuls elected *were*

Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius. Ceterum ne quidem
Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius. But not even

hiberna Romanis quieta erant, Numidis equitibus
the winter-quarters of the Romans were undisturbed, the Numidian horse

vagantibus passim et, quæque erant impeditiora
ranging at large, and wherever *the ground* was impracticable

iis, Celtiberis Lusitanisque: omnes commeatus
for these, the Celtiberians and Lusitanians. All supplies,

igitur undique clausi erant, nisi quos naves
therefore, from every quarter were cut off, except such as the ships

subveherent Pado. Fuit emporium prope
conveyed by the Po. There was a magazine near

Placentiam et munitam magno opere et firmatum
Placentia both fortified with great care, and secured

valido præsidio: spe expugnandi ejus castelli
by a strong garrison. In the hope of taking this stronghold,

Hannibal profectus cum equitibus ac levi armatura,
Hannibal, having set out with the cavalry and light-infantry,

adortus nocte, cum habuisset plurimum spei
and having attacked *it* by night, as he rested his main hope

ad effectum incepto in celando,
of effecting his enterprise on keeping *it* concealed,

non fefellit vigiles: tantus clamor
did not escape the notice of the guards; *for* such a clamor

repente sublatus est, ut audiretur quoque Placentiam.
was instantly raised, that it was heard even at Placentia.

Consul itaque aderat cum equitatu sub lucem,
The consul, therefore, came up with the cavalry about day-break,

jussis legionibus sequi quadrato agmine. Interim
having ordered the legions to follow in a square band. Meanwhile

prœlium equestre commissum, in quo, pavore
an engagement of cavalry commenced, in which, a panic

injecto hostibus, quia Hannibal excessit saucius
falling upon the enemy because Hannibal retired wounded

pugna, præsidium egregie defensum est. Inde
from the fight, the fortress was admirably defended. After th

sumpta quiete paucorum dierum, et vulnere
having taken rest for a few days, and *before* his wound

vixdum satis percurato, pergit ire ad oppugnandas
was hardly as yet sufficiently healed, he sets out to lay siege to

Victumvias. Id fuerat munitum Romanis
Victumviæ. This had been fortified by the Romans

emporium Gallico bello; inde
for a magazine during the Gallic war: afterwards

mixti accolæ ex finitimis populis undique
a mixture of inhabitants from the neighboring states around

locum frequentaverant; et tum terror
had made the place populous; and at this time fear

populationum compulerat eo plerosque
of the *enemy's* depredations had driven into it the greater part

ex agris. Multitudo hujus generis, accensa
of the country-*people*. A multitude of this description, excited

fama impigre defensi præsidii ad Placentiam,
by the report of the brave defence of the fortress near Placentia,

arreptis armis procedit obviam Hannibali.
having snatched up their arms, went out to meet Hannibal.

Concurrerunt in via agmina magis quam
The parties engaged on the road *in the* order of march rather than

acies; et, cum ex altera parte esset nihil præter
of battle; and since on the one side there was nothing but

inconditam turbam, et in altera dux fidens militi
a disorderly crowd, and on the other a leader confident in his solders,

et miles duci, ad triginta quinque
and a soldiery *confident* in their leader, as many as thirty-five

millia hominum fusa a paucis. Postero die,
thousand men were routed by a few. On the following day,

deditione facta, accepere præsidium intra
a surrender having been made, they received a garrison within

mœnia; jussique tradere arma, cum
their walls; and being ordered to deliver up their arms, as soon as

paruissent dicto, signum repente datur
they had obeyed the command, a signal is suddenly given

victoribus, ut diriperent urbem tamquam captam
to the conquerors, to sack the city as if *it had been* taken

vi: neque est ulla clades, quæ in tali re solet
by storm; nor was any outrage, which in such cases is wont

videri scribentibus memorabilis, prætermissa;
to appear to writers worthy of relation, left unperpetrated;

adeo exemplum omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et
such a specimen of every *kind of* lust, barbarity, and

inhumanæ superbiæ editum est in miseros.
inhuman insolence was exhibited towards those wretched *people*

Hæ fuere Hannibalis expeditiones hibernæ.
Such were Hannibal's enterprises during the winter.

LVIII.—Haud longi temporis inde, dum frigor
For a short time after, while the cold

erant intolerabilia, quies data est militi, et
continued intolerable, rest was given to the soldiers; and

profectus ex hibernis ad prima ac dubia signa
having marched out of winter-quarters on the first and uncertain indications

veris ducit in Etruriam, adjuncturus
of spring, he leads *them* into Etruria, intending to gain to his side

eam gentem quoque, sicut Gallos Liguresque,
that nation also, as *he had done* the Gauls and Ligurians,

aut vi aut voluntate. Transeuntem Apenninum
either by force or favor. *As he was* crossing the Apennines,

adeo atrox tempestas adorta est, ut prope superaverit
so furious a storm attacked *him*, that it almost surpassed

fœditatem Alpium. Imber mixtus vento
the horrors of the Alps. The rain, *which was* attended with a *high* wind,

cum ferretur ipsa in ora, primo constitere, quia
being driven directly into their faces, they at first halted, because

arma aut omittenda erant, aut enitentes contra
their arms must either be cast away, or struggling forward

intorti vertice affligebantur;
they would be whirled round by the hurricane, *and* thrown on the ground:

dein, cum jam includeret spiritum nec sineret
afterwards, when it now stopped their breath, nor suffered *them*

reciprocare animam consedere parumper
to respire, they sat down for a little

aversi a vento. Tum vero cœlum strepere
with their backs to the wind. But now the sky resounded

ingenti sono, et ignes micare inter horrendos
with loud thunder, and the lightnings flashed between its terrific

fragores omnes captis oculis et auribus, torpere
peals; all, bereft of sight and hearing, stood torpid

metu: tandem, imbre effuso, cum vis
with fear. At length, *when* the rain had spent *itself*, and the fury

venti eo magis accensa esset visum est
of the wind was on that account more increased, it was deemed

necessarium ponere castra ipso illo loco, quo
necessary to pitch the camp on the very spot where

deprehensi erant. Vero id fuit initium
they had been overtaken *by the storm*. But this was the beginning

laboris velut de integro: nam nec poterant
of their labors, as it were, afresh; for neither could they

explicare nec statuere quidquam, nec
spread out nor fix any *tent*, nor

quod statutum esset manebat, vento
did that which *perchance* had been put up remain, the wind

perscindente et rapiente omnia. Et mox cum
tearing through and sweeping everything away: and soon after, when

aqua levata vento concreta esset super
the water raised aloft by the wind had been frozen above

gelida juga montium, dejecit tantum
the cold summits of the mountains, it poured down such *a torrent*

nivosæ grandinis, ut homines, omissis omnibus,
of snowy hail, that the men, casting away everything,

procumberent magis obruti quam tecti
fell flat upon their faces, rather buried under than protected

suis tegminibus: tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est.
by their coverings; and so extreme an intensity of cold succeeded,

ut cum quisque vellet extollere ac levare se
that when each wished to raise and lift himself

ex illa miserabili strage hominum jumentorumque
from that wretched heap of men and cattle,

diu nequiret, quia nervis torrentibus
he was for a long time unable, because, their sinews being stiffened

rigore vix poterant flectere artus: deinde
by the cold, they were scarcely able to bend their joints. Afterwards

ut agitando sese tandem
when, by briskly moving themselves *to and fro*, they at length

movere ac recipere animos, et ignis
re-gained *the power of* motion, and recovered their spirits, and fires

cœptus est fieri raris locis, quisque inops tendere
began to be kindled in a few places, every helpless *man* had recourse

ad opem alienam. Mansere velut obsessi biduum
to the aid of others. They remained, as if blockaded, for two days

eo loco: multi homines, multa jumenta absumpti,
in that place. Many men *and* beasts of burden perished,

quoque septem elephanti ex iis, qui superfuerant
and likewise seven elephants, of those which had survived

prœlio facto ad Trebiam.
the battle fought at the Trebia.

LIX.—Digressus Apennino movit castra retro
Having descended from the Apennines, he moved his camp back

ad Placentiam, et progressus ad decem millia
towards Placentia, and, having proceeded as far as ten miles

consedit: postero die ducit adversus hostem
took up *his* station. Next day he leads out against the enemy

duodecim millia peditum, quinque equitum. Nec
twelve thousand foot *and* five *thousand* horse. Nor

consul Sempronius— enim jam redierat ab Roma-
did the consul Sempronius (for he had now returned from Rome)

detractavit certamen: atque eo die tria
decline the engagement; and, during that day, three

millia passuum fuere inter bina castra. Postero die
miles intervened between the two camps. On the following day

pugnatum est ingentibus animis, vario eventu.
they fought with the utmost bravery *and* with variable success.

Primo concursu Romana res fuit adeo superior,
At the first onset the Roman power was so superior,

ut non solum vincerent hostes acie, sed
that they not only conquered the enemy in the *regular* battle, but

persequerentur pulsos in castra, mox
pursued them *when* driven back *quite* into their camp, *and* soon after

quoque oppugnarent castra. Hannibal, positis paucis
also assaulted it. Hannibal, after posting a few

propugnatoribus in vallo portisque, recepit ceteros
as defenders of the rampart and gates, collected the rest

confertos in media castra, jubetque
in close order in the middle of the camp, and ordered *them*

spectare intentos signum ad erumpendum. Erat
to watch attentively the signal for sallying out. It was

jam ferme nona hora diei, cum Romanus,
now near the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman,

fatigato milite nequidquam, postquam erat nulla
having fatigued his troops without effect, after there was no

spes potiundi castris, dedit signum receptui.
hope of gaining possession of the camp, gave the signal for retreat;

Quod ubi Hannibal accepit, viditque
which when Hannibal heard, and saw

pugnam laxatam et recessum a castris,
that the attack was slackened, and *that they were* retiring from the camp,

extemplo emissis equitibus dextra lævaque
instantly having sent out the cavalry on the right and left

in hostem, ipse cum robore peditum
against the enemy, he himself, with the main force of the infantry,

erupit mediis castris. Raro pugna
rushed out in the middle [camp]. Seldom *has there been* a combat

magis sæva, et fuisset clarior
more furious, and *few* would have been more remarkable

pernicie utriusque partis, si dies sivisset eam extendi
for the loss on both sides, if the day had suffered it to continue

in longum spatium: nox diremit prœlium accensum
for a longer time. Night broke off the battle *when* raging *most*

ingentibus animis. Concursus itaque
from *the* amazing courage *of the combatants.* The conflict therefore

fuit acrior quam cædes; et sicut erat ferme
was more severe than the slaughter: and as it was pretty much

æquata pugna, ita discessum est pari clade.
a drawn battle, [so] they separated with equal loss.

Ab neutra parte cecidit plus sexcentis peditibus,
On neither side fell more than six hundred infantry,

et dimidium ejus equitum: sed jactura Romanis
and half that *number* of cavalry. But the loss of the Romans

fuit major quam pro numero,
was more severe than proportionate to the number *that fell.*

quia aliquot equestris ordinis et quinque tribuni
because several of equestrian rank, and five tribunes

militum et tres præfecti sociorum interfecti sunt.
of the soldiers, and three prefects of the allies were slain.

Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal concessit
After this battle Hannibal removed

in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam.
to *the territory of* the Ligurians, *and* Sempronius *to* Luca.

Hannibali venienti in Ligures duo Romani
On Hannibal's arrival among the Ligurians, two Roman

quæstores per insidias intercepti cum duobus
quæstors, *who had been* treacherously intercepted, with two

militum tribunis et quinque equestris ordinis
military tribunes and five of the equestrian order,

ferme liberis senatorum traduntur, quo
mostly the sons of senators, were delivered up *to him*, in order that

magis crederet pacem societatemque cum iis
he might feel more convinced that the peace and alliance with them

fore ratam.
would be binding.

LX.—Dum hæc geruntur in Italia,
While these things are transacting in Italy,

Cn. Cornelius Scipio missus cum classe et exercitu
Cneius Cornelius Scipio, *who was* sent with the fleet and army

in Hispaniam, cum, profectus ab ostio Rhodani
into Spain, when, setting out from the mouth of the Rhone,

circumvectusque Pyrenæos montes, appulisset classem
and sailing past the Pyrenæan mountains, he had moored his fleet

Emporiis, ibi exposito exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis,
at Emporiæ, having there landed his army, *and* beginning with the Lacetani,

partim renovandis societatibus partim instituendis novis,
partly by renewing *old* treaties, partly by forming new *ones*,

fecit ditionis Romanæ omnem oram
he brought under the dominion of the Romans the whole coast,

usque flumen Iberum. Fama clementiæ conciliata
as far as the river Iberus The reputation for clemency, acquired

Inde valuit non modo ad maritimos populos,
by these means, had *its* effect not only on the maritime states,

sed jam quoque ad ferociores gentes in mediterraneis
but now also on the more barbarous nations in the interior

ac montanis; nec pax modo parata est apud vos,
and mountainous *parts*; nor was peace only effected with them,

sed etiam societas armorum, aliquotque validæ cohortes,
but also an alliance of arms, and several strong cohorts

auxiliorum conscriptæ sunt ex iis. Cis Iberum
of auxiliaries were raised among them. *The country* on this side the Iberus

erat provincia Hannonis: eum Hannibal reliquerat
was the province of Hanno, whom Hannibal had left behind

ad præsidium ejus regionis: ratus itaque
for the defence of that tract. Judging, therefore,

eundum obviam, priusquam omnia alienarentur,
that he ought to make opposition, before everything was alienated

positis castris in conspectu hostium,
from him, having pitched his camp in sight of the enemy,

eduxit in aciem. Nec visum Romano
he led out *his forces* in battle-array; nor did it appear to the Roman

certamen differendum, quippe qui sciret
that the engagement ought to be deferred, as he knew

sibi dimicandum esse cum Hannone et Hasdrubale,
that he must fight with Hanno and Hasdrubal,

malletque gerere rem adversus singulos separatim
and wished rather to sustain the battle against each of them separately,

quam adversus duos simul. Ea dimicatio nec fuit
than against both together. The conflict did not prove *one*

magni certaminis: sex millia hostium cæsa,
of great difficulty; six thousand of the enemy were slain,

duo capta cum præsidio castrorum:
and two *thousand* made prisoners, *together* with the guard of the camp;

nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque dux ipse
for both the camp was stormed, and the general himself,

cum aliquot principibus capiuntur; et Scissis
with several of the chief officers, taken; and Scissis

oppidum propinquum castris expugnatur.
a town near the camp, was *also* carried by assault.

Ceterum præda oppidi fuit rerum parvi pretii,
But the spoil of *this* town consisted of articles of trifling value,

supellex barbarica ac mancipiorum vilium:
the furniture *suiting* barbarians, and the slaves of little price.

castra ditavere militem, fere omnibus caris rebus
But the camp enriched the soldiers, almost all the valuable effects,

non modo ejus exercitus qui victus erat, sed et ejus,
not only of that army which was conquered, but also of the one

qui militabat cum Hannibale in Italia, relictis
which was serving with Hannibal in Italy, having been left

citra Pyrenæum, ne impedimenta essent gravia
on this side the Pyrenees, that the baggage might not be cumbrous

ferentibus.
to those who conveyed *it*.

LXI.—Priusquam certa fama hujus cladis
Before *any* certain account of this disaster

accideret, Hasdrubal transgressus Iberum cum
arrived, Hasdrubal, having passed the Iberus with

octo millibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam
eight thousand foot *and* a thousand horse, as

occursurus Romanorum ad primum adventum,
intending to meet the Romans on their first approach,

postquam accepit perditas res ad Scissim
after he heard of the ruin of affairs at Scissis,

amissaque castra, convertit iter ad mare.
and the loss of the camp, turned his route towards the sea.

Haud procul Tarracone, dimisso equite
Not far from Tarraco, having despatched his cavalry

passim, compellit ad naves cum magna cæde,
in several directions, he drove to their ships, with great slaughter,

majore fuga, milites classicos navalesque socios,
and greater rout, the soldiers belonging to the fleet and the mariners,

vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit,
while scattered and wandering through the fields (for it is usually the case,

ut secundæ res creent negligentiam. Nec ausus
that success produces negligence). *But* not daring

morari diutius circa ea loca ne opprimeretur
to remain longer in that quarter, lest he might be surprised

ab Scipione, recepit sese trans Iberum. Et Scipio,
by Scipio, he withdrew to the other side of the Iberus. And Scipio,

raptim acto agmine ad famam novorum hostium,
having quickly brought up his army on the report of fresh enemies,

cum animadvertisset in paucos præfectos navium,
after punishing a few *of the* commanders of ships,

relicto modico præsidio Tarracone, rediit
and leaving a moderate garrison at Tarraco, returned

cum classe Emporias. Vixdum eo digresso,
with his fleet to Emporiæ. Scarcely *had* he departed,

Hasdrubal aderat; et, impulso ad defectionem
when Hasdrubal came up; and having instigated to a revolt

populo Ilergetum, qui dederat obsides Scipioni,
the state of the Ilergetes, which had given hostages to Scipio,

vastat cum juventute eorum ipsorum agros
he lays waste, with the youth of that very people, the lands

fidelium sociorum Romanis: Scipione deinde excito
of the faithful allies of the Romans. Scipio being thereupon roused

hibernis, rursus cedit hostico agro
from his winter-quarters, *Hasdrubal* again retires from the enemy's country

cis Iberum. Scipio, cum infesto exercitu
on this side the Iberus. Scipio, when with a hostile army

invasisset gentem Ilergetum relictam ab auctore
he had invaded the state of the Ilergetes, forsaken by the author

defectionis, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum,
of their revolt, *and* having driven them all to Athanagia,

quæ erat caput ejus populi, circumsedit urbem,
which was the capital of that nation, laid siege to the city;

intraque paucos dies, imperatis pluribus obsidibus
and within a few days having imposed *the delivery of* more hostages

quam ante, etiam multatos Ilergetes pecunia,
than before, *and* also fined the Ilergetes in *a sum of* money,

recepit in jus ditionemque. Inde
he received *them back* into his authority and dominion. From thence

procedit in Ausetanos prope Iberum
he proceeded against the Ausetanians near the Iberus.

ipsos et socios Pœnorum, atque, obsessa
who *were* also the allies of the Carthaginians; and having laid siege

eorum urbe, excepit insidiis Lacetanos
to their city, he cut off by an ambuscade the Lacetani, *while*

ferentes auxilium nocte finitimis
bringing assistance by night to their neighbors, *having attacked them*

haud procul jam urbe, cum vellent intrare:
at a small distance from the city, as they were designing to enter *it.*

ad duodecim millia cæsa, prope omnes
As many as twelve thousand were slain; *the rest* nearly all

exuti armis palantes per agros
without their arms, dispersing up and down through the country,

diffugere domos passim. Nec ulla alia res quam hiems
fled to their homes by different ways. Nor did anything else but the winter,

iniqua oppugnantibus tutabatur obsessos:
which was unfavorable to the besiegers, secure the besieged.

obsidio fuit triginta dies, per quos nix jacuit
The blockade continued for thirty days, during which the snow lay

raro unquam minus quattuor pedes alta: operueratque
seldom less than four feet deep; and it had covered

adeo pluteos ac vineas Romanorum, ut ea sola
to such a degree the sheds and mantelets of the Romans, that it alone

fuerit etiam tutamentum ignibus aliquoties conjectis
served as a defence against the fires *which were* often thrown *on them*

ab hoste. Postremo, cum Amusitus eorum princeps
by the enemy. At last, when Amusitus, their chieftain,

profugisset ad Hasdrubalem, deduntur pacti
had fled to Hasdrubal, they are surrendered *upon* stipulating

viginti talentis argenti. Reditum est in hiberna
to *pay* twenty talents of silver. They *then* returned into winter-quarters

Tarraconem.
at Tarraco.

LXII.—Ea hieme Romæ ac circa urbem
During this winter, at Rome and about the city,

multa prodigia facta, aut, quod solet evenire
many prodigies *either* occurred, or, as usually happens

animis semel motis in religionem,
when people's minds *have* once taken a turn towards superstition,

multa nuntiata sunt et temere credita: in quis
many were reported and readily believed; among which,

infantem ingenuam semestrem
it was said, that an infant of good family, *and only* six months old

in olitorio foro clamasse triumphum; et boario foro
had, in the herb-market, called out "Io, triumphe;" that in the cattle-market

bovem sua sponte escendisse in tertiam contignationem,
an ox had of his own accord mounted up to the third story *of a house,*

atque inde territum tumultu habitatorum
whence, being affrighted by the noise of the inhabitants,

sese dejecisse; et speciem navium affulsisse
he threw himself down; that the appearance of ships had been brightly visible

de cœlo; et ædem Spei, quæ est in olitorio foro
in the sky; that the temple of hope, [which is] in the herb-market,

ictam fulmine; et hastam Lanuvii
had been struck by lightning; that the spear at Lanuvium

se commovisse, et corvum devolasse in ædem
had shaken *of* itself, and that a crow had flown down into the temple

Junonis atque consedisse in ipso pulvinario;
of Juno, and alighted on the very couch;

et in agro Amiternino multis locis specie hominum
that in the district of Amiternum, in many places, apparitions of men

candida veste visos procul, nec congressos
in white garments had been seen at a distance, *but* had not come close

cum ullo; et in Piceno pluvisse lapidibus; et Cære
to any body; that in Picenum it had rained stones; at Cære

sortes extenuatas; et in Gallia lupum
the divining tickets had diminished *in size;* and in Gaul a wolf

raptum gladium vigili ex vagina
snatched the sword of a *soldier on* guard out of the scabbard,

abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia decemviri
and ran away with *it.* With respect to the other prodigies the decemvirs

jussi adire libros; quod autem pluvisset
were ordered to consult the books; but on account of its having rained

lapidibus in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum,
stones in Picenum, the nine days' festival was proclaimed,

et prope tota civitas operata fuit procurandis aliis
and almost all the state was occupied in expiating the rest,

subinde. Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est
one after another. [Now] first of all the city was purified,

hostiæque majores cæsæ diis,
and victims of the greater kind were sacrificed to *those* gods

quibus editum est, et lonum ex quadraginta pondo
to whom they were directed *to be offered*; and a gift of forty pounds' weight

auri portatum est ad Junonis Lanuvium; et
of gold was carried to *the temple* of Juno at Lanuvium; and

matronæ dedicaverunt æneum signum Junoni
the matrons dedicated a brazen statue to Juno

in Aventino; et lectisternium imperatum Cære, ubi
on the Aventine; and a lectisternium was ordered at Cære where

sortes attenuatæ erant; et supplicatio Fortunæ
the tickets *for divination* had diminished; also a supplication to Fortune

in Algido; Romæ quoque et lectisternium indicta
at Algidum; at Rome, likewise, a lectisternium was ordered

Juventati et supplicatio nominatim
to Youth, and a supplication *to be performed* by individuals

ad ædem Herculis, deinde universo populo
at the temple of Hercules, and then by the whole *body of the* people

circa omnia pulvinaria; et Genio quinque majores
at all the *several* shrines; to Genius five *of the* greater

hostiæ cæsæ; et prætor C. Atilius Serranus
victims were offered; and the prætor Caius Atilius Serranus

jussus suscipere vota, si res publica
was instructed to make *certain* vows in case the commonwealth

stetisset in decem annos eodem statu. Hæc
should continue for ten years in its present state. These things,

procurata votaque ex Sibyllinis libris
that expiated and vowed according to the Sibylline books,

levaverant ex magna parte animos religione.
relieved, in a great degree, the *public* mind from superstitious fears

LXIII.—Flaminius alter consulum designatorum
Flaminius, one of the consuls elect,

cui evenerant sorte eæ legiones, quæ hibernabant
to whom had fallen by lot the legions which were wintering

Placentiæ, misit edictum et litteras ad consulem,
at Placentia, sent an edict and letter to the consul,

ut is exercitus adesset in castris Arimini
desiri, that those troops should be ready in camp at Ariminum

idibus Martiis. Huic consilium erat inire consulatum
on the ides of March. His design was to enter on the consulship

in provincia, memori veterum certaminum
in his province, recollecting his old contests

cum patribus, quæ habuerat
with the patricians, which he had *maintained with them*

tribunus plebis et quæ postea consul, prius
when tribune of the commons, and afterwards *when* consul, first

de consulatu qui abrogabatur,
about the consulship, *his election to* which was *sought to be* annulled,

dein de triumpho: etiam invisus patribus
and then about a triumph. He was besides hated by the patricians

ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius
on account of a new law, which Quintus Claudius,

plebis tribunus tulerat adversus senatum atque
a plebeian tribune, had carried against the senate, [and]

C. Flaminio uno patrum adjuvante,
Caius Flaminius alone of *all* the patricians supporting *it*,

ne quis senator cuive pater fuisset senator haberet
"that no senator, or *one* whose father was a senator, should possess

navem maritimam, quæ esset plus quam
a ship, fit for sea-service, which contained more than

trecentarum amphorarum. Id habitum satis
three hundred amphoræ." This *size* was thought sufficient

ad vectandos fructus ex agris: omnis quæstus
for conveying the produce of their lands: all traffic

visus indecorus patribus. Res acta
appeared unbecoming a senator. *This* contest, maintained

per summam contentionem peperit Flaminio
with the warmest opposition procured to Flaminius,

suasori legis invidiam apud nobilitatem,
the advocate for the law, *great* hatred among the nobility. *but as great*

favorem apud plebem indeque alterum consulatum.
popularity among the commons, and afterwards a second consulship.

Ob hæc ratus se retenturos in urbe
For these *reasons*, thinking that they would detain *him* in the city

ementiendis auspiciis moraque Latinarum feriarum
by falsifying the auspices, by the delay of the Latin festival

et aliis impedimentis consularibus, simulat
and other hindrances *to which a* consul *was* liable, *he* pretended

itinere, privatus abiit clam
a journey, *and, while yet* in a private capacity, departed secretly

in provinciam. Ea res ubi palam facta est,
to his province. This proceeding, when it was made public,

movit novam insuper iram patribus jam ante infestis:
excited new *and* additional anger in the senators, *who were* before irritated

C. Flaminium gerere bellum
against him. They exclaimed, "that Caius Flaminius waged war

non modo cum senatu, sed jam cum immortalibus diis:
not only with the senate, but now with the immortal gods;

ante factum consulem inauspicato
that having been formerly made consul without the *proper* auspices,

non paruisse diis atque hominibus revocantibus
he had disobeyed *both* gods and men recalling *him*

ex ipsa acie, nunc conscientia spretorum
from the very field; *and* now, from a consciousness of having despised

fugisse et Capitolium et sollemnem nuncupationem
them, he had shunned the Capitol and the customary offering

votorum, ne die initi magistratus adiret
of vows, that he might not, on the day of entering his office, approach

templum Jovis optimi maximi; ne videret
the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great; that he might not see

consuleretque senatum ipse invisus et invisum
and consult the senate, himself hated *by it, as it was* hateful

sibi uni; ne indiceret Latinas, faceretque
to him alone; that he might not proclaim the Latin *festival,* or perform

in monte sollemne sacrum Jovi Latiari;
on the *Alban* mount the customary sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris:

ne profectus in Capitolium auspicato
that he might not go up to the Capitol, under *direction of* the auspices

ad nuncupanda vota, inde cum lictoribus
to offer his vows, *and* thence, *attended* by the lictors,

iret in provinciam paludatis: profectum
proceed to his province in the garb of a general; *but* that he had gone off

sine insignibus, sine lictoribus, modo laxæ
without his insignia, without the lictors, like a soldier's servant,

clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si vertisset solum
privately *and* by stealth; just as if he were quitting his country

causa exsilii: videlicet initurum magistratum
to go into exile; *as if* forsooth he would assume his office

magis pro majestate imperii Arimini
more *consistently* with the dignity of supreme magistrate at Ariminum

quam Romæ, et sumpturum prætextam
than at Rome, and put on the consular robe

in hospitali deversorio quam apud suos penates.
in a public inn *better* than before his own household gods."

Universi censuerunt revocandum retrahendumque,
They unanimously resolved that he should be recalled and brought back,

et cogendum fungi præsentem omnibus officiis
and be compelled to perform in person all duties

in deos hominesque prius, quam iret ad exercitum
both to gods and men before he went to the army

et in provinciam. Q. Terentius et M. Antistius
and the province. Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius

profecti in eam legationem— enim placuit
having set out on this embassy, (for it was resolved

legatos mitti— moverunt eum nihilo magis
that ambassadors should be sent,) prevailed with him in no degree more

quam moverant litteræ missæ ab senatu
than had the letter sent by the senate

priore consulatu: paucos dies post iniit magistratum,
in his former consulship. A few days after he entered on his office,

quee ei immolanti vitulus jam ictus cum sese proripuisset
and *as* he *was* sacrificing, a calf, after being struck, having made its escape

e manibus sacrificantium, respersit multos circumstantes
out of the hands of the ministers, sprinkled many of the bystanders

cruore: fuga et concursatio fuit etiam major
with its blood. Flight and disorder ensued, to a still greater degree

procul apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur:
at a distance among *those* who knew not what was the *cause of the* alarm.

Id acceptum a plerisque in omen magni terroris.
This was regarded by most persons as an omen of great terror.

Inde acceptis duabus legionibus a Sempronio consule
Having then received two legions from Sempronius the consul

prioris anni, duabus a C. Atilio prætore, exercitus
of the former year, *and* two from Caius Atilius, the prætor, the army

cœptus est duci in Etruriam per tramites Apennini.
began to be led into Etruria, through the passes of the Apennines

CONTENTS OF BOOK XXII.

I, II. *Hannibal, after an uninterrupted march of four days and three nights, without repose, through the marshes, in which he lost an eye, arrives in Etruria.* III, IV, etc. *Caius Flaminius the consul, a man of impetuous temper, orders the military standards, which could not otherwise be raised, to be dug up; in mounting his horse, is thrown forward over the animal's head; but sets out in defiance of the unfavorable auspices; is involved by the artifice of Hannibal, in a dangerous defile near lake Thrasymene, and cut off with the greatest part of his army.* VI. *Six thousand, who had escaped, are placed in chains by Hannibal, in violation of pledges given.* VII. *The news of the disaster puts Rome in mourning; two mothers, upon the safe and unexpected return of their sons, die for joy.* X. *The Sibylline books consulted, and a sacred spring decreed.* XII. *Fabius Maximus created dictator, and sent against Hannibal; avoids fighting, and baffles Hannibal's efforts.* XIV–XXVI. *The master of the horse, Marcus Minucius, a rash and inconsiderate man, excites general dissatisfaction against the dictator's dilatory conduct; is made equal to him in authority.* XXVII. *The army divided between them; Minucius, with his half of the forces, hazards a battle in an unfavorable position,* XXIX, *and is saved from utter destruction by Fabius coming opportunely to his relief with the other half of the Roman army; acknowledges his misconduct, and puts himself again under the command of the dictator. Hannibal, after ravaging Campania, is shut up by Fabius, in a valley at Casilinum; but extricates himself by a stratagem, of tying firebrands to the horns of oxen; attempts to excite a suspicion of the fidelity of Fabius by sparing his farm, while ravaging with fire the whole country around it.* XLVII. *Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varo utterly defeated at Cannæ,* XLIX, *the former being slain, with forty-five thousand men, of whom were eighty senators, and thirty who had served the office of consul, prætor or ædile.* LIII. *A design, projected by some noble youths of quitting Italy in despair after this disaste-*

is intrepidly quashed by Publius Cornelius Scipio, a military tribune, who afterwards acquired the surname of "Africanus." Prosperous events in Spain. LVII. *Two vestals, Opimia and Floronia, sentenced to death for incontinence. The Romans enlist slaves;* LX, LXI, *refuse to ransom the prisoners; go out in a body to meet Varro, and thank him for not despairing of the commonwealth.* [U. C. 535-536. B. C. 217-216.]

LIBER VICESIMUS SECUNDUS

BOOK TWENTY-SECOND.

I.—Ver jam appetebat, cum Hannibal movit
Spring was now at hand, when Hannibal moved

ex hibernis, et ante conatus nequidquam
out of his winter-station, [both] having previously attempted in vain

transcendere Apenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et
to pass over the Apennines, from the intolerable cold, and

moratus cum ingenti periculo ac metu.
saving remained *in his quarters* with the utmost danger and alarm.

Gallis, quos spes prædæ populationumque conciverat,
The Gauls, whom the hope of spoil and pillage had collected,

postquam pro eo, ut ipsi raperent agerentque
when, instead of themselves carrying and driving away booty

ex agro alieno, viderent suas terras esse
from the fields of others, they saw that their own lands were *made*

sedem belli premique hibernis exercituum
the seat of war, and were burdened by the wintering of the armies

utriusque partis, verterunt odia retro ab Romanis
of both parties, turned their hatred back again from the Romans

in Hannibalem; que sæpe petitus insidiis
upon Hannibal. But *thou*' frequently set upon by the plots

principum, servatus erat ipsorum fraude
of their chieftains, he was preserved by their treacherous betrayal

inter se, indicantium consensum eadem levitate
of one another, disclosing their conspiracy with the same inconstancy

qua consenserant, et mutando nunc vestem
with which they had conspired; and by changing, sometimes his dress

nunc tegumenta capitis, sese munierat
at other times the covering of his head, he protected himself

ab insidiis errore etiam. Ceterum
against their plots by deception [also]. However,

hic quoque timor fuit causa maturius ei movendi
this very fear was the cause of his more speedily quitting

ex hibernis. Per idem tempus Romæ
his winter-quarters. In the mean time, at Rome,

Cn. Servilius consul iniit magistratum idibus
Cneius Servilius, the consul, entered upon his office on the ides

Martiis. Ibi cum retulisset de
of March. There, when he had consulted *the senate* concerning

republica invidia in C. Flaminium
the state of the commonwealth, the indignation against Flaminius

redintegrata est: se creasse duos consules,
was rekindled. "They created," *they said*, "two consuls,

habere unum:— enim quod justum imperium,
yet had *but* one: for what legal authority,

quod auspicium illi esse? Id magistratus
what auspices did the other possess? These the magistrates

ferre secum a domo— privatis penatibus
carried with them from home, from their own tutelary gods,

publicisque— Latinis feriis actis,
and *also those* of the public, the Latin festival being celebrated,

sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis
the sacrifices on the *Alban* mount performed, *and* vows

rite nuncupatis in Capitolio: nec posse privatum
duly offered in the Capitol: neither could an unofficial *individual*

sequi auspicia, nec profectum
take the auspices *with him*, nor *could one*, *who had* gone from home

sine auspiciis concipere ea nova atque integra
without them take them new, and for the first time,

in externo solo. Prodigia nuntiata ex pluribus locis
in a foreign soil." Prodigies, announced from many places

simul augebant metum: in Sicilia
at once, augmented the terror: in Sicily.

aliquot spicula militibus arsisse,
a number of arrows *belonging* to the soldiers ignited, *as was said*,

autem in Sardinia scipionem equiti
and in Sardinia, the truncheon of a horseman, *who was*

circumeunti vigilias in muro,
going the rounds of the watch upon the walls *of Sulci* *took fire*

quem tenuerat manu, et litora fulsisse crebris ignibus,
as he held it in his hand; the shores had blazed with frequent fires;

et duo scuta sudasse sanguine, et quosdam milites
two shields sweat blood; several soldiers

ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem visum minui:
were struck by lightning; and the sun's orb appeared to be contracted.

et Prænestе ardentes lapides cecidisse cœlo;
At Prænestе red hot stones fell from the sky;

et Arpis parmas visas in cœlo solemque
at Arpi, bucklers were seen in the heavens, and the sun

pugnantem cum luna; et Capenæ duas lunas ortas
fighting with the moon; at Capena, two moons rose

interdiu; et aquas Cæretes fluxisse mixtas
in the day-time; the waters of Cære were flowing mixed

sanguine, ipsumque fontem Herculis manasse
with blood; and even the fountain of Hercules flowed

respersum cruentis maculis; et Antii
sprinkled with bloody spots; *in the district* of Antium

metentibus cruentas spicas cecidisse in corbem
while *the people were* reaping, bloody ears of corn fell into a basket.

et Faleriis cœlum visum findi velut magno hiatu,
At Falerii, the sky appeared cleft as with a great chasm,

quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse;
and where it had opened, a strong light burst forth;

sortes sua sponte attenuatas; unamque
the prophetic tablets had spontaneously become less; and one

excidisse ita scriptam "Mavors concutit
fell out *which was* thus inscribed. "Mars brandishes

suum telum:" et per idem tempus Romæ
his spear." About the same time, at Rome,

signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum
the statue of Mars, on the Appian road, and the images of the wolves

sudasse, et Capuæ fuisse speciem
sweat. At Capua, there was the appearance

cœli ardentis lunæque cadentis inter imbrem.
of the heavens being on fire, and of the moon *as* falling amidst rain.

Inde fides habita etiam prodigiis
After *these*, credit was given [also] to prodigies

minoribus dictu: capras quibusdam factas lanatas,
of lesser note: that the goats of certain persons were turned into sheep;

t gallinam sese vertisse in marem, gallum
that a hen was changed into a male, *and* a cock

in feminam. Iis expositis,
into a female. These *matters* having been laid before *the senate*

sicut erant nuntiata, auctoribusque introductis in
as reported, and the authors conducted into

curiam, consul consuluit patres
the senate-house, the consul took the sense of the fathers

de religione: decretum, ut ea prodigia
on religious affairs. It was decreed that those prodigies

procurarentur partim majoribus partim lactentibus
should be expiated, partly with full-grown, partly with sucking

hostiis, et uti supplicatio per triduum haberetur
victims; and that a supplication for three days should be performed

ad omnia pulvinaria: ut, cum decemviri
at all the shrines; that, when the decemvirs

inspexissent libros, cetera
should have inspected the books, all other *particulars*

fierent ita, quemadmodum dii præfarentur
should be conducted in such manner as the gods should declare

divinis carminibus esse cordi. Monitu
in their oracles to be agreeable *to them*. By the advice

decemvirorum decretum est primum aureum fulmen
of the decemvirs it was decreed that, first a golden thunderbolt

quinquaginta pondo fieret donum Jovi,
of fifty pounds' weight should be made *as* an offering to Jupiter,

donaque ex argento darentur Junoni Minervæque,
and *that* offerings of silver should be presented to Juno and Minerva

et Junoni reginæ in Aventino Junonique Sospitæ
that to Juno Regina on the Aventine, and Juno Sospita

Lanuvii sacrificaretur majoribus hostiis;
at Lanuvium, sacrifices should be made of full-grown victims;

matronæque collata quantum pecunia esset
that the matrons, contributing as much money as might be

commodum cuique conferre, ferrent in Aventinum
convenient to each [to give,] should carry it to the Aventine

donum Junoni reginæ, lectisterniumque
as a present to Juno Regina; and *that* a lectisternium

fieret; quin et ut ipsæ et libertinæ
should be celebrated *to her;* nay even that the very freed-women

pro suis facultatibus conferrent pecuniam— unde
should, according to their means, contribute money from which

donum daretur Feroniæ. Ubi hæc facta,
a present might be made to Feronia. When these things were done,

decemviri sacrificarunt majoribus hostiis in foro
the decemvirs sacrificed, with the greater victims, in the forum

Ardeæ: postremo jam mense Decembri,
at Ardea. Lastly, *it being* now the month of December

immolatum est ad ædem Saturni Romæ,
sacrifices were offered at the temple of Saturn in Rome,

lectisterniumque imperatum— et eum senatores
and a lectisternium ordered, (*in* which senators

straverunt lectum— et publicum convivium.
prepared the couch,) and *also* a public banquet.

ac clamata per urbem Saturnalia
Proclamation was likewise made through the city of a feast of Saturn,

diem ac noctem, populusque jussus
to be kept for a day and a night; and the people were commanded

habere eum diem festum ac servare in perpetuum.
to account that day as a festival, and to observe *it* for ever.

II.—Dum consul dat operam Romæ placandis
While the consul employs himself at Rome in appeasing

dis habendoque dilectu, Hannibal profectus
the gods and holding the levy, Hannibal, setting out

ex hibernis, quia erat fama consulem
from his winter-quarters, because it was reported that the consul

Flaminium jam prævenisse Arretium, cum
Flaminius had now arrived at Arretium, although

aliud iter commodius, ceterum longius ostenderetur,
another route more commodious, but longer, was pointed out *to him*,

petit propiorem viam per paludem, qua fluvius
takes the nearer road through a marsh, where the river

Arnus per eos dies magis solito inundaverat.
Arnus had, at that time more than usual, overflowed *its banks*.

Jussit Hispanos et Afros et omne robur
He ordered the Spaniards and Africans, the main strength

veterani exercitus ire primos, ipsorum impedimentis
of his veteran troops, to march *in* the van, their own baggage

admixtis, necubi coactis consistere
being intermixed *with them*, lest, being compelled to halt anywhere,

deessent necessaria ad usus; Gallos
they should want what *might be* necessary for their use; *then* the Gauls

sequi, ut id esset medium agminis; equites
to follow, so that they might form the centre of the line; the cavalry

ire novissimos; inde Magonem cum expeditis
to march *in* the rear: *and* after *them* Mago, with the light-armed

Numidis cogere agmen, maxime cohibentem
Numidians, to keep the army together, particularly coercing

Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ— ut
the Gauls, if, weary of the labor or of the length of the journey, as

gens est mollis ad talia—
that nation is not vigorous *enough* for such *exertions*,

dilaberentur aut subsisterent. Primi
they should fall away or stay behind. *The troops in* the van,

pæne hausti limo immergentesque se tamen
though almost swallowed in mud and plunging themselves in, yet

sequebantur signa, qua duces modo præirent,
followed the standards wherever their guides did but lead *them*,

per prærealtas ac profundas voragines fluvii:
through the exceeding deep and almost fathomless eddies of the river.

Galli poterant neque sustinere se prolapsi neque
But the Gauls could neither support themselves, *when* fallen, nor

assurgere ex voraginibus, aut sustinebant corpora
raise themselves from the gulfs; nor did they sustain their bodies

animis aut animos spe, alii ægre trahentes
with spirit, nor their minds with hope; some scarce dragging on

fessa membra, alii, animis victis tædio,
their wearied limbs; others, their spirits being subdued with fatigue,

morientes, ubi semel procubuissent, inter jumenta
dying where they had once fallen, among the beasts

ipsa et jacentia passim. Vigiliæque
which themselves also lay prostrate in every place. But want of sleep,

cleratæ jam per quadriduum et tres noctes
endured now for four days and three nights,

conficiebant maxime omnium. Cum, aquis
exhausted *them* most of all. When, the water

obtinentibus omnia, nihil posset inveniri, ubi
covering every place, not a *spot* could be found where

sternerent fessa corpora in sicco,
they might stretch their enfeebled bodies on dry ground,

incumbebant insuper sarcinis cumulatis in
they laid themselves down upon their baggage, thrown in heaps into

aquas: acervi jumentorum prostratorum passim
the waters. Piles of beasts, *which* lay everywhere

toto itinere dabant necessarium cubile
through the whole route, afforded a necessary bed

ad parvi temporis quietem. Hannibal ipse
for temporary repose. Hannibal himself, *becoming*

æger oculis primum ex intemperie
diseased in his eyes, at first from the unwholesomeness *of the*

verna variante calores frigoraque, vectus
vernal *air*, fraught with *the* changes of heat and cold, rode

elephanto unus qui superfuerat quo exstaret
on the only elephant which *he had* remaining, in order to keep *himself*

altius ab aqua— tamen vigiliis et
the higher above the water; *and* yet from want of sleep and

nocturno humore palustrique cœlo gravante caput,
nocturnal damps, and the marshy atmosphere disordering his head,

et quia erat nec locus nec tempus medendi,
and because he had neither place nor time to make use of remedies

capitur altero oculo.
he lost one *of his eyes*

III.—Multis hominibus jumentisque amissis
Many men and cattle having been lost

fœde, cum tandem emersisset de paludibus,
thus wretchedly, when at length he had emerged from the marshes,

locat castra, ubi primum potuit in sicco: que
he pitches his camp as soon as he could on dry ground. And

habuit certum per exploratores præmissos
here he received information, through the scouts sent in advance,

Romanum exercitum esse circa mœnia Arretii.
that the Roman army was round the walls of Arretium.

Deinde exsequebatur inquirendo cum summa cura
He then set about inquiring with the utmost diligence

animum atque consilia consulis et situm regionum
into the disposition and designs of the consul, the situation of the country,

itineraque et copias ad expediendos commeatus,
the roads, the facilities for procuring provisions,

et omnia cetera, quæ erant in rem cognosse.
and every other *circumstance* which *it* was expedient to know.

Regio erat in primis Italiæ fertilis, Etrusci
The country was among the first of Italy in fertility; the Etrurian

campi, qui jacent inter Fæsulas Arretiumque,
plains, which lie between Fæsulæ and Arretium,

opulenti frumenti ac pecoris et copia omnium rerum.
abounding with corn and cattle, and plenty of every thing *useful*.

Consul ferox ab priore consulatu, et
The consul *was* haughty from his former consulship, and

ne satis metuens non modo legum aut majestatis
too regardless, not only of the laws and the dignity

patrum, sed quidem deorum: hanc temeritatem
of the senate, but even of the gods. This temerity,

insitam ejus ingenio fortuna aluerat prospero
inherent in his nature, fortune had fostered by a prosperous

successu civilibus bellicisque rebus: itaque
course of success in civil and military affairs. Thus

satis apparebat, nec consulentem deos nec homines
it was sufficiently evident that, heedless of gods and men,

acturum omnia ferociter ac præpropere.
he would act in all cases with presumption and precipitancy:

Quoque esset pronior in sua vitia Pœnus
and that he might be the more liable to his weaknesses, the Carthaginian

parat agitare atque irritare eum; et, relicto hoste
begins to fret and irritate him; and, leaving the enemy

læva petens Fæsulas profectus
on his left, pointing *his route* towards Fæsulæ, he marched

medio agro Etruriæ prædatum, ostendit
through the centre of Etruria, *with intent* to plunder, *and* exhibits

consuli procul quantam maximam vastitatem
to the consul, in the distance, the greatest devastation

potest incendiis cædibusque. Flaminius,
he could with conflagrations and carnage. Flaminius,

qui ipse nec quieturus erat quidem hoste quieto,
who would not have rested even *if* the enemy *had lain* quiet,

tum vero, postquam vidit res sociorum
then indeed, when he saw the property of the allies

agi ferrique prope ante suos oculos, ratus id
driven and carried away almost before his eyes, thinking it

dedecus suum, Pœnum jam vagari
a disgrace to himself that the Carthaginian was now roaming at large

per mediam Italiam, atque ire, nullo obsistente,
through the heart of Italy, and marching, without resistance,

ad oppugnanda ipsa mœnia Romana,
to storm the very walls of Rome, *though*

omnibus ceteris in consilio suadentibus salutaria
every other *person* in the council recommended safe

magis quam speciosa, exspectandum
rather than specious *measures*, *urging* that he should wait for

collegam, ut, conjunctis exercitibus
his colleague, in order that, joining their armies,

gererent rem communi animo consilioque;
they might enter on the business with united spirit and judgment;

interim hostem cohibendum ab
and that meanwhile the enemy should be restrained from

effusa licentia prædandi equitatu
his unbounded licence in plundering by the cavalry

leviumque armorum auxiliis; iratus se proripuit
and light-armed auxiliaries; in a fury broke away

ex consilio que cum dedisset simul
from the council, and having displayed at once

signum itineris pugnæque, inquit "immo
the signal *both* for marching and fighting, says, "Aye,

sedeamus ante mœnia Arretii, enim nic sunt
let us sit down before the walls of Arretium, for here is

patria et penates: Hannibal emissus
our native city, and our household gods; let Hannibal, slipping

e manibus perpopuletur Italiam, vastandoque
out of our hands, waste Italy through and through; and *after* ravaging

et urendo omnia perveniat ad mœnia Romana; nec
and burning all *the rest* arrive at the walls of Rome; nor

nos moverimus hinc ante quam patres acciverint
let us move hence till the fathers shall have summoned

C. Flaminium ab Arretio, sicut olim Camillum
Flaminius from Arretium, as formerly Camillus

ab Veiis." Simul increpans hæc, cum juberet
from Veii." While upbraiding *them* thus, *just* as he was ordering

signa ocius convelli et ipse insiluisset
the standards to be speedily pulled up. and himself sprung

in equum equus repente corruit effuditque
upon his horse, the animal suddenly plunged and threw

lapsum consulem super caput. Omnibus, qui
the unseated consul over his head. All who

erant circa, territis velut fœdo omine
were present being alarmed at *this* as an unhappy omen

incipiendæ rei, insuper nuntiatur,
at the opening of the campaign, in addition word is brought,

signum nequire convelli signifero moliente
that the standard could not be pulled up, *though* the standard-bearer strove

omni vi. Conversus ad nuntium inquit
with all his force. *The consul*, turning to the messenger, says,

"num quoque affers litteras ab senatu, quæ
"Do you also bring a letter from the senate, which *perchance*

vetent me gerere rem? Abi nuntia, effodiant
forbids me to act? Go, tell *them* to dig up

signum, si præ metu manus obtorpuerit
the standard if, through fear, their hands are *too much* benumbed

ad convellendum." Inde agmen cœpit incedere
to pull it out." Then the army began to march,

primoribus— superquam quod dissenserant ab
the chief officers, besides that they dissented from

consilio— territis etiam duplici prodigio,
the plan, being greatly dismayed [also] by the two-fold prodigy,

milite in vulgus læto ferocia ducis,
while the soldiery in general *were* elated by the confidence of their leader,

cum intueretur magis ipsam spem quam
since they regarded rather the hope *he entertained* than

causam spei.
the reasons of the hope.

IV.—Hannibal, quo magis acuat iram hosti
Hannibal, the more to exasperate the enemy

ad vindicandas injurias sociorum, pervastat
to revenge the injuries *inflicted* on his allies, desolated,

omni clade belli quod est agri inter
with every calamity of war, the whole *tract* of country between

urbem Cortonam lacumque Trasimenum. Et jam
the city Cortona and the lake Thrasymenus. And now

pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis,
the army had arrived at a spot formed by nature for an ambuscade,

ubi Trasimenus subit maxime Cortonenses montes:
where the Thrasymenus comes nearest to the Cortonian mountains.

interest tantum perangusta via, velut spatio
Between them is only a very narrow road, as if room *had been*

de industria relicto ad id ipsum: deinde paulo latior
designedly left for that very *purpose;* farther on a somewhat wider

campus patescit; inde assurgunt colles.
plain opens *itself, and* beyond that rises *a range of* hills.

Ibi locat castra in aperto, ubi ipse
On these he pitches his camp in open view, where himself,

cum Hispanis Afrisque modo consideret: Baleares
with his Spaniards and Africans, only was to take post. The Balearians,

æteramque levem armaturam circumducit
and other light-armed *troops,* he drew round

post montes; equites locat ad ipsas fauces
behind the mountains; the cavalry he posted at the very entrance

saltus tumulis apte tegentibus, ut,
of the defile, *some* eminences conveniently concealing *them*; in order that,

ubi Romani intrassent, equitatu objecto,
when the Romans had entered *the pass*, the cavalry interposing,

omnia essent clausa lacu ac montibus.
the whole *space* might be shut up between the lake and the mountains.

Flaminius, cum pervenisset ad lacum pridie
Flaminius, though he had arrived at the lake on the previous day

solis occasu, superatis angustiis postero die
about sunset, passing the defiles the next morning,

vixdum satis certa luce, inexplorato, postquam
before *it was* quite daylight, without reconnoitering, when

agmen cœpit pandi in patentiorem campum,
the troops began to be spread into the wider plain,

conspexit id tantum hostium, quod erat ex adverso:
saw that *part* only of the enemy which was opposite *to him*;

insidiæ ab tergo ac super caput decepere.
the ambuscade in his rear and over head escaped *his* notice.

Ubi Pœnus habuit hostem clausum
And when the Carthaginian had his enemy pent up

montibus ac lacu et circumfusum suis copiis,
between the mountains and the lake, and surrounded by his troops,

dat signum omnibus invadendi simul. Ubi qui
he gives the signal for the whole to charge at once: *and* as they

decucurrerunt, cuique qua fuit proximum, res
poured down each by *the way* that was nearest, the event

fuit eo magis subita atque improvisa Romanis,
was the more sudden and unexpected to the Romans,

quod nebula orta ex lacu sederat densior campo
because a mist, rising from the lake, lay thicker on the lower grounds

quam montibus, agminaque hostium conspecta
than on the mountains; while the parties of the enemy saw

ipsa inter se satis ex pluribus collibus
each other *distinctly* enough from the several eminences

eoque decucurrerant magis pariter.
and consequently ran down together with the greater regularity

Clamore orto undique Romanus sensit se
A shout being raised on all sides, the Roman found himself

circumventum esse prius, quam satis cerneret,
surrounded before he could well see *the enemy;*

et pugnari cœptum est in frontem lateraque ante, quam
and the attack began on the front and flank ere

acies satis instrueretur, aut arma possent expediri
his line could be properly formed, or his arms be gotten ready

gladiique stringi.
and his swords unsheathed.

V.—Consul, omnibus perculsis, ipse
The consul, *while* all were panic-struck, himself

satis impavidus, ut in trepida re, instruit
sufficiently undaunted, though in *so* perilous a case, marshals, *as well*

ut tempus locusque patitur ordines turbatos—
as the time and place would allow, the ranks *which were* disordered

quoque vertente se ad dissonos clamores; et,
by each *man's* turning himself towards the various shouts; and

quacumque potest adire audirique, adhortatur
wherever he could approach or be heard, exhorts *them*

ac jubet stare ac pugnare: enim nec evadendum esse
and bids *them* stand and fight: for that they could not escape

inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute:
thence by vows and prayers to the gods, but by strength and courage;

viam fieri ferro per
that a way was *sometimes* opened by the sword through

medias acies, et ferme, quo minus timoris
the midst of marshaled armies, and that generally the less fear

sit, eo minus periculi esse. Ceterum præ strepitu
there was, the less danger was there. However, from the noise

ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium poterat accipi:
and tumult, neither his counsel nor commands could be caught;

tantumque aberat miles, ut nosceret sua signa
and so far were the soldiers from knowing *each* his own standard

atque ordinem et locum, ut animus vix competeret
and rank and post, that their courage scarce sufficed

ad capienda arma aptandaque pugnæ,
to take up their arms, and get *them* ready for fighting:

quidamque magis onerati quam tecti his
and *thus* many, *while they were* rather incumbered than defended by them,

opprimerentur. Et in tanta calligine erat major usus
were overpowered *by the enemy*; while in so great darkness there was more use

aurium quam oculorum: circumferebant
of ears than of eyes. Now here, now there, they turned

oculos oraque ad gemitus vulnerum
their eyes and faces towards the groans of the wounded, *the sound of*

ictusque corporum aut armorum, et mixtos clamores
blows on *the men's* bodies or armor, and the mingled clamors

strepentium paventiumque: alii fugientes
of the menacing and the affrighted. Some, attempting to fly,

hærebant illati globo pugnantium; alios
were stopped *by* running against a party of combatants; others,

redeuntes in pugnam agmen fugientium avertebat.
returning to the fight, a band of runaways drove back.

Deinde, ubi impetus capti nequidquam
At length, after charges had been attempted unsuccessfully

in omnes partes, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus
in every quarter, and on the sides the mountains and the lake,

a fronte et ab tergo acies hostium claudebat,
on the front and rear the lines of the enemy enclosed *them*,

apparuitque esse nullam spem salutis,
and *when* it was evident that there was no hope of safety

nisi in dextera ferroque, tum quisque factus sibi
but in the right hand and the sword; then each *man* became to himself

dux adhortatorque ad rem gerendam, et
a leader and encourager to exertion; and

de integro nova pugna exorta est, illa non ordinata
an entirely new contest arose: *but* the line was not marshalled

per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec
in the order of principes, hastati, and triarii; nor

ut antesignani pugnaret pro signis,
so *disposed* that the vanguard should fight before the standards,

alia acies post signa, nec ut miles esset
and the rest of the troops behind them; or that each soldier was

in sua legione aut cohorte aut manipulo
in his own legion, or cohort or company:

fors conglobat, et suus animus dabat cuique
chance formed *their* bands, and his own choice assigned to each

ordinem pugnandi ante aut post;
his post in the battle *either* before or behind *the standards;*

tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus animus
and so great was the ardor of the conflict, so intent *were* their minds

pugnæ, ut nemo pugnantium senserit eum terræ motum,
upon the battle, that not one of the combatants felt the earthquake,

qui prostravit magnas partes multarum
which, *at the time,* overthrew large portions of many

urbium Italiæ avertitque rapidos amnes cursu,
of the cities of Italy, turned rapid rivers out of their courses,

invexit mare fluminibus, proruit montes
carried up the sea into the rivers, *and* leveled mountains

ingenti lapsu.
with a tremendous crash.

VI.—Pugnatum est ferme tres horas, et atrociter
They fought for near three hours and furiously

ubique. Circa consulem tamen pugna est acrior
in every part; around the consul, however, the battle was still hotter

infestiorque: et robora virorum sequebantur eum,
and more determined. [Both] the ablest of the men attended him,

et ipse impigre ferebat opem quacumque in parte
and he himself promptly brought assistance wherever

senserat suos premi ac laborare:
he perceived his *troops* hard pressed and distressed;

insignemque armis et hostes petebant
and *as he was* distinguished by his armor, the enemy attacked *him*

summa vi, et cives tuebantur, donec
with the utmost vigor, while his countrymen defended *him;* until

Insuber eques— nomen erat Ducario— noscitans
an Insubrian horseman, named Ducarius, knowing *him*

quoque facie, inquit suis popularibus
also by his face, calls or to his comrades,

"en hic est consul, qui cecidit nostras legiones
"Behold, this is the consul, who cut to pieces our legions,

depopulatusque est agros et urbem! Jam ego dabo
and depopulated our country and city. Now will I offer

hanc victimam Manibus civium foede peremptorum:"
this victim to the shades of my countrymen miserably slain;"

ubditisque calcaribus equo facit impetum
and putting spurs to his horse, he darts

per confertissimam turbam hostium;
through the thickets [body] of the enemy;

priusque obtruncato armigero, qui objecerat se obviam
and, after first killing his armor-bearer, who threw himself in the way

infesto venienti, transfixit consulem lancea.
of his hostile approach, ran the consul through with his lance;

Cupientem spoliare triarii objectis scutis
but when seeking to despoil *him*, the triarii, opposing their shields

arcuere. Inde primum fuga magnae partis
drove him back. Then first the flight of a great number

coepit: et jam nec lacus nec montes obstabant
began; and now neither the lake nor the mountains obstructed

pavori. Evadunt per omnia arta praeruptaque
their hurried retreat; they ran through all *places*, confined and precipitious,

velut caeci, armaque et viri praecipitantur
as though *they were* blind; and arms and men are tumbled

alii super alium. Magna pars, ubi deest locus
one upon other. A great many, when there was no room

fugae, progressi in aquam per prima vada
for *farther* flight. advancing into the water through the first shallows

paludis, sese immergunt, quoad possunt exstare
of the lake, plunge themselves in, as far as they could stand above it

capitibus humerisque: fuere, quos
with their heads and shoulders. *Some* there were whom

inconsultus pavor impulerit capessere fugam
inconsiderate fear induced to try *to* escape

etiam nando, ubi quae erat immensa ac sine spe,
even by swimming; *but* as that *attempt* was inordinate and hopeless,

aut hauriebantur, gurgitibus animis deficientibus,
they were either drowned in the deep water, their resolution failing,

aut fessi nequidquam repetebant retro
or, *after* fatiguing themselves to no purpose, made their way back

ægerrime vada, atque ibi trucidabantur
with the utmost difficulty to the shallows, and were there slain

passim ab equitibus hostium ingressis aquam.
on all hands by the cavalry of the enemy *which had* entered the water.

Ferme sex millia primi agminis impigre facta eruptione
About six thousand of the vanguard, having gallantly forced their way

per adversos hostes, ignari omnium, quæ agerentur
through the opposing enemy, *and* knowing nothing of what was passing

post se, evasere ex saltu, et, cum constitissent
behind them, got clear of the defile; and, having halted

in quodam tumulo, audientes modo clamorem ac sonum
on a certain rising ground, hearing only the shouting and the din

armorum, neque poterant scire nec perspicere
of arms, they could not know nor discern,

præ calligine, quæ esset fortuna pugnæ.
by reason of the darkness, what was the fortune of the battle.

Denique re inclinata, cum nebula dispulsa
At length, the affair being decided, when the mist, dispelled

incalescente sole aperuisset diem, tum
by the increasing heat of the sun, had cleared the sky, then,

jam liquida luce montes campique ostendere
in the [now] unclouded light, the mountains and plains showed

perditas res Romanamque aciem fœde stratam.
the ruin of *their* affairs, and the Roman army miserably destroyed

Itaque, ne in conspectos procul eques
wherefore, lest, on their being seen at a distance, the cavalry

immitteretur, raptim sublatis signis,
should be sent against *them*, hastily snatching up their standards,

sese abripuerunt quam citatissimo poterant agmine.
they hurried away with the greatest possible expedition.

Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fames etiam
Next day, when, besides their other distresses, famine also

instaret, Maharbale, qui cum omnibus copiis
was at hand, Maharbal, who, with the whole body

equestribus consecutus erat nocte, dante fidem,
of cavalry, had overtaken *them* during the night, pledging his faith that

si tradidissent arma, passurum abire
if they surrendered their arms he would suffer *them* to depart

cum singulis vestimentis, sese dediderunt:
with single garments, they delivered themselves *into his hands*:

quæ fides servata est ab Hannibale Punica religione,
which promise was kept by Hannibal with Punic sincerity

tque conjecit omnes in vincula.
and he threw them all into chains.

VII.—Hæc est nobilis pugna ad Trasimenum
This is the memorable fight at the Thrasymenus,

atque memorata inter paucas clades Romani populi.
and recorded among the few disasters of the Roman people.

Quindecim millia Romanorum cæsa sunt in acie:
Fifteen thousand Romans were slain in the field,

decem millia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam
ten thousand *who had been* scattered in the flight through all Etruria,

petiere urbem diversis itineribus: hostium
returned to the city by different roads. Of the enemy,

duo millia quingenti periere in acie, multi utrimque
two thousand five hundred perished in the battle, *and* many on both sides

postea ex vulneribus. Ab aliis cædes utrimque
died afterwards of their wounds. By some *writers* the loss to both parties

traditur facta multiplex: ego, præterquam quod
is represented *as* vastly greater: for my part, besides that

velim nihil haustum ex vano, quo
I would *relate* nothing drawn from a worthless *source*, to which

animi scribentium ferme nimis inclinant, habui
the minds of historians are in general too prone, I have

potissimum auctorem Fabium æqualem
as my chief authority Fabius, *who was* contemporary

temporibus hujusce belli. Captivorum,
with the events of this war. *Such* of the captives

qui essent Latini nominis, dimissis sine pretio
as belonged to the Latin confederacy being dismissed without ransom,

Romanis datis in vincula, Hannibal cum jussisset
and the Romans cast into chains, Hannibal [when he had] ordered

corpora suorum segregata ex cumulis
the bodies of his own *men* to be collected from among the heaps

hostium coacervatorum sepeliri, corpus
of the enemy's piled up *slain*, *and* buried; the body

Flaminii quoque inquisitum cum magna cura
of Flaminius too, *which was* searched for with great diligence

causa funeris non invenit. Romæ
for the purpose of interment, he could not find. At Rome,

ad primum nuntium ejus cladis concursus populi
on the first intelligence of this disaster, a general rush of the people

cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu factus est in forum:
in great terror and tumult was made to the forum.

matronæ vagæ per vias percunctantur obvios,
The matrons, running up and down the streets, ask all they meet

quæ repens clades allata, quæve esset fortuna exercitus.
what sudden calamity was reported? what was the fate of the army?

et cum turba modo frequentis concionis versa
And when the multitude, like a full assembly, having directed

in comitium et curiam vocaret
their course to the comitium and senate-house, were calling upon

magistratus, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum
the magistrates, at length, a little before sunset,

M. Pomponius prætor inquit "victi sumus
Marcus Pomponius, the prætor, declares, "We have been defeated

magna pugna:" et quamquam nihil certius
in a great battle;" and though nothing more definite

auditum est ex eo, tamen impleti rumoribus
was heard from him, yet *the people* catching up rumors

alius ab alio referunt domos consulem
one from another return to their houses *with* accounts that "the consul

cæsum cum magna parte copiarum; paucos superesse,
was slain *together* with a great part of his troops; that few survived,

aut passim sparsos fuga per Etruriam
and these were either widely dispersed in flight through Etruria,

aut captos ab hoste. Quot fuerant casus
or *else* captured by the enemy." As many as had been the misfortunes

victi exercitus, in tot curas erant animi eorum
of the vanquished army, into so many anxieties were the minds of those

dispertiti, quorum propinqui meruerant sub consule
distracted, whose relations had served under the consul

C. Flaminio, ignorantium, quæ esset fortuna
Caius Flaminius, *being* uninformed of what had been the fate

suorum cujusque: nec quisquam habet satis certum,
of their respective *friends;* nor does any one know certainly

quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac
what he should either hope or fear. During the next and

aliquot deinceps diebus major multitudo mulierum prope
several succeeding days, a greater number of women almost

quam virorum stetit ad portas opperiens aut aliquem
than men stood at the gates, waiting either for some one

suorum aut nuntios de iis: sciscitantesque
of their friends, or for intelligence of them; and with earnest inquiries

circumfundebantur obviis, neque poterant avelli
they crowded around *those* who came up, nor could they be torn away

ab notis utique, priusquam inquisissent ordine
from those *they* knew especially, until they had examined minutely into

omnia. Inde digredientium ab nuntiis
every *particular.* Then as they retired from the informants,

cerneres varios vultus,
you might discern their various *expressions of* countenance,

ut læta aut tristia nuntiabantur
according as *intelligence* pleasing or sad was announced

cuique: circumfusosque redeuntibus domos
to each; and *numbers* surrounding them on their return home

gratulantes aut consolantes. Et gaudia et luctus
offering *either* congratulations or comfort. The joy and grief

feminarum erant præcipue insignia: ferunt unam
of the women were particularly conspicuous. They report that one

repente oblatam filio sospiti exspirasse
suddenly meeting her son *returning* safe, expired

in ipsa porta in ejus conspectu; alteram, cui
at the very door before his face; another, to whom

falso nuntiata erat filii mors, sedentem domi
false report had been brought of her son's death, sitting in her house

mœstam exanimatam nimio gaudio
in deep distress, became a corpse, from excessive joy

ad primum conspectum filii redeuntis. Prætores
at the first sight of him on his return. The prætors

per aliquot dies retinent senatum in curia
during several days, detained the senate in their house,

ab orto usque ad occidentem solem, consultantes
from the rising to the setting *of the* sun, deliberating

quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti posset
by what commander, or with what forces opposition could be made

victoribus Pœnis.
to the victorious Carthaginians.

VIII.—Priusquam consilia essent satis certa,
Before their plans were sufficiently determined,

alia repens clades nuntiatur; quattuor millia
another unexpected defeat is reported: four thousand

equitum missa cum C. Centenio proprætore
horse, sent under *the conduct of* C. Centenius, proprætor,

ab consule Servilio ad collegam circumventa ab
by the consul Servilius to his colleague, were cut off by

Hannibale in Umbria, quo post auditam pugnam
Hannibal in Umbria, whither on hearing of the fight

ad Trasimenus avertant iter. Fama ejus rei
at the Thrasymenus, they had turned their course. The news of this event

affecit homines varie: pars, animis occupatis
affected people differently: some, having their minds *pre*-occupied

majore ægritudine ducere recentem jacturam equitum
with heavier grief, deemed the recent loss of cavalry

levem ex comparatione priorum; pars
trifling, in comparison with their former *losses;* others

non æstimare id, quod acciderat per se, sed,
did not measure what had occurred, by itself, but *considered,*

ut in affecto corpore levis causa sentiretur magis
that as in a diseased body a slight cause was felt more *sensibly*

quam gravior valido, ita,
than a more powerful *one* in a robust *constitution;* so

quodcumque adversi inciderit civitati
whatever *species* of misfortune befell the commonwealth *in its*

tum ægræ et affectæ, æstimandum esse, non
then sickly and impaired *condition*, ought to be estimated, not

magnitudine rerum, sed extenuatis
by the magnitude of the event *itself*, but with *reference to* its exhausted

viribus, quæ possent pati nihil, quod aggravaret.
strength, which could endure nothing that would aggravate

Itaque civitas confugit ad remedium
its distresses. Accordingly, the state had recourse to a remedium

jam diu neque adhibitum nec desideratum
which for a long time past *had* neither *been* used nor wanted,—

dicendum dictatorem: et quia et consul aberat,
the appointment of a dictator; and because [both] the consul was absent,

a quo uno videbatur posse dici, nec
by whom alone it appeared he could be nominated; and

aut nuntium aut litteras erat facile mitti
neither message nor letter could easily be sent *to him*

per Italiam occupatam Punicis
through *those parts of* Italy occupied *as they were* by the Carthaginian

armis, populus nec poterat creare dictatorem,
arms; and *as* the people could not create a dictator,

quod nunquam factum erat ante eam diem,
which had never been done to that day,

populus creavit prodictatorem Q. Fabium Maximum
they appointed a prodictator, Quintus Fabius Maximus,

et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum: hisque
and a master of the horse, Marcus Minucius Rufus. To these

negotium datum ab senatu, ut firmarent muros
the business was assigned by the senate to strengthen the walls

turresque urbis, et disponerent præsidia, quibus
and towers of the city; to post guards in such

locis videretur, rescinderentque pontes
quarters as seemed expedient, and *to* break down the bridges

fluminum: quando nequissent tueri Italiam
on the rivers; *for* seeing that they were unable to protect Italy.

dimicandum esse pro urbe ac penatibus.
they must *now* fight *at home* in defence of their city and guardian gods

IX.—Hannibal venit recto itinere per Umbriam
Hannibal marched by the direct route through Umbria

usque ad Spoletium. Inde perpopulato
as far as Spoletum; thence, having utterly wasted

agro cum adortus esset oppugnare urbem
the *adjoining* country, and commenced an assault upon the city,

repulsus cum magna cæde suorum,
having been repulsed with great slaughter of his men, *and*

conjectans ex viribus unius coloniæ
conjecturing from the strength of *that* single colony,

haud nimis prospere tentatæ, quanta esset moles
which had not *been* very successfully attacked, what must be the size

urbis Romanæ avertit iter in agrum Picenum,
of the city of Rome, turned aside into the territory of Picenum

abundantem non solum copia frugum
which abounded not only with plenty of provisions

omnis generis, sed refertum præda, quam
of every description, but *was* well stored with booty, which

egentes atque avidi effuse rapiebant. Ibi
his needy and rapacious *troops* greedily seized. There

stativa habita per aliquot dies, milesque refectus
a camp was fixed for several days, and his soldiers *were* refreshed,

affectus hibernis itineribus ac palustri via
who had been enfeebled by winter marches and marshy roads,

prœlioque, magis secundo ad eventum quam
and with a battle more favorable in the result than

levi aut facili. Ubi satis quieti datum
light or easy. When sufficient *time* for rest had been allowed

gaudentibus magis præda ac populationibus quam
the *troops* delighting more in plunder and devastation than

otio aut requie, profectus devastat agrum
in ease and repose, setting out, he lays waste the territories

Prætutianum Hadrianumque, inde Marsos
of Pretutia and Hadria, then *of* the Marsi,

Marrucinosque et Pelignos proximamque regionem
the Marrucini and the Peligni, and the neighboring tract

Apuliæ circa Arpos et Luceriam. Consul
of Apulia, round Arpi and Luceria. The consul

Cn. Servilius, actis levibus prœliis cum Gallis
Cneius Servilius, having fought *some* slight battles with the Gauls,

et expugnato uno ignobili oppido, postquam audivit
and taken one inconsiderable town, when he heard

de cæde collegæ exercitusque, jam metuens
of the defeat of his colleague and the army, alarmed now

mœnibus patriæ, intendit iter ad urbem,
for the walls of *the capital of* his country, marched towards the city,

ne abesset in extremo discrimine. Q. Fabius
that he might not be absent at *so* extreme a crisis. Quintus Fabius

Maximus dictator iterum vocato senatu,
Maximus, dictator a second time, having convened the senate

quo die iniit magistratum, orsus
the very day he entered on his office, commencing

ab diis, cum edocuisset
with *what pertained to* the gods, after he had distinctly proven

patres, peccatum a C. Flaminio consule
to the fathers, that the faults committed by Caius Flaminius the consul,

negligentia cærimoniarum auspiciorumque
through his neglect of the ceremonies and auspices,

esse plus quam temeritate atque inscitia,
were *even* greater than *those arising* from rashness and want of judgment,

deosque ipsos consulendos esse, quæ essent
and that the gods themselves should be consulted *as to* what were

piacula deum iræ, pervicit, ut decemviri
the expiations of their anger, carried the point "that the decemvirs

juberentur adire Sibyllinos libros, quod
should be ordered to consult the Sibylline leaves," which

non ferme decernitur, nisi cum tetra prodigia
is rarely decreed, except when *some* terrible prodigies

nuntiata sunt. Qui, inspectis libris fatalibus,
were announced. These, after inspecting *those* books of the fates,

retulerunt patribus, id votum quod foret Marti
reported to the senate that "the vow which was made to Mars

causa ejus belli, non rite factum,
on occasion of the present war, not having been regularly fulfilled,

faciendum esse de integro atque amplius; et magnos
must be performed afresh and more fully; that the great

ludos vovendas esse Jovi, et ædes Veneri
games must be vowed to Jupiter; and temples to Venus

Erycinæ ac Menti, et supplicationem lectisterniumque
Erycina and Mens; that a supplication and lectisternium

habendum, et sacrum ver vovendum,
must be made, and a sacred spring vowed,

si bellatum esset prospere, resque publica
in case the war proceeded favorably, and the commonwealth

permansisset in eodem statu, quo fuisset ante
remained in the same state in which it had been before

bellum. Quoniam cura belli occupatura esset
the war." Since the management of the war would occupy

Fabium senatus jubet M. Æmelium prætorem
Fabius, the senate orders Marcus Æmilius, the prætor,

curare, ut omnia ea fiant mature
to see that all these *matters* are done in due time,

sententia collegii pontificum.
according to the directions of the college of pontiffs.

X.—His consultis senatus perfectis,
These decrees of the senate having been passed,

maximus pontifex L. Cornelius Lentulus, collegio
the chief pontiff, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, the college

prætorum consulente, censet primum omnium
of prætors advising with *him*, gives his opinion that, first of all,

populum consulendum de sacro vere;
the people should be consulted with respect to the sacred spring;

non posse voveri populi injussu. Populus
for that it could not be vowed without their order. The people

rogatus in hæc verba: "velitis jubeatisne
were asked in these words: "Do you choose and order

hæc fieri sic? Si
that this *vow* shall be performed in this manner: *that* in case

res publica Romani populi Quiritium, sicut velim eam,
the republic of the Roman people, the Quirites, shall, as I wish it *may*,

servata erit salva ad proximum quinquennium
be preserved in safety, during the next five years.

hisce duellis— duellum quod est Romano populo
from these wars, (*namely*, the war which is between the Roman people

cum Carthaginiensi, duellaque quæ sunt cum Gallis,
and the Carthaginian, and the wars which are *waging* with the Gauls

qui sunt cis Alpes,— Romanus populus
who dwell on this side of the Alps,) *then* the Roman people,

Quiritium duit datum donum, quod ver attulerit
the Quirites shall present *as* an offering whatever the spring shall produce

ex grege suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo, quæque
from the herds of swine, sheep, goats *or* oxen; and, whatever

erunt profana, fieri Jovi,
shall not have been consecrated, shall be sacrificed to Jupiter,

ex qua die senatus populusque jusserit:
from the day which the senate and people shall appoint?

qui faciet, facito, quando volet,
Let *him* who makes *the offering* make it when he please,

quaque lege volet; quo modo faxit,
and in what form he please; in whatsoever manner he does *it*,

esto probe factum: si id, quod oportebit fieri,
let it be *considered* duly done. If that which ought to be sacrificed

moritur, esto profanum, neque scelus esto; si quis
die, let it be unconsecrated, and let no guilt attach; if any *person*

insciens rumpet occidetve, esto ne fraus;
unwittingly wound or kill *it*, let it be no injury *to him*;

si quis clepset ne scelus esto populo, neve
if any one shall steal *it*, let no guilt accrue to the people or *to him*

cui cleptum erit: si insciens faxit
from whom it was stolen; if *any* unknowingly offer *it*

atro die, esto probe factum: si
on a forbidden day, let it be *esteemed* duly offered; whether *done*

nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit,
by night or day, whether slave or freeman perform *it*

esto probe factum: si senatus populusque
let it be *deemed* rightly performed. If the senate and people

jusserit fieri anteidea ac faxit, populus
shall order *it* to be offered sooner than *any person* shall offer *it*, let the people,

solutus eo esto liber." Causa ejusdem rei magni ludi
being acquitted of it, be free." On the same account great games

voti trecentis triginta tribus millibus,
were vowed, at *an expense of* three hundred and thirty-three thousand

trecentis triginta tribus æris, trecente; præterea
three hundred and thirty-three *asses* *and* a third; besides,

trecentis bubus Jovi, albis bubus atque
three hundred oxen, to be *offered* to Jupiter; *and* white oxen, and

ceteris hostiis multis aliis divis. Votis rite nuncupatis
other victims to many other deities. The vows being duly made,

supplicatio edicta supplicatumque iere
a supplication was proclaimed; and to its performance went

non tantum multitudo urbana cum conjugibus
not only the inhabitants of the city with their wives

ac liberis, sed etiam agrestium, quos cura
and children, but also *those* of the rustics, whom a concern

publica contingebat in aliqua fortuna sua.
for the public *welfare* influenced in *view of* some possessions *of* their own.

Tum habitum lectisternium per triduum,
Then was performed the lectisternium during *the space of* three days,

decemviris sacrorum curantibus: fuerunt
the decemvirs for sacred things superintending. There were

sex pulvinaria in conspectu, unum Jovi ac Junoni,
six couches *exhibited* to view; one for Jupiter and Juno,

alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium
another for Neptune and Minerva, a third

Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianæ,
for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana,

quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum
a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta *and* the sixth

Mercurio et Cereri. Ædes tum votæ: Veneri Erycinæ
for Mercury and Ceres. The temples were then vowed: to Venus Erycina,

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit ædem, quia ita
Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator, vowed a temple; for so

edictum erat ex fatalibus libris, ut is voveret,
it was delivered from the prophetic books, that he should vow *it*,

cujus esset maximum imperium in civitate.
who held the highest authority in the state.

T. Otacilius prætor vovit ædem Menti.
Titus Otacilius, the prætor, vowed a temple to Mens.

XI.—Divinis rebus ita peractis dictator
Divine things having been thus performed, the dictator

tum retulit de bello reque de publica, quibus
then put the question of the war and the commonwealth; with what

quotve legionibus patres censerent
and how many legions the fathers were of opinio

obviam eundum esse victori hosti. Decretum,
that resistance should be *offered* to the victorious enemy. It was decreed,

ut acciperet exercitum ab Cn. Servilio consule
that "he should receive the army from Cneius Servilius, the consul;

præterea, scriberet ex civibus sociisque,
in addition *to which* he should levy, among the citizens and allies,

quantum equitum ac peditum videretur:
as many horse and foot as should be deemed *requisite;*

ageret faceretque omnia cetera, ut duceret
that he should transact and perform everything else as he considered

e republica. Fabius dixit se adjecturum duas
for *the good of* the state." Fabius said he would add two

legiones ad exercitum Servilianum: scriptis
legions to the army of Servilius. After being levied

per magistrum equitum edixit diem iis
by the master of the horse, he appointed a day for them

ad conveniendum: propositoque edicto,
to meet *him.* Then, having published a proclamation

ut, quibus oppida castellaque essent immunita
that *those,* whose towns or castles were unfortified,

uti commigrarent in loca tuta: omnis
should remove into places *of* safety, *and* that all *the inhabitants*

ejus regionis, qua Hannibal iturus esset,
of that tract, through which Hannibal was about to march,

quoque demigrarent ex agris, prius incensis tectis
should likewise remove out of the country, after first burning the house

ac corruptis frugibus, ne esset copia
and destroying the fruits *of the earth,* that there might not be a supply

cujus rei. Ipse profectus Flamina via obviam
of any thing. he himself set out by the Flaminian road to meet

consuli exercituique, cum prospexisset
the consul and the army; *and* when he saw in the distance

agmen ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum consulemque
the marching body on the Tiber, near Ocriculum, and the consul

cum equitibus prodeuntem ad se, misit viatorem,
with the cavalry advancing to him, he sent a beadle

qui nuntiaret consuli, ut veniret ad dictatorem sine
to acquaint the consul that he *must* approach the dictator without

lictoribus. Cum qui paruisset dicto, eorumque
lictors. When he had obeyed the command, and their

congressus fecisset ingentem speciem
meeting had exhibited a striking display *of the majesty*

dictaturæ apud cives sociosque, vetustate
of the dictatorship before the citizens and allies, *who*, from its antiquity,

jam prope oblitos ejus imperii, litteræ allatæ sunt
had now almost forgotten that authority; a letter arrived

ab urbe naves onerarias portantes commeatum
from the city, *stating* that the ships of burden, conveying provisions

ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum, captas esse
from Ostia into Spain to the army, had been captured

a Punica classe circa portum Cosanum. Consul
by the Carthaginian fleet off the port of Cossa. The consul

itaque jussus proficisci extemplo Ostiam,
was in consequence ordered to proceed immediately to Ostia,

completisque navibus, quæ essent ad urbem
and, having manned *all* the ships which were at the city

Romanam aut Ostiæ milite ac navalibus sociis,
of Rome, or at Ostia, with soldiers and mariners,

persequi hostium classem ac tutari litora Italiæ.
to pursue the enemy's fleet, and protect the coasts of Italy.

Magna vis hominum conscripta erat Romæ:
Great numbers of men had been levied at Rome;

etiam libertini, quibus essent liberi et militaris
even the sons of freedmen who had children, and *were of* military

ætas in verba juraverant: ex hoc exercitu urbano,
age, had enlisted. Of these troops *levied* in the city,

qui erant minores quinque et triginta annis, impositi
such as were under thirty-five years were put

in naves; alii relicti, ut præsiderent urbi.
on *board* the ships; the rest were left to guard the city

XII.—Dictator, acceptо consulis exercitu a
The dictator, having received the consul's army from

Fulvio Flacco, venit per Sabinum agrum Tibur,
Fulvius Flaccus, came through the Sabine territory to Tibur,

quo diem edixerat ad conveniendum novis
where he had appointed the day for the assembling of the new-*raised*

militibus. Inde Præneste ac
troops. Thence *he went* to Præneste, and

transversis limitibus egressus est in Latinam viam,
by cutting across the country he came out on the Latin road,

unde ducit ad hostem, exploratis itineribus
whence he led *his army* towards the enemy, reconnoitring the route

cum summa cura, nullo loco se commissurus
with the utmost diligence; determined in no case to expose himself

fortunæ, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret.
to hazard, except so far as necessity might constrain *him*.

Quo die primum posuit castra in hostium conspectu
The day he first pitched his camp within the enemy's view,

haud procul Arpis Pœnus facta nulla mora,
not far from Arpi, the Carthaginian made no delay

quin educeret in aciem faceretque copiam
n leading *his* troops out into the field, and affording an opportunity

pugnandi: sed ubi videt omnia quieta apud hostes,
of battle: but when he saw everything *was* quiet with the enemy,

castra nec mota ullo tumultu, rediit
and their camp unstirred by any bustling confusion, he returned

in castra, quidem increpans, quoque suos Martios
within his lines, saying indeed tauntingly, "That even the martial

animos Romanis tandem victos, debellatumque esse
pluck of the Romans was at length subdued; that they were warred down,

propalamque concessum de virtute ac gloria:
and had manifestly given up *all claim* to valor and renown:"

ceterum tacita cura incessit animum, quod
but a mute anxiety invaded his heart, *seeing* that

sibi futura res esset cum duce haudquaquam simili
he would have to deal with a commander very unlike

Flaminio Sempronioque, ac Romani tum
Flaminius and Sempronius; and *that* the Romans, then

demum edocti malis quæsissent ducem
at length schooled by their misfortunes, had chosen a leader *who was*

parem Hannibali. Et extemplo timuit
a match for Hannibal; and with *instinctive* promptness he dreaded

non vim quidem prudentiam dictatoris:
not the vigorous exertion, but the provident skill of the dictator.

hauddum expertus constantiam, cœpit
Having *however* not yet fully experienced his steadiness, he began

agitare ac tentare animum crebro movendo castra
to provoke and try his temper, by frequently *removing* his camp,

populandoque in ejus oculis agros sociorum:
and ravaging under his eyes the lands of the allies;

et modo abibat ex conspectu citato agmine,
and one while he withdrew out of sight by a hasty march,

modo obsistebat repente occultus in aliquo
another while he halted suddenly, *and* concealed *himself* in some

flexu viæ, si posset excipere digressum
winding of the road, if possible to entrap him *on his* coming down

in æquum. Fabius ducebat agmen per alta loca,
into the plain. Fabius kept marching his forces along the high grounds,

modico intervallo ab hoste, ut neque omitteret eum
at a moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to let him go

neque congrederetur. Miles tenebatur castris,
altogether, nor *yet to* encounter him. His troops were kept within the camp,

nisi quantum necessario usus cogeret:
except so far as necessary want compelled *them to quit it; and*

petebant pabulum et ligna nec pauci nec passim.
fetched in food and wood not *by* small nor rambling *parties.*

Statio equitum levisque armaturæ, compositæ
An outpost of cavalry and light-infantry, prepared

instructaque in subitos tumultus et præbebat omnia
and equipped for *repressing* sudden alarms, rendered every *place*

tuta suo militi et infesta effusis populatoribus
safe to their own soldiers. and dangerous to the straggling pillagers

hostium: neque summa rerum committebatur
of the enemy. Nor was his whole cause committed

universo periculo, et parva momenta
to general hazard: while the little advantages *gained*

levium certaminum cœptorum ex tuto,
in slight skirmishes, commenced on safe *ground*,

receptuque finitimo, assuefaciebant militem territum
and with a retreat at hand, accustomed the soldiery, dispirited

pristinis cladibus jam tandem minus pœnitere aut
by former disasters, now at length to think less meanly either

suæ virtutis aut fortunæ. Sed non habebat
of their own prowess or *their* fortune. But he did not find

Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis
Hannibal a greater enemy to such sound measures

quam magistrum equitum, qui, habebat
than his master of the horse, who had

nihil aliud moræ ad rem publicam præcipitandam,
no other hindrance in plunging the commonwealth into ruin

quam quod erat impar imperio: ferox
than that he was subordinate in command. Presumptuous

rapidusque in consiliis ac immodicus lingua,
and precipitate in his measures and unbridled in his tongue,

primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus,
first among a few, afterward openly in public,

compellabat segnem pro cunctatore, timidum
he reproached him *with being* sluggish instead of cool, timid

pro cauto, affingens vitia vicina
instead of cautious; imputing *to him those* vices *which* bordered

virtutibus; premendoque superiorem, ars
on his virtues; and by depressing *the merit of* his superior,— a practice

pessima quæ nimis crevit
of the basest nature, *and* which has become too general

prosperis successibus multorum, sese extollebat.
from the favorable success of many,— he exalted himself.

XIII.—Hannibal transit ex Hirpinis
Hannibal crosses over from the Hirpini

in Samnium, depopulatur agrum Beneventanum,
into Samnium, ravages the territory of Beneventum,

capit urbem Telesiam, etiam de industria irritat ducem,
takes the city *of* Telesia, and purposely irritates the *Roman* general

si forte possit detrahere ad certamen æquum
if perchance he could draw him down to a battle on the plain,

accensum tot indignitatibus cladibusque
exasperated *as he must be* by so many indignities and disasters

sociorum. Inter multitudinem sociorum
inflicted on his allies. Among the multitude of allies

Italici generis, qui capti fuerant ab Hannibale
of Italian birth, who had been captured by Hannibal

ad Trasimenum dimissique, erant tres Campani equites,
at Thrasymenus, and set at liberty, were three Campanian horsemen,

jam tum illecti multis donis promissisque
who had even at that time *been* bribed by many presents and promises

Hannibalis ad conciliandos animos popularium.
from Hannibal to win-over the affections of their countrymen *to him*.

Hi nuntiantes, si admovisset exercitum
These bringing *him* word, that if he advanced his army

in Campaniam fore copiam potiendæ
into Campania he would have an opportunity of getting possession

Capuæ dubium alternis fidentem et
of Capua, *though he* hesitated, alternately trusting and

diffidentem, cum res esset major
mistrusting *their accounts*, as the affair was of more importance

quam auctores, tamen moverunt Hannibalem,
than the authorities, they yet induced Hannibal

ut peteret ex Samnio Campanos: dimisit
to march from Samnium into Campania; *and* he dismissed *them*,

etiam atque etiam monitos, ut affirmarent promissa
repeatedly charging *them* to confirm their promises

rebus jussosque, redire ad se cum pluribus
by acts, and ordering *them* to return to him with a greater number

et aliquibus principum. Ipse imperat duci,
and with some of their principal *men*. He *then* commanded his guide

ut ducat se in agrum Casinatem, edoctus
to conduct him into the territory of Casinum, having learned

a peritis regionum si occupasset eum saltum,
from *persons* acquainted with the country, that, if he seized on the pass there,

interclusurum Romano exitum ad ferendam opem
he would shut off the Romans from a passage *by which* to bring succor

sociis. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latino nomine
to their allies. But the Punic, differing *in accent* from the Latin name,

fecit, dux ut acciperet Casilinum pro Casino;
caused the guide to understand Casilinum instead of Casinum;

aversusque ab suo itinere, descendit per
and turning from his *former* course, he descends through

agrum Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum
the territory of Allifæ, Calatia, and Cales,

in campum Stellatem. Ubi cum circumspexisset
into the plain of Stella. Here, when looking round he saw

regionem clausam montibus fluminibusque,
the country enclosed between mountains and rivers,

vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset.
Hannibal called the guide, *and* asked him where in the world he was?

Cum dixisset eum mansurum eo die
when he replied, that he would lodge that day

Casilini, tum demum error cognitus est,
at Casilinum: then at length the error was discovered,

et Casinum esse longe inde alia regione:
and that Casinum lay a great distance from there in *quite* another direction.

cæsoque duce virgis et sublato in crucem
On this, having scourged the guide with rods and crucified him,

ad terrorem reliquorum, communitis castris, dimisit
for the intimidation of *all* others, *he* fortified a camp, *and* sent

Maherbalem in Falernum agrum prædatum.
Maherbal into the Falernian territory to pillage.

Ea populatio pervenit usque ad aquas Sinuessanas:
This depredation reached as far as the waters of Sinuessa;

Numidæ fecerunt ingentem cladem, fugam
the Numidians committed dreadful devastation, *and caused* flight

terroremque tamen latius: tamen nec is terror
and consternation to a still wider extent. Yet did not this terror,

cum omnia flagrarent bello dimovit socios
when all *around* was blazing in the flames of war, unsettle the allies

fide, videlicet quia regebantur moderato
in their allegiance; evidently because they were living under a mild

et justo imperio, nec abnuebant parere
and equitable government; nor were they unwilling to render obedience

melioribus, quod est unum vinculum fidei.
to their superiors, which is the only bond of fidelity.

XIV.—Ut vero, postquam castra posita sunt
But when *the Carthaginian* camp was pitched

ad flumen Vulturnum, amœnissimus ager Italiæ
on the river Vulturnus, *and* the most delightful tract in Italy

exurebatur, villæque passim
was being consumed by fire, and the country-seats on every side

fumabant incendiis, Fabio ducente per juga
were smoking in ruins, *whilst* Fabius led *his troops* along the tops

Massici montis, tum seditio
of the Massic mountains, then the mutinous discontent

prope accensa de integro. Enim per paucos dies
had nearly been kindled afresh: for during a few days *past*

fuerant quieti, quia, cum agmen ductum esset
they had been in good temper, because, as the army had marched

celerius solito, crediderant festinari
quicker than usual, they had supposed that haste was being made

ad prohibendam Campaniam populationibus;
to protect Campania from *further* ravages;

ut vero ventum in extrema juga montis Massici,
but when they arrived at the extreme ridge of Mount Massicus,

et hostes erant sub oculis, urentes tecta
and the enemy appeared under their eyes, setting fire to the houses

Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ,
of the Falernian district, and of the settlers of Sinuessa,

nec ulla mentio erat pugnæ, Minucius inquit,
and *still* no mention made of battle, Minucius exclaims,

"venimusne huc spectatum incendia et cædes sociorum
"Are we come hither to view the burning and slaughter of *our* allies,

ad rem fruendam oculis? Nec si nullius alterius,
as to a spectacle grateful to the sight? And if for no other *circumstance*,

nos ne quidem pudet horum civium,
are we not [even] moved to shame on account of these our countrymen

quos nostri patres miserunt colonos Sinuessam,
whom our fathers sent *as* colonists to Sinuessa,

ut hæc ora esset tuta ab Samnite hoste,
that this frontier might be secured against the Samnite foe?

quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit
which now not the neighboring Samnite wastes with fire,

sed Pœnus advena, progressus jam huc
but a Carthaginian foreigner, *who has* advanced even thus far

ab extremis terminis orbis terrarum nostra
from the remotest limits of the world, through our

cunctatione et socordia. Pro tantum degeneramus
dilatoriness and inactivity. What! are we so degenerate

a nostris patribus, ut nunc videamus eam oram
from our ancestors that we now *calmly* look *down* upon that coast

plenam hostium que jam factam Numidarum
filled with the enemy's *troops* and [already] made *the property* of Numidians

ac Maurorum, præter quam illi duxerint esse dedecus
and Moors, along which they considered it a disgrace

sui imperii Punicas classes vagari?
to their government that the Carthaginian fleets should cruise?

Qui modo, indignando oppugnari Saguntum,
We who, erewhile, indignant at siege being laid to Saguntum,

ciebamus non homines tantum, sed fœdera et deos,
appealed not to men only, but to treaties and to gods,

spectamus Hannibalem scandentem mœnia
behold Hannibal scaling the walls

Romanæ coloniæ lenti. Fumus ex incendiis
of a Roman colony unmoved. The smoke from the flames

villarum agrorumque venit in oculos atque ora·
of *our* farm-houses and lands comes into our eyes and faces;

aures strepunt clamoribus plorantium sociorum,
our ears ring with the cries of our weeping allies,

invocantium nos opem sæpius quam deorum:
invoking our aid oftener than *that* of the gods;

conditi hic silvis nubibusque ducimus exercitum
yet hiding ourselves here in woods and clouds, we lead about our army

modo pecorum per æstivas saltus deviasque calles.
like a herd of cattle, through shady forests and desert paths.

Si M. Furius voluisset recipere urbem a Gallis
If Marcus Furius had resolved to rescue the city from the Gauls

hoc modo, quo his novus Camillus, dictator
by the *same* means by which this modern Camillus, *this* dictator

unicus quæsitus nobis in affectis rebus,
of such singular *abilities* selected for us in our distresses,

parat recuperare Italiam ab Hannibale,
intends to recover Italy from Hannibal,

peragrando cacumina saltusque, Roma esset
(*that is*, by traversing mountain-tops and forests,) Rome would *now* be

Gallorum; vereor, ne, nobis sic cunctantibus
the property of the Gauls; *and* I fear lest, *if* we *are* thus dilatory,

nostri majores toties servaverint quam Hannibali
our ancestors will so often have preserved it *only* for Hannibal

ac Pœnis. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, die
and the Carthaginians. But *that* man and true Roman, during the *very* day

quo allatum est Veios eum dictum
on which *the* account was brought to Veii of his being appointed

dictatorem ex auctoritate patrum jussuque populi,
dictator on the authority of the fathers and the nomination of the people,

descendit in æquum, cum Janiculum esset
came down into the plain, though the Janiculum was

satis altum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem,
of sufficient height, where he might sit *and* take a prospect of the enemy,

atque illo ipso die in media urbe, qua nunc sunt
and on that same day, in the middle of the city, where now are

Gallica busta, et die postero citra Gabios
the Gallic piles, and on the day following, on the *Roman* side of Gabii,

cecidit legiones Gallorum. Quid? cum
cut to pieces the legions of the Gauls. What! when

multos annos post ad Caudinas Furculas missi sumus
many years after *this*, at the Caudine forks, we were sent

sub jugum ab Samnite hoste, utrum perlustrando
under the yoke by the Samnite foe, was it by traversing

juga Samnii, an premendo obsidendoque
the heights of Samnium, or *was it* by pressing and besieging

Luceriam et lacessendo victorem hostem
Luceria, and challenging the victorious enemy,

L. Papirius Cursor depulsum jugum ab
that Lucius Papirius Cursor removed the yoke from

cervicibus Romanis imposuit superbo Samniti?
the necks of the Romans, *and* imposed it on the haughty Samnites?

Modo, quæ alia res quam celeritas dedit victoriam
A short time ago, what else but quick despatch gave victory

C. Lutatio, quod postero die quam vidit
to Caius Lutatius? for on the next day after he caught sight of

hostem, oppressit classem gravem commeatibus
the enemy, he overpowered their fleet, heavily laden with provisions,

impeditam ipsam suomet instrumento atque apparatu?
and encumbered of itself by its own implements and apparatus.

Est stultitia credere posse debellari sedendo
It is folly to suppose that the war can be finished by sitting *still*,

aut votis; copias oportet armari, et deducendas
or by prayers; forces must be armed and led down

in æquum, ut congrediaris vir cum viro:
into the plain, that you may encounter man with man.

audendo atque agendo Romana res crevit,
By boldness and activity the Roman power has grown

non iis segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi
to its present height, *and* not by these sluggish measures which cowards

vocant cauta." Multitudo Romanorum tribunorum
term cautious." A crowd of Roman tribunes

equitumque circumfundebatur Minucio
and knights poured round Minucius

hæc velut concionanti, et ferocia dicta
while thus, as it were, haranguing; and his presumptuous expressions

evolvebantur quoque ad aures militum; ac,
reached even the ears of the common soldiers; and

si res esset suffragii militaris ferebant
had the matter been *submitted* to the votes of the soldiery, they showe

haud dubie, prælaturos Minucium Fabio duci.
evidently they would have preferred Minucius to Fabius *as* a commander.

XV.—Fabius, intentus pariter haud minus
Fabius, attentive alike no less

in suos quam in hostes, prius præstat animum
to his own *men* than to the enemy, first shows *that* his resolution

invictum ab illis. Quamquam probe scit
was unconquered by the former. Though he well knew

suam cunctationem esse infamem non modo in suis
that his procrastination was ill-spoken of, not only in his own

castris, sed jam etiam Romæ, tamen obstinatus
camp, but by this time even at Rome; yet inflexibly adhering

eodem tenore consiliorum extraxit reliquum
to the same line of policy, he delayed through the remainder

æstatis, ut Hannibal, destitutus ab spe
of the summer; *to the end* that Hannibal, deprived of the prospect

certaminis petiti summa
of an engagement *which he* sought to bring about with his utmost

ope, jam circumspectaret locum hibernis,
endeavors, might now look about for a place for winter-quarters

quia ea regio erat præsentis, non perpetuæ copiæ
for that district was *one* of present, *but* not constant, supply,

arbusta vineæque et omnia consita
abounding in plantations and vineyards, and all *places* planted

amœnis magis quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc
with luxurious rather than useful produce. *Of* this

relata Fabio per exploratores. Cum
information is brought to Fabius by the scouts; *and* as

satis sciret rediturum per easdem
he was pretty certain that *Hannibal* would return by the same

angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum,
narrow pass through which he had entered the Falernian territory,

occupat montem Calliculam et Casilinum
he occupied mount Calicula and Casilinum

modicis præsidiis, quæ urbs dirempta flumine
with a moderate force; which city intersected by the river

Vulturno, dividit Falernum a Campano agro:
Vulturnus, divides the Falernian and Campanian territories.

ipse reducit exercitum iisdem jugis,
He himself leads back his army along the same eminences *over which*

misso L. Hostilio Mancino cum
he had come, sending out Lucius Hostilius Mancinus with

quadringentis equitibus sociorum exploratum. Qui
four hundred horsemen of the allies to reconnoitre; who,

ex turba juvenum sæpe audientium
being one of the crowd of youths that had often heard

magistrum equitum ferociter concionantem, progressus
the master of the horse fiercely haranguing, proceeded

primo modo exploratoris, ut specularetur
at first after the *cautious* manner of a scout, that he might observe

hostem ex tuto, ubi vidit Numidas
the enemy from safe *grounds*; *but* when he saw the Numidians

vagos passim per vicos, per occasionem
scattered widely throughout the villages, *and*, on opportunity *offering*,

etiam occidit paucos, animus extemplo occupatus est
even slew some *of them*, his *whole* mind was instantly occupied

certamine, præceptaque dictatoris
by the *thoughts of* fighting, and the injunctions of the dictator

exciderunt, qui sese jusserat progressum,
slipped *his* memory, who had charged him to advance

quantum posset tuto recipere prius, quam
only so far as he might with safety, *and* to retreat before

veniret in hostium conspectum. Numidæ,
he should come within the enemy's sight. The Numidians,

alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque
party after party, skirmishing and retreating,

pertrahere ipsum prope ad castra cum fatigatione
drew him on almost to their camp, to the fatigue

hominum atque equorum: inde Carthalo
of his men and horses. Then Carthalo,

quem penes erat summa imperii equestris, invectus
who held the command-in-chief of the cavalry, charging

concitatis equis, cum hostes avertisset, priusquam
at full speed, *and* having made the enemy retire before

veniret ad teli conjectum, secutus est fugientes
he came within a dart's throw, pursued them in *their* flight

quinque millia ferme continenti cursu. Mancinus,
for five miles almost in a continuous course. Mancinus

postquam vidit hostem nec desistere sequi,
when he saw that the enemy did not desist from the pursuit,

nec esse spem effugiendi, cohortatus suos
and that there was no prospect of escaping, having encouraged his *troops*,

rediit in prœlium, impar omni parte virium:
turned back to the battle, *though* inferior in every kind of force.

itaque ipse et delecti equitum circemventi
Accordingly he himself and the choicest of the cavalry, being surrounded,

occiduntur: ceteri effuso rursus cursu perfugerunt
are cut to pieces; the rest in disorderly retreat made *their* escap

primum Cales, inde callibus prope inviis ad
first to Cales, *and* thence, by ways almost impassable, to

dictatorem. Forte eo die Minucius
the dictator. It happened that on the same day Minucius

se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum
had formed a junction with Fabius, having been sent to secure

præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam,
with a guard a woody hill, which above Tarracina

coactus in artas fauces, imminet mari,
is contracted into a narrow defile, *and* hangs over the sea; *in order*

ne Pœnus posset pervenire in Romanum
that the Carthaginian might not be able to get into the Roman

agrum Appiæ limite immunito. Dictator
territory by the Appian way's being *left* unguarded. The dictator

ac magister equitum, conjunctis exercitibus,
and master of the horse, *re*-uniting their forces,

castra deferunt in viam, qua Hannibal
march down into the road, through which Hannibal

erat ducturus. Hostes aberant duo millia inde.
was to pass. The enemy was two miles from that *place*.

XVI.—Postero die Pœni agmine
Next day the Carthaginians on the march

complevere, quod viæ erat inter bina castra. Cum
filled the whole road which lay between the two camps; *and* though

Romani constitissent sub ipso vallo, haud dubie
the Romans had taken post close to their own rampart, evidently

æquiore loco, tamen Pœnus successit
a the more advantageous situation, yet the Carthaginian came up

cum expeditis equitibus, atque ad lacessendum
with his light-horsemen, and, *in order* to provoke

hostem carptim pugnavere et procursando,
the enemy, made *several* skirmishing attacks, charging

que sese recipiendo. Romana acies restitit suo loco:
and *then* retreating. The Roman line remained in its position.

pugna fuit lenta et magis ex voluntate dictatoris
The battle was slow and more conformable to the wish of the dictator

quam Hannibalis: ab Romanis cecidere
than of Hannibal. On the part of the Romans there fell

ducenti, hostium octingenti. Inde videri
two hundred, of the enemy eight hundred. *It* now *began* to appear that,

via ad Casilinum obsessa Hannibal inclusus;
by the road to Casilinum being *thus* blockaded, Hannibal was hemmed in;

cum Capua et Samnium et tantum divitum
and that while Capua and Samnium, and such a number of wealthy

sociorum ab tergo subveheret Romanis commeatus,
allies at their back, might furnish the Romans with supplies,

Pœnus hibernaturus esset inter
the Carthaginian, *on the other hand*, must winter amid

saxa Formiana ac arenas perhorridaque stagna
the rocks of Formiæ and the sands and horrid swamps

Liternas. Nec fefellit Hannibalem, se peti
of Liternum. Nor did it escape Hannibal that he was assailed

suis artibus: itaque, cum non posset evadere per
by his own arts; wherefore, since he could not make his way through

Casilinum, petendique montes et
Casilinum, and must direct *his* course to the mountains, and

superandum esset jugum Calliculæ, necubi
climb over the summit of Calicula, lest in any place

Romanus aggrederetur agmen inclusum
the Romans should fall on his troops in *their* march, *when* entangled

vallibus, commentus ad frustrandum hostem
in the valleys; having devised *a stratagem* for baffling the enemy

[illegible]dibrium oculorum, terribile specie
by a deception of the sight, apt to inspire terror from its appearance,

statuit succedere furtim ad montes
he resolved to come up by stealth to the mountains

principio noctis. Apparatus fallacis consilii
at the commencement of night. The preparation of his cunning device

fuit talis: faces fascesque virgarum atque
was of this description: torches, and bundles of rods and

aridi sarmenti collectæ undique ex agris,
dry cuttings, are collected from every part of the country

præliganturque cornibus boum, quos multos
and are tied fast on the horns of oxen, great numbers of which,

domitos indomitosque agebat inter ceteram
trained and untrained, he drove along *with him* among the other

prædam agrestem; boum effecta
spoil *taken* in the country; *the number* of oxen was made up

ad ferme duo millia: que Hasdrubali datum
to nearly two thousand: [and] to Hasdrubal was assigned

negotium, primis tenebris noctis ut ageret
the business, as soon as the darkness of night *came on*, to drive

id armentum accensis cornibus ad
this *numerous* herd, after *first* setting fire to their horns, *up to*

montes, maxime, si posset super saltus
the mountains, *and* particularly, if he could, over the passes

insessos ab hoste.
beset by the enemy.

XVII.—Primis tenebris castra mota silentio,
At the first *approach of* darkness, the camp was moved in silence;

boves acti aliquanto ante signa. Ubi
and the oxen *were* driven at some distance before the standards. When

ventum est ad radices montium angustasque vias
they arrived at the foot of the mountains and the narrow roads,

signum extemplo datur, accensis cornibus,
the signal is instantly given *that* fire *should be* set to their horns,

ut armenta concitentur in montes adversos.
and that the herd should be driven violently up the mountains in front;

Et ipse metus flammæ relucentis ex capite
the mere fright, *occasioned* by the flame blazing on their heads,

calorque jam diu adveniens ad vivum ad
and the heat soon penetrating to the quick and to

imaque cornuum, agebat boves velut stimulatos
the roots of their horns, drove on the oxen as if goaded

furore. Quo discursu omnia circum virgulta
by madness. By which dispersion all the surrounding bushes

repente ardere, haud secus quam accensis
were quickly *put* in a blaze, just as if fire *had been* set

silvis montibusque; irritaque quassatio capitum,
to the woods and mountains; and the fruitless tossing of their heads

excitans flammam, præbebat speciem hominum
quickening the flame, afforded an appearance *as* of men

discurrentium passim. Qui locati erant
running up and down on every side. *Those* who had been stationed

ad insidendum transitum saltus, ubi conspexere
to guard the passage of the wood, when they saw

ignes in summis montibus ac quosdam super se,
fires on the tops of the mountains, and some over their own *heads*,

rati se circumventos esse excessere præsidio:
concluding that they were surrounded, abandoned their post,

petentes tutissimum iter summa juga
taking the way, *as* the safest course, towards the summits

montium, qua minime densæ flammæ micabant,
[of the mountains,] where the fewest fires were blazing

tamen inciderunt in quosdam boves palatos
however, they fell in with some oxen *which had* strayed

a suis gregibus: et primo cum cernerent procul
from their herds. At first, when they beheld *them* at a distance,

constiterunt attoniti miraculo veluti
they stood fixed in amazement at the miracle, as it were,

spirantium flammas, deinde, ut apparuit
of *creatures* breathing out flames; *but* afterwards, when it showed itself

humana fraus, tum vero rati esse
to be a human stratagem, then, forsooth, concluding that there was

insidias, cum concitant se in fugam majore metu,
an ambuscade, as they betook themselves to flight with increased alarm,

incurrere quoque levi armaturæ hostium. Ceterum
they fall in also with the light-infantry of the enemy; but

nox æquato timore tenuit neutros incipientes
night inspiring equal fears. prevented either from commencing

pugnam ad lucem : interea Hannibal transducto
the battle until daylight. Meanwhile Hannibal, having conducted

toto agmine per saltum, et oppressis quibusdam
his whole army through the pass, and having cut off some

hostium in ipso saltu, posuit castra in agro
of the enemy in the very defile, pitches his camp in the territory

Allifano.
of Allifæ.

XVIII.—Fabius sensit hanc tumultum : ceterum
Fabius perceived this tumult, but

et ratus esse insidias et abhorrens certamine
concluding that it was a snare, and being utterly averse from fighting,

ab nocturno utique, tenuit suos munimentis.
in the night particularly, kept his *men* within *their* trenches.

Prima luce prœlium fuit sub jugo montis ;
At break of day a fight took place near the summit of the mountain,

quo Romani— etenim aliquantum præstabant
in which the Romans, as they were considerably superior

numero— facile superassent levem armaturam
in numbers, would have easily overpowered the light-infantry

interclusam ab suis, nisi cohors
of the enemy, cut off *as they were* from their own *party*, had not a cohort

Hispanorum remissa ab Hannibale ad id ipsum
of Spaniards, sent back by Hannibal for that very *purpose*,

pervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus
reached *the spot*. That *body* being more accustomed to mountains,

et levior ac aptiorque, cum velocitate corporum
and being lighter and also more adapted, both from the agility of their limbs

tum habitu armorum ad concursandum
and the nature of their arms, to skirmishing

inter saxa rupesque, facile elusit genere pugnæ
amid rocks and cliffs, easily foiled, by their mode of attack,

hostem gravem armis, campestrem statariumque.
an enemy loaded with arms, *used* to plain ground and the steady kind

Digressi certamine ita haudquaquam pari
of fighting. Separating from a contest thus by no means equal

contenderunt in castra, Hispani fere omnes incolumes,
they proceeded to their camps, the Spaniards *with* almost all *their men* safe,

Romani, aliquot amissis suis.
the Romans with considerable loss of theirs.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque
Fabius also moved his camp, and passing through

saltum consedit alto ac munito loco super Allifas
he defile, seated himself in a high and strong post above Allifæ.

Tum Hannibal, simulans se petere Romam
Then Hannibal, pretending to march to Rome

per Samnium, rediit usque in Pelignos populabundus;
through Samnium, came back as far as the Peligni, spreading devastation.

Fabius ducebat jugis medius inter
Fabius led *his troops* along the heights midway between

agmen hostium urbemque Romam, nec absistens
the army of the enemy and the city *of* Rome, neither avoiding

nec congrediens. Ex Pelignis
him altogether nor giving *him* a meeting. From the Peligni

Pœnus flexit iter, repetensque retro Apuliam,
the Carthaginian turned his course, and going back again to Apulia,

pervenit Geronium, urbem desertam ab suis
reached Geronium, a city deserted by its *inhabitants*

metu, quia pars mœnium collapsa erat ruinis.
from fear, as a part of its walls had fallen down together in ruins.

Dictator communiit castra in agro Larinate,
The dictator formed a strong camp in the territory of Larinum;

revocatus inde Romam causa sacrorum,
and being recalled thence to Rome on account of *some* sacred rites,

agens cum magistro equitum non modo imperio,
he pressed the master of the horse, not only with orders,

sed etiam consilio ac prope precibus,
but [also] with advice and almost with prayers,

ut confidat plus consilio quam fortunæ,
that "he should confide more in prudence than in fortune,

et imitetur se ducem potius quam Sempronium
and imitate him *as* a general rather than Sempronius

Flaminiumque ne censeret nihil
and Flaminius; that he should not suppose that nothing

actum, extracta prope æstate
had been achieved by having worn out nearly the *whole* summer

per ludificationem hostis: medicos quoque interdum
in baffling the enemy; that physicians too sometimes

proficere plus quiete quam movendo atque agendo:
gained more by rest than by motion and action.

esse haud parvam rem, desisse vinci
That it was no small thing to have ceased to be conquered

ab hoste toties victore, ac respirasse
by an enemy so often victorious, and to have taken breath

ab continuis cladibus; hæc nequidquam prænomito
after successive disasters." Having thus unavailingly admonished

magistro equitum, profectus est Romam.
the master of the horse, he set out for Rome.

XIX.—Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur,
In the beginning of the summer, wherein these transactions passed

bellum cœptum est terra marique in Hispania quoque
the war commenced by land and sea in Spain also.

Ad eum numerum navium, quem acceperat
To the number of ships, which he had received

a fratre instructum paratumque, Hasdrubal
from his brother, equipped and ready *for action*, Hasdrubal

adjecit decem: classem quadraginta navium
added ten. *This* fleet of forty sail

tradit Himilconi, atque ita profectus Carthagine
he delivered to Himilco; and thus setting out from Carthage,

navibus prope terram, ducebat exercitum in litore,
kept his ships near the land, *while* he led his army along the shore,

paratus confligere, quacumque parte copiarum
ready to engage with whatever part of his forces

hostis occurrisset. Idem consilii fuit primo
the enemy might fall in with. A similar plan was at first *projected*

Cn. Scipioni, postquam audivit hostem movisse
by Cneius Scipio when he heard that the enemy had moved

ex hibernis: deinde minus ausus concurrere terra
from their winter-quarters; *but* afterwards, not daring to engage *him* by land

prcpter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum,
from a great rumor of fresh auxiliaries,

pergit ire obviam hosti classe quinque et triginta navium,
he advances to meet the enemy with a fleet of thirty-five ships,

imposito delecto milite ad naves. Altero die
having put *some* chosen soldiers on board. On the next day

ab Tarracone pervenit ad stationem, distantem
after *leaving* Terraco, he arrived at a harbor at a distance of

decem millia passuum ab ostio amnis Iberi.
ten miles from the mouth of the river Iberus.

Duæ Massiliensium speculatoriæ præmissæ inde
Two Massilian spy-boats, sent forward from that place,

retulere, Punicam classem stare in ostio fluminis,
brought word back, that the Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of *that* river,

castraque posita in ripa: itaque,
and that their camp was pitched on the bank. *In order*, therefore,

ut opprimeret improvidos incautosque
to overpower them *while* unprovided and off their guard,

universo simul effuso terrore, sublatis anchoris
by a universal and wide-spread terror, *he* weighed anchor

vadit ad hostem. Habet Hispania
and advanced towards the enemy. They have *in* Spain

multas turres et positas altis locis, quibus utuntur
a *great* many towers built in lofty situations, which they employ

et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones.
both *as* watch-towers and *as* places of defence against pirates.

Inde primo, navibus hostium conspectis, signum
From them first, the ships of the enemy having been descried, the signal

datum est Hasdrubali; tumultusque ortus est
was given to Hasdrubal; and a tumult arose

castris et in terra prius quam ad naves
in the camp and on land sooner than on the ships

et ad mare, pulsu remorum alioque nautico strepitu
and at sea; the dashing of the oars and other nautical noises

nondum aut exaudito, aut promontoriis aperientibus
not being yet distinctly heard, nor the promontories disclosing

classem: cum repente alius eques super alium missus
the fleet. Upon this, suddenly one horseman after another, sent out

ab Hasdrubale jubet vagos in litore
by Hasdrubal, orders those *who were* rambling about the shore

quietosque in suis tentoriis, exspectantes nihil minus
and sitting quietly in their tents, expecting nothing less

quam hostem aut prœlium eo die, conscendere naves
than the enemy or a fight on that day, to go on board

propere atque capere arma : Romanam classem
instantly and take up arms : that the Roman fleet

esse jam haud procul portu. Equites
was now a short distance from the harbor. The horsemen,

dimissi passim hæc imperabant. Mox
despatched in every direction, delivered these orders; *and* presently

Hasdrubal ipse aderat cum omni exercitu,
Hasdrubal himself comes up with the main army.

omniaque strepunt tumultu vario, militibus
All *places* resound with noises *of* various *kinds;* the soldiers

remigibusque ruentibus simul in naves
and rowers hurrying together to their ships,

modo fugientium e terra magis quam
like men making *their* escape from land rather than

euntium in pugnam. Vixdum omnes conscenderant,
going to battle. Scarcely had all embarked,

cum alii, resolutis oris, evehuntur
when some *of the vessels,* having untied the hawsers, are carried out

in anchoras; alii incidunt anchoralia,
against their anchors; others cut their cables,

ne quid teneat, agendoque omnia raptim
that nothing might impede *them;* and by doing everything with hurry

præpropere ministeria nautica impediuntur
and precipitation, the business of the mariners was impeded

apparatu militum, miles prohibentur
by the preparations of the soldiers, *and* the soldiers were prevented from

capere et aptare arma trepidatione
taking and getting ready their arms by the bustle *and confusion*

nautarum. Et jam Romanus non modo appropinquabat,
of the mariners. And now the Roman was not only approaching,

sed etiam direxerat naves in pugnam. Pœni
but had [even] drawn up his ships for the attack. The Carthaginians,

itaque turbati non magis ab hoste et prœlio,
therefore, thrown into disorder, not more by the enemy and the battle

quam suomet ipsi tumultu, et tentata
than by their own tumult, and having attempted

verius quam inita pugna, averterunt classem
rather than commenced an engagement, turned their fleet

in fugam: et cum os amnis adversi
for flight; and as the mouth of the river *which was* before them

haud sane esset intrabile lato agmini et tam multis
could not well be entered in *so* broad a line, and by so many

venientibus simul, egerunt naves in litus passim;
crowding in together, they ran their ships on shore in every part;

atque excepti alii vadis, alii sicco litore,
and being received, some in the shallows, *and* others on the dry shore,

partim armati partim inermes, perfugere
some armed and some unarmed, they made their escape

ad suorum aciem instructam per litus. Tamen
to their own party drawn up on the shore. However,

primo concursu duæ Punicæ naves captæ erant,
in the first encounter, two Carthaginian ships were taken,

quattuor suppressæ.
and four sunk.

XX.—Romani, quamquam terra erat
The Romans, notwithstanding *that* the land was

hostium, cernebantque aciem armatam
in the hands of the enemy, and *that* they saw a line of troops under arms,

prætentam in toto litore, haud cunctanter insecuti
stretched along the whole shore, promptly pursued

trepidam classem hostium, omnes naves, quæ
the dismayed fleet of the enemy; *and* all the ships, which

non aut perfregerant proras illisas litori
had not either shattered their prows *by* striking against the shore,

aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus
or set their keels fast in the sand-banks, *they* tied to their sterns

extraxere in altum; cepere ad quinque et viginti
and towed out into the deep. They captured as many as twenty-five

naves e quadraginta. Neque fuit id pulcherrimum
vessels out of the forty. Nor was that the most brilliant

ejus victoriæ, sed quod erant potiti
result of this victory: but [that] they were made masters

toto mari ejus oræ una levi pugna. Provecti
of the whole sea on that coast by one slight battle. Advancing

itaque classe ad Onuscam, facta exscensione
therefore, with their fleet to Honosca, *and* making a descent

ab navibus in terram, cum cepissent urbem vi
from the ships upon the shore, when they had taken the city by storm

diripuissentque captam, inde petunt Carthaginem,
and sacked it *after* its capture, they proceeded thence to Carthage;

atque, depopulati omnem agrum circa, postremo
and, after wasting all the country round, at last

incenderunt quoque tecta injuncta muro portisque.
set fire also to the buildings contiguous to the wall and gates.

Classis jam gravis præda inde pervenit ad
The fleet, now laden with booty, went on to

Longunticam, ubi magna vis sparti ad
Longuntica, where a great quantity of oakum for

nauticam rem congesta ab Hasdrubale: sublato,
naval purposes had been collected by Hasdrubal: *of this* taking away

quod fuit satis in usum, incensum est
as much as was sufficient for their use, they burnt

omne ceterum. Nec in projectas oras
all the rest. Nor *did they sail* along the prominent coasts

continentis modo, sed transmissum in insulam
of the continent only, but crossed over into the island

Ebusum. Ubi summo labore biduum
Ebusus; where, having, with the utmost exertion, for two days

oppugnata nequidquam urbe, quæ est caput
directed *their* attack in vain against the city, which is the capital

insulæ, ubi animadversum est tempus
of the island, when they perceived that time

teri frustra in irritam spem, versi
was wasted to no purpose on a hopeless prospect, *they* applied themselves

ad populationem agri, direptis incensisque
to the ravaging of the country: *and* having plundered and fired

aliquot vicis, parta majore præda quam
several towns, *and* acquired a greater booty than *they had gotten*

ex continenti, cum se recepissent in naves, legati
on the continent, after they had retired to their ships, ambassadors

venerunt ad Scipionem ex Balearibus insulis
came to Scipio, from the Balearic Isles,

petentes pacem. Inde classis flexa retro,
suing for peace. From this place the fleet sailed back,

reditumque in citeriora provinciæ; quo
and returned to the hither parts of the province, whither

legati concurrerunt omnium populorum, qui accolunt
ambassadors hastily flocked from all the peoples who dwell on

Iberum, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ.
the Iberus, *and* from many even of the remotest *parts of* Spain.

Sed populi, qui vere facti sint ditionis
But the *number of* states who really became subject to the dominion

imperiique Romani, datis obsidibus, fuerunt amplius
and government of Rome, *and* gave hostages, amounted to more than

centum viginti. Igitur Romanus fidens
one hundred *and* twenty. Wherefore the Roman *general*, *now* relying

satis terrestribus copiis quoque progressus est
sufficiently on his land forces also, advanced

usque ad saltum Castulonensem. Hasdrubal concessit
as far as the pass of Castulo. Hasdrubal retired

in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum.
into Lusitania, and nearer the Ocean.

XXI.—Inde videbatur reliquum tempus
After this it seemed *probable* that the remainder

æstatis fore quietum, fuissetque,
of the summer would be peaceful; and *so* it would have been

per Pœnum hostem: sed, præterquam quod
with regard to the Punic enemy: but, besides that

ingenia Hispanorum ipsorum sunt inquieta
the tempers of the Spaniards themselves are *naturally* restless

invidaque in novas res, Mandonius Indebilisque,
and eager for innovation, Mandonius together with Indebilis,

qui antea fuerat regulus Ilergetum, postquam
who had formerly been a chieftain of the Ilergetans, as soon as

Romani recessere ab saltu ad maritimam oram,
the Romans retired from the pass towards the seacoast,

concitis popularibus, venerunt in pacatum agrum
roused their countrymen, *and* advanced into the peaceful territories

Romanorum sociorum ad depopulandum.
of the Roman allies, for *the purpose of* devastating *them*

Militum tribunus cum expeditis auxiliis, missi
A military tribune, with *some* light-armed auxiliaries, being sent

adversus eos a Scipione levi certamine
against these by Scipio, in a slight skirmish

fudere omnes, ut tumultuariam manum;
put them all to the rout, as *being but* a disorderly band;

quibusdam captis occisisque, magnaque parte
some having been captured and slain, and a great portion *of them*

exuta armis. Hic tumultus tamen retraxit
deprived of their arms. This commotion, however, drew back

Hasdrubalem cedentem ad Oceanum ad tutandos
Hasdrubal, *who was* retiring to the Ocean, to protect

socios cis Iberum. Punica castra erant
his allies on this side the Iberus. The Carthaginian camp was

in agro Ilergavonensium, Romana castra
in the territory of Ilergao, the Roman camp

ad Novam classem, cum repens fama avertit bellum
at the New Fleet, when unexpected intelligence diverted the war

alio. Celtiberi, qui miserant principes
to another *quarter*. The Celtiberians, who had sent the chief men

suæ regionis legatos Romanis dederantque
of their country as ambassadors to the Romans, and had given *them*

obsides, exciti nuntio misso a Scipione, capiunt
hostages, aroused by a message coming from Scipio, take up

arma invaduntque provinciam Carthaginiensium
arms and invade the province of the Carthaginians

valido exercitu; expugnant tria oppida vi.
with a powerful army; reduce three towns by assault,

Inde pugnant cum Hasdrubale ipso duobus
and after that, encountering Hasdrubal himself in two

prœliis egregie: ac occiderunt quindecim millia
battles with splendid success, slew fifteen thousand

hostium, capiunt quattuor millia cum
of the enemy, *and* captured four thousand, *together* with

multis militaribus signis.
many military ensigns.

XXII.—Hoc statu rerum in Hispania,
This *being* the state of affairs in Spain,

P. Scipio, prorogato imperio post consulatum
Publius Scipio, having been continued in command after his consulate,

missus ab senatu, venit in provinciam cum
and sent thither by the senate, came into the province with

triginta navibus longis et octo millibus militum
thirty ships of war, eight thousand soldiers,

magnoque advecto commeatu. Ea classis ingens
and a large importation of provisions. That fleet, grand in size,

visa procul agmine onerariarum,
when seen at a distance, by *reason of* the long train of transport vessels,

tenuit ex alto portum Tarraconis, cum magna lætitia
put into the harbor of Tarraco, to the great joy

civium sociorumque. Exposito milite ibi, Scipio
of his countrymen and allies. Landing his troops there, Scipio

profectus se conjungit fratri, ac
set out *and* formed a junction with his brother; and

deinde gerebant bellum communi animo
they thenceforth conducted the war with united courage

consilioque. Carthaginiensibus igitur occupatis
and counsels. *While* the Carthaginians, therefore, *were* occupied

Celtiberico bello transgrediuntur Iberum
with the Celtiberian war, they passed the Iberus

haud cunctanter; nec viso ullo hoste pergunt ire
without delay, and not seeing any enemy, pursue their course

Saguntum, quod erat fama obsides totius
to Saguntum; for it was reported that the hostages from every part

Hispaniæ ibi traditos ab Hannibale
of Spain *had been* placed there under custody by Hannibal,

custodiri in arce modico præsidio. Id
and were guarded in the citadel by a small garrison. This

pignus unum morabatur animos omnium populorum
pledge alone held in check the affections of all the people

Hispaniæ inclinatos ad societatem Romanam,
of Spain *which were* inclined towards an alliance *with the* Romans;

ne culpa defectionis lueretur sanguine
lest the guilt of their defection should be expiated with the blood

suorum liberorum. Eo vinculo unus vir consilio
of their children. From this restraint one man, by a device

magis sollerti quam fideli Hispaniam exsolvit.
more artful than honorable, set Spain at liberty.

Erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus Abelux,
There was at Saguntum a noble Spaniard, *called* Abelux,

ante fidus Pœnis, tum, qualia sunt
hitherto faithful to the Carthaginians, *but* now (such are

plerumque ingenia barbarorum, cum
for the most part the dispositions of barbarians) with *a change of*

fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum ratus transfugam
fortune had altered his attachment. But considering that a deserter,

venientem ad hostes sine proditione rei magnæ
coming to an enemy without the betraying of something valuable,

esse nihil aliud quam unum infame atque vile
is no more than a mere infamous and contemptible

corpus, id agebat, ut quam maximum
creature, he had it in mind that the largest possible

emolumentum esset novis sociis. Igitur
advantage should accrue to his new allies. Wherefore

circumspectis omnibus, quæ fortuna
after reviewing every *expedient*, which under *the favor of* fortune

poterat facere ejus potestatis adjecit animum
he might bring within his reach, he applied himself,

potissimum tradendis obsidibus,
in preference *to every other*, to the delivering up of the hostages;

ratus eam unam rem maxime conciliaturam
concluding that this one thing, above all *others*, would conciliate

Romanis amicitiam Hispaniæ principum. Sed
to the Romans the friendship of the Spanish chieftains. But

cum satis sciret injussu Bostaris præfecti
as he well knew that, without *an* order from Bostar the commander,

custodes obsidium nihil facturos esse, aggreditur
the guards of the hostages would do nothing, he addresses himself

arte Bostarem ipsum. Bostar habebat castra
with craft to Bostar himself. Bostar had his camp

extra urbem in ipso litore ut intercluderet
without the city, on the very shore, in order to preclude

aditum Romanis ex ea parte. Ibi abductum
the approach of the Romans from that quarter. Here, being taken aside

in secretum monet eum velut ignorantem,
to a secret *place*, *the other* represents to him, as if uninformed *of it*,

quo statu res sit: ad eam diem metum
in what position affairs were: "That hitherto fear

continuisse animos Hispanorum, quia Romani
had restrained the inclinations of the Spaniards, because the Romans

procul abessent: nunc Romana castra esse
had been at a great distance: at present the Roman camp was

cis Iberum, tutam arcem perfugiumque
on this side of the Iberus, a secure fortress and place of refuge

volentibus novas res: itaque, quos metus
to *all* who wished a change; wherefore *those*, whom fear

non teneat, devinciendos esse beneficio et gratia."
could no *longer* bind, must be attached by kindness and favor."

Bostari miranti percunctantique, quodnam
Bostar showing surprise, and earnestly asking what

subitum donum tantæ rei id posset esse, inquit,
sudden gift of such great moment that could be, he answered:

"remitte obsides in civitates: id erit
"Send back the hostages to their provinces: this will be

gratum et privatim parentibus, quorum est
an acceptable *boon* as well privately to their parents who possess

maximum nomen in suis civitatibus, et publice
the greatest influence in their *respective* states, as publicly

populis: quisque vult credi sibi,
to the people. Every man wishes to have trust reposed in him

et fides habita plerumque obligat fidem ipsam
and trust reposed generally enforces the fidelity itself

ministerium restituendorum obsidium domos
The office of restoring the hostages to their homes,

ipse deposco mihimet, ut adjuvem quoque meum
I demand for myself; that I may enhance my

consilium opera impensa et adjiciam,
project by the trouble bestowed, and *that* I may add

quantam insuper gratiam possim, rei
as much more value as I can to a proceeding *which is*

gratæ suapte natura." Ut persuasit homini
acceptable in its own nature." When he had persuaded the man

non callido ad cetera Punica ingenia,
who was not cunning in comparison with other Carthaginian minds,

progressus clam nocte ad stationes hostium,
he went out secretly by night to the outposts of the enemy, *where*

conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et
meeting with some auxiliary Spaniards, and

ab his perductus ad Scipionem, exprimit, quid
being by them conducted to Scipio, he explains what

afferet: et fide data acceptaque,
brought *him.* Then *pledges of* fidelity having been given and received,

ac tempore et loco constituto ad tradendos obsides,
and time and place appointed for delivering the hostages,

redit Saguntum; insequentem diem absumpsit cum
he returns to Saguntum. The following day he spent with

Bostare, accipiendis mandatis ad agendam rem:
Bostar, in taking instructions for effecting the business

cum constituisset se iturum nocte, ut
having *so* arranged *it,* that he should go by night, *in order* that

falleret hostium custodias, dimissus,
he might escape *the notice of* the enemy's watch, he was dismissed;

excitatis custodibus puerorum ad horam compositam
and awakening the guards of the boys at an hour agreed upon

cum iis profectus, ducit veluti ignarus in
with them, set out *and* led *them,* as if unknowingly, into

insidias præparatas sua fraude. Perducti
the snare prepared by his own treachery. They were *then* brought

in Romana castra; omnia cetera de
to the Roman camp; and every thing else respecting

reddendis obsidibus acta, sicut
the restoration of the hostages was transacted as

constitutum erat cum Bostare, per eundem ordinem,
had been settled with Bostar, *and* in the same course,

quo si ageretur sic nomine
as if *the affair* had been carried on [thus] in the name

Carthaginiensium. Gratia Romanorum fuit
of the Carthaginians. *But* the favor towards the Romans was

liquanto major, quam quanta Carthaginiensium
considerably greater than that of the Carthaginians

futura fuerat in pari re: enim fortuna et timor
would have been in a similar case; for *mis*-fortune and fear

poterat videri mitigasse illos, expertos
might have seemed to have softened the latter, *who had been* found

graves superbosque in secundis rebus. Romanus
oppressive and haughty in prosperity; *whereas* the Roman

primo adventu, incognitus ante,
on his first arrival, having been unknown *to them* before,

fecerat initium ab re clementi liberalique: et
had begun with an act of clemency and liberality; and

Abelux, vir prudens, haud videbatur mutasse
Abelux, a man of prudence, did not seem *likely* to have changed

socios frustra. Omnes itaque
his allies without *good* cause All *the states*, therefore,

ingenti consensu spectare defectionem;
with great unanimity *began to* meditate a revolt;

armaque forent extemplo mota, ni hiems
and hostilities would immediately have commenced had not the winter

intervenisset, quæ coegit Romanos et
intervened, which compelled the Romans and

Carthaginienses quoque concedere in tecta.
the Carthaginians likewise, to retire to shelter.

XXIII.—Hæc gesta in Hispania quoque
Such *were* the transactions in Spain also

secunda æstate Punici belli, cum Italia sollers
during the second summer of the Punic war; while, in Italy, the prudent

cunctatio Fabii fecisset Romanis paulum intervalli
delay of Fabius had procured the Romans some intermission

cladibus: quæ, ut habebat Hannibalem
from disasters; which *conduct*, though it kept Hannibal

sollicitum non mediocri cura, cernentem
disturbed with no ordinary *degree of* anxiety, (perceiving, *as he did*,

Romanos tandem delegisse eum magistrum militiæ,
that the Romans had at length chosen such a master of the military

qui gereret bellum ratione, non
science. who would carry on the war with wisdom, *and* not

fortuna, erat ita contempta inter cives,
in dependence on fortune,) yet was held in contempt among his countrymen,

armatos pariter togatosque; utique postquam
soldiers as well as citizens; particularly after that

pugnatum fuerat eo absente temeritate
a battle had been fought, during his absence, from the temerity

magistri equitum, eventu dixerim verius læto
of the master of the horse, in its issue, I may say, rather joyful

quam prospero. Duæ res accesserant ad augendam
than successful. Two causes were added to augment

invidiam dictatoris: una fraude
the unpopularity of the dictator: one *arising* out of a stratagem

ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum dictatoris ager
and artful procedure of Hannibal; for, on the dictator's farm

monstratus esset ei a perfugis, jussit ignem ferrumque
being shown to him by deserters, he gave orders, that fire and sword

et omnem vim hostium abstineri ab eo uno,
and every outrage of enemies should be restrained from it alone,

omnibus circa æquatis solo, ut
while all around *were* leveled with the earth; *in order* that

ea posset videri merces alicujus occulti pacti
it might appear *to have been* the term of some secret compact:

altera facto ipsius in permutandis captivis,
the other, from an act of his own respecting the ransoming of the prisoners,

primo forsitan dubio, quia auctoritas senatus
at first perhaps suspicious, because the authority of the senate

exspectata est in eo, ad extremum verso
had not been waited for in that *case*, *but* in the result turning

haud ambigue in maximam laudem: quod,
unequivocally to his highest credit: for,

sicut factum erat primo Punico bello, convenerat
as had been practised in the first Punic war, *an* agreement had been made

inter Romanum Pœnumque duces, ut, quæ pars
between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that whichever party

reciperet plus quam daret, præstaret
should receive a greater number than he returned, should give

ina pondo et selibras argenti in militem. Cum
two pounds and a half of silver for *each* soldier. *And* when

Romanus recepisset plures quam Pœnus
the Roman had received a greater number than the Carthaginian,

ducentos quadraginta septem, argentumque
by two hundred *and* forty-seven, and the silver

debitum pro eis, re sæpe jactata
which was due for them, *after* the matter *had been* frequently agitated

in senatu, tardius erogaretur, quoniam
in the senate, was not promptly supplied because

non consuluisset patres, misso filio Quinto Romam,
he had not consulted the fathers, *he* sent his son Quintus to Rome

vendidit agrum inviolatum ab hoste
and sold off his farm, uninjured by the enemy,

privatoque impendio exsolvit publicam fidem.
and at his *own* private expense acquitted the public faith.

Hannibal erat in stativis pro mœnibus Geronii,
Hannibal lay in a fixed camp before the walls of Geronium,

cujus urbis, captæ atque incensæ ab se, reliquerat
in which city, at its capture and burning by him, he had left

pauca tecta in usum horreorum. Inde
only a few buildings for the purpose of granaries: from hence

mittebat duas partes exercitus frumentatum;
he *generally* detached two thirds of his army to forage;

cum tertia expedita ipse erat in statione,
and with the third *part* kept in readiness, he himself remained on guard,

simul præsidio castris et circumspectans,
both as a protection to his camp and *for the purpose of* looking out

necunde impetus fieret in frumentatores.
lest from any quarter an attack should be made upon the foragers.

XXIV.—Romanus exercitus erat tunc
The Roman army was at that time

in agro Larinati. Minucius magister equitum
in the territory of Larinum. Minucius, the master of the horse,

præerat, dictatore, sicut ante dictum est,
had the command *of it*, the dictator, as was before mentioned,

profecto ad urbem. Ceterum castra, quæ posita fuerant
having gone to the city. But the camp which had been pitched

in alto monte ac tuto loco, jam deferuntur
on a high mountain in a secure post, was now brought down

in planum, calidioraque consilia pro ingenio
to the plains; and more spirited designs, conformable to the genius

ducis agitabantur, ut fieret impetus
of the commander, were in agitation, *with a view towards* making an attack

aut in palatos frumentatores aut in castra, relicta
either on the dispersed foragers, or on their camp *when* left

cum levi præsidio. Nec fefellit Hannibalem
with a slight guard. It did not escape Hannibal's *observation*

rationem belli mutatam esse cum duce,
that the plan of the war had been changed *together* with the general,

et hostes gesturos rem ferocius quam consultius.
and that the enemy would act with more boldness than prudence.

Ipse autem dimisit— quod quis minime crederet,
He even despatched (which one would scarcely credit,

cum hostis esset propius— tertiam partem militum
as the foe was so near) a third part of his troops

frumentatum, retentis duabus in castris; dein
to forage, retaining the *other* two in the camp. After that

movit castra ipsa propius hostem in tumulum,
he advanced the camp itself closer to the enemy, to a hill

ferme duo millia a Geronio, conspectum hosti, ut
about two miles from Geronium, *and* in sight of the enemy, that

sciret esse intentum ad tutandos frumentatores,
they might be aware that he was on the alert to protect his foragers,

si qua vis fieret. Inde tumulus ei apparuit
should any attempt be made *upon them*. From hence he saw a hill

propior atque imminens ipsis castris Romanorum:
nearer to and overhanging the very camp of the Romans:

quia, si iretur palam luce ad quem capiendum,
and because, if he marched openly in the day*time* to seize on this,

hostis haud dubie præventurus erat breviore via,
the enemy would doubtless anticipate *him* by a shorter road,

Numidæ missi clam nocte ceperunt.
the Numidians, being sent privately in the night, took possession *of it*

Quos tenentes locum, Romani,
whom, *upon* occupying *that* position, the Romans,

contempta paucitate, cum dejecissent postero die,
despising their small number, having dislodged on the following day

transferunt castra eo ipsi. Itaque tum,
transfer their camp thither themselves. So that then,

ut aberat exiguum spatii vallum a vallo,
as there was *but* a small interval between rampart and rampart,

et Romana acies prope tota compleverat id ipsum,
the Roman line had almost entirely filled that *space*

simul et equitatus, cum levi armatura emissus
and at the same time the cavalry, with the light-infantry sent out

in frumentatores per aversa castra, fecit
against the foragers through the opposite *part of the* camp, effected

cædem fugamque palatorum hostium late.
a slaughter and flight of the scattered enemy far and wide.

Nec ausus Hannibal certare acie, quia
Nor dared Hannibal hazard a regular battle, for

tanta paucitate vix poterat tutari castra,
with such a small number *of troops* he was scarcely able to defend his camp,

si oppugnarentur. Jamque gerebat bellum—
even if it were attacked. And now he carried on the war

pars exercitus jam ferme aberat—
(one third of his army *being* at this time generally absent)

artibus Fabii sedendo et cunctando,
according to the plans of Fabius, lying still and creating delays,

receperatque suos in priora castra, quæ erant
hile he drew back his *troops* to their former camp, which was

pro mœnibus Geronii. Quidam auctores sunt,
before the walls of Geronium. Some authors affirm

quoque dimicatum justa acie et collatis signis;
that they even fought in regular line, and with encountering standards

primo concursu Pœnum fusum
that in the first collision the Carthaginian was driven in disorder

usque ad castra, inde eruptione repente facta,
quite to his camp, from which a sally being suddenly made,

terrorem versum in Romanos; prœlium deinde restitutum
the panic fell in turn upon the Romans; that the fight was afterwards restored

interventu Numerii Decimii Samnitis. Hunc,
by the coming up of Numerius Decimius, a Samnite. This *man*,

principem genere ac divitiis non modo Boviani,
the first in family and fortune not only at Bovianum,

unde erat, sed toto Samnio, adducentem
of which he was *a native*, but in all Samnium, *when* conducting

in castra, jussu dictatoris octo millia peditum
to the camp, by order of the dictator, eight thousand foot

mille equites, cum apparuisset ab tergo Hannibali
and one thousand horse, having shown himself on Hannibal's rear

præbuisse utrique parti speciem novi præsidii
presented to both parties the appearance of *some* fresh reinforcement

venientis ab Roma cum Q Fabio. Hannibalem
coming from Rome with Quintus Fabius. Hannibal,

timentem quoque aliquid insidiarum recepisse suos;
dreading likewise some stratagem, withdrew his *troops*;

Romanum insecutum, adjuvante Samnite,
the Roman pursued *and*, with the assistance of the Samnite,

expugnasse duo castella eo die. Sex millia hostium
took by storm two forts on that day. Six thousand of the enemy

cæsa, admodum quinque Romanorum: tamen
were slain, *and* about five *thousand* of the Romans. Yet,

in clade tam prope pari famam perlatam Romam
in *the face of* a loss so nearly equal, an account was sent to Rome

egregiæ victoriæ cum litteris magistri equitum
as of a signal victory, and letters from the master of the horse

vanioribus.
still more ostentatious.

XXV.—De iis rebus actum est persæpe
About these matters discussion was *had* very frequently,

et in senatu et in concione. Cum dictator
both in the senate and in assemblies *of the people*. When the dictator

unus, civitate læta, nihil crederet nec famæ
alone, *amidst* the public rejoicing, gave no credit either to the news

nec litteris; diceret, ut omnia essent vera,
or to the letters; *and* affirmed that, though all were true,

se timere magis secunda quam adversa:
he should *yet* fear more *from* success than failure;

tum M. Metilius plebis tribunus negat
then Marcus Metilius, a plebeian tribune, declares

id enim esse ferendum: dictatorem
that "such *conduct* surely was not to be endured; the dictator,

non solum præsentem obstitisse bene gerendæ
not only *when* present, was an obstacle to the right management

rei, sed etiam absentem
of the business, but also, being absent *from the camp*,

obstare gestæ; et sedulo terere tempus
opposed it *still when* achieved; and studiously dallied

in ducendo bello, quo sit diutius
in his conduct of the war, in order that he might continue the longer

in magistratu, habeatque solus imperium et Romæ
in office, and hold sole command both at Rome

et in exercitu: quippe alterum consulum cecidisse
and in the army: since one of the consuls had fallen

in acie, alterum specie persequendæ
in the field, *and* the other, under pretext of pursuing

Punicæ classis ablegatum procul ab Italia:
a Carthaginian fleet, had been sent away far from Italy:

duos prætores occupatos Sicilia atque Sardinia,
the two prætors were employed in Sicily and Sardinia,

neutra quarum provincia egeat prætore hoc tempore.
neither of which provinces required a prætor at this time.

M. Minucius magistrum equitum habitum
Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, was put

prope in custodiam, ne videret hostem, ne gereret
as it were under guard, lest he should see the enemy, and carry on

quid bellicæ rei: itaque hercule non modo Samnium
any warlike operation: so that, in fact, not only Samnium,

quo jam concessum sit Pœnis tamquam
which had now been yielded to the Carthaginians, as if *it were*

agro trans Iberum, sed et Campanum Calenumque
land beyond the Iberus, but also the Campanian, Calenian,

et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse,
and Falernian territories had been devastated,

dictatore sedenti Casilini et legionibus
while the dictator *was* sitting down at Casilinum, and, with the legions

Romani populi tutante suum agrum. Exercitum
of the Roman people, protecting his own estate. The army

et magistrum equitum cupientem pugnare retentos
and the master of the horse, *who were* eager to fight, had been kept

prope clausos intra vallum, arma adempta
in a manner shut up within the rampart, *and* their arms taken *from them*,

tamquam captivis hostibus: tandem, ut
as from captured enemies: *but* at length, as soon as *ever*

dictator abscesserit inde, ut liberatos
the dictator had gone away, and they *were* freed

obsidione, egressos extra vallum fudisse
from *their* confinement, they passed beyond the trenches, defeated

hostes ac fugasse: ob quas res, si
the enemy, and put *him* to flight; for *all* which reasons, if

antiquus animus esset Romanæ plebei, se
their ancient spirit were *preserved* to the Roman commons, he

audaciter laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio;
would have boldly moved for the abolishment of Fabius' command;

nunc promulgaturum modicam rogationem
but now he would offer a moderate proposition,

de æquando jure magistri equitum et dictatoris:
to make the authority of the master of the horse and the dictator equal;

tamen ne ita quidem Q. Fabium nec mittendum
and still, that even then Quintus Fabius should not be sent

ad exercitum priùs, quam suffecisset consulem
to the army, until he should *first* substitute a consul

in locum C. Flaminii. Dictator se abstinuit
in the room of Caius Flaminius." The dictator shunned

concionibus minime popularis
the assemblies, *knowing that he was* extremely unpopular

in actione: ne quidem in senatu audiebatur
as regards *public* action; nor even in the senate was he heard

satis æquis auribus tunc, cum extolleret verbis
with very favorable ears, especially when he spoke in high terms of

hostem, referretque per temeritatem atque
the enemy, and imputed to the rashness and

inscitiam ducum clades acceptas biennii,
unskilfulness of the generals the disasters incurred in *the last* two years,

diceretque magistro equitum reddendam esse rationem,
and declared that "the master of the horse should be called to account

quod pugnasset contra suum dictum. Si
for having fought contrary to his orders. If

summa imperii consiliique sit penes se,
the entire command and direction were in him,

propediem effecturum, ut homines sciant,
he would soon take care that people should be convinced,

bono imperatore fortunam esse haud magni
that with a good commander fortune is *a matter* of slight

momenti, mentem rationemque dominari, et
consideration; that judgment and discretion govern *all things*; and

esse majorem gloriam servasse exercitum
that it was more glorious *for him* to have saved the army

in tempore et sine ignominia quam occidisse
at a crisis, and without disgrace, than to have slain

multa millia hostium. Habitis orationibus hujus
many thousands of the enemy." Having *often* held discourses of this

generis, et creato M. Atilio Regulo consule,
kind, and having created Marcus Atilius Regulus consul,

ne præsens dimicaret de jure
the dictator, that he might not *be* present *to* dispute concerning the right

imperii, abiit ad exercitum nocte
of command, set out for the army during the night

pridie quam dies adesset ferendæ rogationis. Cum
previous to the day [at hand] for introducing the proposition. When

esset concilium plebis, orta luce, tacita
there was an assembly of the commons at break of day, a tacit

invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum
displeasure towards the dictator, and favor towards the master of the horse,

magis versabat animos, quam homines
rather engaged their minds, than *that* men

satis audebant prodire ad suadendum
had sufficient resolution to stand forth in advocacy of *a measure*

quod placebat vulgo, et, favore superante,
which was agreeable to the public; and, *though* favor carried *it*,

tamen auctoritas deerat rogationi. Unus inventus
yet influence was wanting to the bill. The only *man* found,

suasor legis est C. Terentius Varro, qui fuerat
as seconder of the law, was Caius Terentius Varro, who had been

prætor anno priore, ortus non solum humili
prætor the year before, sprung not only from humble

sed etiam sordido loco. Ferunt patrem fuisse lanium,
but mean parentage. They report that his father was a butcher,

institorem ipsum mercis, usumque hoc ipso filio
the retailer of his own meat, and that he employed *this* very son

in servilia ministeria ejus artis.
in the servile offices of that trade.

XXVI.—Is juvenis, ut primum pecunia
This young man, as soon as the money,

ex eo genere quæstus relicta a patre
gained from that kind of traffic, *and* left *to him* by his father,

fecit animos ad spem liberalioris
had roused his ambition towards the prospect of a more respectable

fortunæ, togaque et forum placuere,
station, and the gown and forum were *the objects of* his choice,

proclamando pro hominibus causisque sordidis
by declaiming vehemently in favor of men and causes of the base*st* sort,

adversus rem et famam bonorum,
in opposition to the interest and character of the good,

primum pervenit in notitiam populi, deinde ad
first came to the notice of the people, *and* then *to*

honores. Perfunctusque quæstura et duabus
offices of honor. Having passed through the quæstorship, two

ædilitatibus— plebeia et curuli— et postremo
ædileships, the plebeian and curule, and lastly,

prætura, cum jam attoleret animos ad spem
the prætorship; when now he raised his mind to the hope

consulatus, haud parum callide petiit auram
of the consulship, with not a little shrewdness he courted the gale

popularis favoris ex invidia dictatoria tulitque unus
of popular favor by malignment of the dictator, and received alone

gratiam sciti plebis. Præter
the credit of the order *passed* by the people. Excepting

dictatorem ipsum, omnes quique erant Romæ
the dictator himself, all *men*, both at Rome

quique in exercitu, æqui atque iniqui, acceperunt
and in the army, *both* friends and foes, considered

eam rogationem latam in contumeliam ejus.
this measure *to have been* passed as an insult to him.

Ipse, eadem gravitate animi, qua tulerat
But he, with the same steadiness of mind wherewith he had borne *with*

inimicos criminantes se ad multitudinem, tulit
his enemies *when* impeaching him before the multitude. bore

et injuriam in se populi
likewise *this* ill-treatment *thrown* on him by the people

sævientis; acceptisque in ipso itinere
in the heat of passion; and *though* receiving on his journey

litteris senatus consulti de æquato
a letter *containing* a decree of the senate respecting the equalization

imperio satis fidens, cum jure
of authority, *yet* being fully confident that, *together* with the right

imperii artem imperandi haudquaquam
of command, the skill of the commanding *parties* had not by any means

æquatam, rediit ad exercitum, cumque animo
been made equal, he returned to the army with a spirit

invicto a civibus hostibusque.
unsubdued *alike* by his countrymen and by the enemy.

XXVII.—Vero Minucius, cum ante jam
But Minucius, while before now,

secundis rebus ac favore vulgi fuisset
in *view of* his success and the favor of the populace. he was

vix tolerabilis, tum utique immodice immodesteque
scarcely tolerable, now indeed without *restraint of* modesty or moderation

gloriari non magis ab se victo Hannibale
openly boasted not more in his having conquered Hannibal

quam Q. Fabio: illum quæsitum
than Quintus Fabius. "That he *who had been* sought out

in asperis rebus unicum ducem ac parem Hannibali,
in their distress *as* the only general, and a match for Hannibal;

quod nulla memoria annalium habeat,
that he, (*an event* which no record of history contains,)

jussu populi æquatum, majorem
was, by order of the people, put on a level *with himself,*— a superior

minori, dictatorem magistro equitum,
magistrate with an inferior, a dictator with the master of the horse,—

in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum
in that very city wherein the masters of the horse

soliti sint tremere atque horrere virgas ac secures
are wont to cringe and tremble at the rods and axes

dictatoris: in tantum suam virtutem felicitatemque
of the dictator: so brightly had his valor and success

enituisse: se ergo secuturum suam fortunam,
shone forth. He therefore would follow up his own *good* fortune,

si dictator perstaret in cunctatione ac segnitie,
should the dictator persist in his delay and sloth,

damnata judicio deorum hominumque. Itaque,
condemned by the judgment *both* of gods and men." Accordingly,

quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio ait
on the day he first met Fabius, he told *him*

primum omnium statuendum esse, quemadmodum
that "they ought, in the first place, to determine in what manner

utantur imperio æquato: se ducere
they should exercise the command *thus* equalized: he was of opinion

optimum alterius esse summum jus
the best *method would be,* that each should hold the supreme authority

imperiumque aut alternis diebus, aut, si majora
and command either on alternate days, or, if longer

intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus,
intervals were *more* agreeable, for *certain* fixed periods;

ut, si habuisset quam occasionem
to the end that, if he should meet any favorable opportunity

rei gerendæ, esset par hosti non solum
of acting, he might be a match for the enemy, not only

consilio, sed etiam viribus. Q. Fabio id
in conduct but likewise in strength." To Quintus Fabius this *proposal*

haudquaquam placere: enim fortunam habituram
was not at all satisfactory: for "fortune, *he said*, would have

omnia, quæcumque temeritas collegæ
the disposal of everything which the rashness of his colleague

habuisset: sibi imperium communicatum esse
had: his command had been shared

cum illo, non ademptum; se nunquam itaque
with him, *and* not taken away; he would never, therefore,

volentem cessurum gerendarum rerum,
voluntarily resign *the privilege* of conducting the war,

qua parte posset, consilio: se
in whatever post he could, with prudence *and discretion*: he

nec divisurum tempora aut dies imperii cum eo,
would not divide times or days of command with him;

exercitum, suisque consiliis servaturum
but he would divide the troops, and, by his own counsels, would preserve

quæ posset, quoniam non liceret
so much as he could, since it was not allowed *him* *to save*

omnia. Ita obtinuit, ut dividerent legiones
the whole." Thus he carried it, that they should divide the legions

inter se, sicut esset mos consulibus: prima et quarta
between them, as was the practice with consuls: the first and fourth

evenerunt Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio:
fell to Minucius, the second and third to Fabius.

item diviserunt pari numero equites, auxiliaque
They likewise divided in equal numbers the cavalry, and the auxiliaries

sociûm et Latini nominis. Magister equitum
of the allies and of the Latin name. The master of the horse

voluit quoque se castris separari.
chose also that they should encamp separately.

XXVIII.—Duplex fuit Hannibali gaudium inde:—
Twofold was Hannibal's joy over this;

enim neque quidquam eorum, quæ agerentur
(indeed none of the *measures*, which were being taken

apud hostes, fallebat eum, explorantem
among the enemy, escaped him getting intelligence *as he did*

et per suos, et perfugis indicantibus multa.
both through his *spies*, and the deserters revealing many things;)

nam et temeritatem Minucii liberam
for the temerity of Minucius, *now* unrestrained,

se captaturum suo modo, et dimidium virium
he could entrap at his will; and half the force

sollertiæ Fabii decessisse. Inter castra
of the sagacity of Fabius had vanished. Between the camps

Minucii et Pœnorum erat tumulus, quem
of Minucius and the Carthaginians stood a hill, *of* which,

qui occupasset haud dubie facturus erat
whoever took possession would evidently render

hosti locum iniquiorem. Hannibal
his enemy's situation more inconvenient. Hannibal

non tam volebat capere eum sine certamine,
was not so desirous of seizing it without a dispute,

quamquam id erat pretium operæ, quam contrahere
(even though it were worth *his* while,) as to raise

causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem
occasion for an engagement with Minucius, who

satis sciebat semper occursurum
he well knew, would at all times throw himself in *his* way

ad obsistendum. Omnis medius ager erat prima
to oppose *him*. The whole intervening ground was, at first

specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo
view, impracticable for an ambuscade[r], for not only

habebat quidquam silvestre, sed nequidem vestitum
had it *no* part *that was* woody, but none even covered

vepribus; re ipsa natus
with brambles; in reality, *however*, *it was* formed by nature

tegendis insidiis, eo magis, quod in nuda valle
to secure an ambush, especially as, in a naked vale.

nulla fraus talis poterat timeri: et erant
no snare of that sort could be apprehended; and there were *besides*

in anfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum
at the skirts *of it* hollow rocks, *such* that some of them

possent capere ducenos armatos. In has
were capable of containing two hundred armed men. In these

latebras conduntur quinque millia equitum
concealments were lodged five thousand horse

peditumque, quot poterant apte
and foot, *distributed in* such numbers as could conveniently

insidere quemque locum. Tamen necubi
post *themselves* in each place. However, lest in any part

motus alicujus egressi temere aut fulgor
the motion of any *of them*, coming out inconsiderately, or the glittering

armorum detegeret fraudem in tam aperta valle
of their arms, should discover the stratagem in so open a valley,

avertit hostium oculos, missis paucis prima luce
he diverted the enemy's attention by sending a few *troops* at the first dawn

ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum
to seize on the before-mentioned eminence.

Statim primo conspectu paucitas contempta,
Immediately on the first view *of them*, their small number was despised,

ac quisque deposcere sibi pellendos inde hostes
and each man demanded for himself the *task of* dislodging the enemy,

ac capiendum locum. Dux ipse inter
and securing the hill. The general himself, among

stolidissimos ferocissimosque vocat ad arma, et
the most foolish and presumptuous, called to arms, and

increpat hostem vanis animis et minis: principio
inveighed against the enemy with vain parade and menaces. First

dimittit levem armaturam, deinde mittit equites
he sends out his light-infantry; then despatches the cavalry

conferto agmine; postremo, cum videret subsidia
in a close body; lastly, on perceiving that reinforcements

quoque mitti hostibus, procedit legionibus
were also being sent to the enemy, he advances with the legions

instructis. Hannibal et mittens, ut
in order of battle. Hannibal also, sending up, as

certamine crescente, equitum peditumque
the contest increased, *bodies* of horse and foot,

alia atque alia auxilia suis laborantibus,
one after another, *as* aids to his *men when* distressed,

jam expleverat justam aciem, ac certatur
had now completed a regular line, and the contest was *maintained*

totis viribus utrimque. Prima levis armatura
with the whole force of both sides. First the light infantry

Romanorum succedens inferiore loco tumulum
of the Romans, marching up from the lower ground to the hill

præoccupatum, pulsa detrusaque
already occupied *by the enemy*, being repulsed and pushed down,

intulit terrorem in equitem succedentem, et
carried terror among the cavalry advancing *in their rear*, and

refugit ad signa legionum: acies peditum
fled back to the standards of the legions. The line of infantry

sola erat impavida inter perculsos, videbaturque
alone stood undismayed amidst the panic-struck; and it appeared

haudquaquam futura impar, si esset
that they would by no means have been inferior *to the enemy*, had it been

justa ac si recta pugna: tantum animorum
a fair and regular battle, so much confidence

prospere res gesta paucos dies ante fecerat. Sed
did the successful action a few days before inspire. But

insidiatores exorti repente, incursantes
the troops in ambush rising on a sudden, *and* charging *them*

in utrimque latera ab tergoque fecerunt eum tumultum
on both flanks and on their rear, caused such confusion

terroremque, ut neque cuique superesset animus
and consternation, that no one retained *either* courage

ad pugnam neque spes ad fugam.
to fight, or hope of escape.

XXIX.—Tum Fabius, primo audito clamore
Then Fabius first having heard the shout

paventium, deinde conspecta procul acie turbata,
of the terrified *troops*, *and* afterwards seen at a distance their line in disorder

inquit, "est ita, fortuna deprehendit temeritatem,
exclaims, "It is so; fortune has found out rashness,

non celerius quam timui: æquatus Fabio imperio,
but not sooner than I feared. Equalled to Fabius in command,

videt Hannibalem superiorem et virtute et fortuna.
he sees Hannibal *his* superior both in bravery and success.

Sed aliud erit tempus jurgandi succensendique:
But another will be the time for reproof and resentment:

proferte signa nunc extra vallum: extorqueamus
advance your standards now beyond the trenches. Let us extort

victoriam hosti, civibus
the victory from the enemy, *and* from our countrymen

confessionem erroris." Magna ex parte aliis
an acknowledgment of *their* error." *When* a great number

jam cæsis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam,
were now slain, *and* others looking about for *a way to* escape,

repente Fabiana acies ostendit se, velut dimissa cœlo
on a sudden Fabius' army showed itself, as if sent down from heaven

ad auxilium: itaque, priusquam veniret
to their relief; and thus, before he came

ad teli conjectum aut manum consereret,
within a weapon's throw or joined battle,

et continuit suos a effusa fuga, et hostes
he both stayed his *friends* from *their* precipitate flight, and the enemy

ab nimis feroci pugna. Qui ordinibus
from excessive fierceness *of* fighting. *Those*, who upon their ranks

solutis dissipati erant vage, confugerunt
being broken had been scattered up and down, flocked together

undique ad integram aciem; qui dederant terga
from all sides to the fresh army; such as fled

plures simul, conversi in hostem
in great numbers together, faced about upon the enemy,

volventesque orbem, nunc referre pedem sensim,
and, forming a circle, now retreat leisurely,

nunc conglobati restare: ac jam exercitus
then, concentrating themselves, stand firm. And now the *two* armies,

victi atque integri prope facta erat una acies,
the vanquished and the fresh, had almost formed one front.

inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Pœnus
and were bearing their standards against the foe, when the Carthaginians

cecinit receptui, Hannibale palam ferente Minucium
sounded a retreat; Hannibal openly declaring that *as* Minucius

victum ab se, se ab Fabio
had been conquered by him, *so* he *was himself conquered* by Fabius.

Majore parte diei ita exacta per variam fortunam
The greater part of the day having thus been spent with varying success

cum reditum esset in castra, Minucius,
when *the troops* returned into their camps, Minucius,

convocatis militibus, inquit, "milites, ego sæpe audivi,
calling his men together, said: "Soldiers, I have often heard

eum esse primum, qui ipse consulat, quid sit in rem,
that he is the greatest *man* who, of himself, counsels what is expedient;

secundum eum, qui obediat bene monenti:
that the next *is* he who listens to *the one* that gives good advice;

eum, qui nec ipse consulere, nec sciat
and that he who neither *can* himself form *good* counsels, nor knows

parere alteri, esse extremi ingenii. Quoniam
how to obey another, is of the very lowest capacity. *Now* since

sors negata est nobis prima animi ingeniique,
our lot has denied us the first *rank* in mind and talent,

teneamus secundam ac mediam; et, dum
let us maintain the second and intermediate *one;* and, until

discimus imperare, inducamus in animum
we learn to command, let us prevail upon ourselves

parere prudenti. Jungamus castra cum Fabio:
to submit to a man of prudence. Let us join camps with Fabius;

cum tulerimus signa ad ejus prætorium,
and, when we shall have carried our standards to his quarters,

ubi ego appellavero eum patrem, quod dignum est
when I shall have saluted him *by the title of* father, which he deserves

ejus beneficio erga nos ac ejus majestate, milites
for his kindness towards us, and his high diguity; *then,* soldiers,

vos salutabitis patronos eos, quorum arma
you will salute, *as* your patrons, those *men* whose arms

dexteræque modo texerunt vos, et hic dies
and *whose* prowess have just now protected you; and *then* this day

dederit nobis— si nihil aliud— certe gloriam
will have conferred upon us, if nothing else, at least the glory

gratorum animorum."
of *possessing* grateful hearts."

XXX.—Signo dato, inde conclamatur,
The signal being given, there was now a general call,

ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et incedentes
to collect the baggage. They *then* set out, and, marching

agmine castra dictatoris converterunt et ipsum
in a body to the camp of the dictator, they threw him

et omnes, qui erant circa in admirationem. Ut signa
and all [who were] around into *great* surprise. When the standards

constituta sunt ante tribunal, magister equitum
had been planted before the tribunal, the master of the horse

progressus ante alios cum appellasset Fabium patrem,
advancing before the rest, having saluted Fabius *as* father,

totumque agmen ejus militum consalutasset
and the whole body of his men having, with one voice, saluted

circumfusos patronos, inquit, "dictator,
those who stood around *as* their patrons, said, "Dictator,

meis parentibus, quibus modo æquavi te nomine,
to my parents to whom I have just now compared you, in the *only* name

quo possum fando, debeo vitam tantum, tibi
by which I could address myself, I am indebted for life only; to you,

cum meam salutem tum omnium horum:
both for my *own* preservation and *that* of all these *present*.

plebeiscitum itaque, quo oneratus sum
That order of the people, therefore, by which I have been oppressed

magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque;
rather than honored, I *am the* first *to* cancel and annul;

et, quod sit felix tibi mihique, quod hisque
and, (so may it be happy to you, to me, and to these

tuis exercitibus— servato ac conservatori,
your armies, the preserved and the preserver,)

redeo sub tuum imperium auspiciumque, et restituo
I return to your authority and auspices, and restore *to you*

hæc signa legionesque. Quæso, placatus
these standards and *these* legions. I entreat you *that*, being reconciled,

tu jubeas me tenere magistri equitum, hos
you will order me to retain *the post* of master of the horse, *and* these,

suos quemque ordines." Tum dextræ interjunctæ,
their several ranks." Upon this hands were joined,

que, concione dimissa, milites benigne
and, on the meeting being dismissed, the soldiers were kindly

atque hospitaliter invitati ab notis ignotisque,
and hospitably invited by those known *to them* and unknown:

diesque ex paulo ante tristi admodum
and *that* day, from *having been* a little while ago gloomy in the extreme,

ac prope exsecrabili factus lætus. Romæ,
and almost accursed, was turned into *a day of* joy. At Rome,

ut fama rei gestæ est perlata, dein affirmata
when a report of the action was conveyed *thither*, *and* afterwards confirmed

litteris, non magis imperatorum ipsorum,
by letters not only from the generals themselves,

quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu,
but from great numbers of the soldiers in both armies.

pro se quisque ferre laudibus Maximum ad cœlum.
all men individually extolled Maximus to the skies.

Par erat gloria apud Hannibalem Pœnosque
Equal was his renown with Hannibal and the Carthaginians,

hostes; ac tum demum sentire, esse bellum
his enemies; and then at length they perceived that they were *engaged* in war

cum Romanis atque in Italia. Nam biennio ante
with Romans and in Italy: for during the two years past

adeo spreverant et Romanos duces
they had cherished such *utter* contempt both for the Roman generals

et milites, ut vix crederent esse bellum
and soldiers, that they could scarcely believe they were *waging* war

cum eadem gente, cujus accepissent a patribus
with the same nation, of which they had received from their fathers

eam terribilem famam. Ferunt quoque Hannibalem
such a terrible character. They relate also, that Hannibal,

redeuntem ex acie dixisse eam nubem, quæ
on returning from the field, observed that "the cloud, which

solita sit sedere in jugis montium, tandem dedisse
used to settle on the tops of the mountains, had at last discharged

imbrem cum procella.
its rain in a storm."

XXXI.—Dum hæc geruntur in Italia,
While these *events* transpire in Italy,

Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe
Cneius Servilius Geminus, the consul, with a fleet

centum viginti navium circumvectus oram Sardiniæ
of one hundred and twenty ships sailed round the coast of Sardinia

et Corsicæ, et acceptis obsidibus utrimque,
and Corsica; and, having received hostages in both places,

transmisit in Africam; et priusquam faceret
crossed over into Africa: and before he made

exscensionem in continentem, vastata insula
a descent upon the continent, having laid waste the island

Menige, et acceptis ab incolentibus Cercinam
of Meninx, and received from the inhabitants of Cercina

decem talentis argenti ne ipsorum ager et ureretur
ten talents of silver in order that their fields too might not be burnt

diripereturque, accessit ad litora Africæ,
and pillaged, he drew near to the shores of Africa,

exposuitque copias. Inde milites ducti ad populandum
and disembarked his forces. Here the soldiers were led out to ravage

agrum, navalesque socii effusi juxta, ac si
the country, and the crews scattered about just as if

prædarentur egentibus cultorum insulis.
they were plundering unpopulous islands:

Itaque illati temere in insidias, cum
and thus, having fallen unawares into a snare, when

circumvenirentur, ignari locorum ab gnaris,
they were surrounded,— the ignorant of the country by those acquainted

et palantes a frequentibus,— compulsi sunt
with it, the straggling by those *in close array,* they were driven back

ad naves fœda fuga ac cum multa cæde
to their ships in a disgraceful flight, and with great carnage

Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blæso
As many as one thousand men, among them Sempronius Blæsus

quæstore amisso classis, trepide soluta
the quæstor, having been lost, the fleet hastily setting sail

ab litoribus plenis hostium, tenuit cursum
from the shore, *which was* crowded with the enemy, steered its course

in Siciliam, Lilybæique tradita prætori
towards Sicily, and at Lilybæum was delivered to the prætor

T. Otacilio, ut reduceretur Romam
Titus Otacilius, that it might be taken back to Rome

ab ejus legato P. Sura. Ipse, profectus
by his lieutenant-general Publius Sura. *The consul* himself, proceeding

per Siciliam pedibus, trajecit freto in Italiam,
through Sicily on foot, crossed the strait into Italy,

et ipse accitus et ejus collega
[both he] having been summoned, as well as his colleague

M. Atilius litteris Q. Fabii,
Marcus Atilius, by a letter from Quintus Fabius, *in order*

ut acciperent exercitus ab se, semestri
that they might receive the armies from him, *as* the six months

imperio jam prope exacto. Prope omnium annales
the term of his office *was* nearly expired. Almost all the annalists

tradunt Fabium gessisse rem adversus Hannibalem
record that Fabius conducted the war against Hannibal

dictatorem: Cœlius etiam scribit eum
in the capacity of dictator. Cœlius even remarks that he

primum dictatorem creatum a populo: sed
was the first dictator created by the people. But

fugit et Cœlium et ceteros, jus
it escaped *the notice of* Cœlius and the rest, that the privilege

dicendi dictatoris fuisse uni Cn. Servilio consuli
of appointing that officer belonged solely to Cneius Servilius the consul

qui tum procul aberat in provincia Gallia;
who was then far distant from *home* in the province of Gaul;

quia civitas territa jam clade non poterat exspectare
and that as the state, terrified by the late disaster, could not abide

quam moram, decursum esse eo ut
the delay, it had recourse to the *determination* that *an officer*

crearetur a populo, qui esset pro dictatore:
should be elected by the people who should serve *as* prodictator

res inde gestas insignemque gloriam ducis
that *his* subsequent achievements, his distinguished renown as a general,

et posteros augentes titulum imaginis,
and his descendants *who* exaggerated the inscription of his statue,

facile obtinuisse, ut diceretur dictator, qui
easily brought it about that he should be called dictator who

pro dictatore.
was but prodictator.

XXXII.—Consules accepto exercitu,
The consuls, having taken *command of* the armies,

Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius
Atilius *of that* of Fabius, *and* Geminus Servilius *of that*

Minuciano, communitis hibernaculis mature—
of Minucius, *and* having fortified their winter-quarters in good time,

erat medium autumni— gesserunt bellum
(it was *about* the middle of autumn,) carried on the war

artibus Fabii cum summa concordia
according to the plans of Fabius, and with the utmost harmony

inter se. Hannibali exeunte frumentatum
between themselves. On Hannibal's going out to forage,

opportuni aderant diversis locis,
watching their opportunity they fell on *him* in different places,

carpentes agmen excipientesque palatos:
harassing *him on* his march, and cutting off stragglers;

non veniebant in casum universæ dimicationis,
but never came to the chance of a general engagement,

quam hostis omnibus artibus petebat:
which the enemy, by every artifice, sought to bring about;

Hannibalque coactus est adeo inopiæ, ut,
and Hannibal was reduced to such a degree of want, that,

nisi timuisset abeundum cum
had he not been afraid he must withdraw *his troops* under

specie fugæ, repetiturus fuerit Galliam,
the appearance of flight, he would have returned to Gaul,

nulla spe relicta alendi exercitus in eis locis, si
as no hope *was* left of supporting his army in those places, if

insequentes consules gererent bellum eisdem artibus.
the succeeding consuls should carry on the war upon the same plan.

Cum ad Geronium bellum constitisset
While, about Geronium, hostilities had come to a stand,

hieme jam impediente, legati venere Romam
the winter now obstructing *their progress*, ambassadors came to Rome

Neapolitani. Quadraginta aureæ pateræ magni ponderis
from Neapolis. Forty golden bowls of great weight

illatæ ab iis in curiam, atque verba facta
were brought by them into the senate-house, and a speech delivered

ita, ut dicerent: sese scire ærarium
to such effect, [that they said,] "They knew that the treasury

Romani populi exhauriri bello; et, cum
of the Roman people was exhausted by the war; and since

geratur juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum
the *latter* was conducted alike in defence of the cities and lands of the allies,

ac pro imperio atque urbe Romana, capite atque arce
and of the empire and city of Rome, the capital and bulwark

Italiæ, Neapolitanos censuisse æquum juvare
of Italy, the Neapolitans had thought it reasonable that they *should* assist

Romanum populum eo, quod auri relictum foret sibi
the Roman people with whatever gold had been left them

a majoribus cum ad ornatum templorum
by their ancestors as well for the decoration of *their* temples

tum ad subsidium fortunæ. Si crederent
as for the relief of *mis*fortune. If they had thought

quam opem in sese, oblaturos fuisse
there was any resource in themselves, they would have offered *it*

eodem studio. Romanos patres populumque
with the same zeal. The Roman senate and people

facturum sibi gratum, si duxissent omnes res
would do them a favor, if they should consider all the goods

Neapolitanorum suas, judicaverintque dignos,
of the Neapolitans *as* their own; and think them worthy *enough*

acciperent ab quibus donum, majus
to accept from them a present, *which was* more valuable

ampliusque animo ac voluntate eorum, qui darent
and important from the disposition and wishes of those who gave it

libentes, quam re. Gratiæ actæ
with cheerfulness, than from its *intrinsic* worth." Thanks were rendered

legatis pro cura munificentiaque; patera,
to the ambassadors for their attention and generosity, and one bow'

qui fuit minimi ponderis, accepta.
which was the least in weight, was accepted.

XXXIII.—Per eosdem dies Carthaginiensis
During the same days, a Carthaginian

speculator, qui fefellerat per biennium,
spy, who had escaped *detection* for two years,

deprehensus Romæ, manibusque præcisis
was apprehended at Rome, and, his hands having been cut off,

dimissus; et quinque et viginti servi,
was sent away: and twenty-five slaves,

quod conjurassent in Campo Martio in crucem acti:
for having formed a conspiracy in the field of Mars, were crucified;

libertas data indici et viginti millia æris
his freedom was given to the informer, and twenty thousand asses

gravis. Legati et missi ad Philippum
of the heavy *standard*. Ambassadors were also sent to Philip,

regem Macedonum ad deposcendum Demetrium
king of the Macedonians, to demand Demetrius

Pharium, qui, victus bello, fugisset ad eum;
of Pharia, who, being defeated in war, had fled to him;

alii et in Ligures ad expostulandum
others *were sent* also to the Ligurians to expostulate

quod juvissent Pœnum suis opibus
on their having assisted the Carthaginian with their substance

auxiliisque; simul ad visendum,
and with auxiliaries, *and* at the same time to observe

quæ gererentur ex propinquo in Boiis
what was doing in the neighborhood among the Boians

atque Insubribus. Legati quoque missi in Illyrios
and Insubrians. Delegates were also sent to the Illyrians

ad Pineum regem ad poscendum stipendium, cujus
to Pineus the king, to demand the tribute, of which

dies exierat, aut, si vellet proferre
the day *of payment* had elapsed; or, if he wished to postpone

diem, accipiendos obsides. Adeo, etsi ingens bellum
the day, to receive hostages. Thus, though an arduous war

erat in cervicibus, cura nullius rei
was on their shoulders, no attention to any business *of the state*

usquam terrarum, ne quidem longinqua, effugiebat
in any part of the world, however remote, escapes

Romanos. Venit in religionem etiam,
the Romans. It was *matter* of religious concernment also,

ædem Concordiæ, quam L. Manlius prætor
that the temple of Concord, which Lucius Manlius, the prætor,

vovisset in Gallia biennio ante per seditionem
had vowed in Gaul two years before, on *occasion of* the mutiny

militarem, non locatam esse ad id tempus.
of the soldiers, had not been set about *up* to that time.

Itaque Cn. Pupius et Cæso Quinctius Flaminius,
Accordingly, Cneius Pupius and Cæso Quinctius Flaminius,

creati duumviri ad eam rem a M. Æmilio
constituted duumvirs for that purpose by Marcus Æmilius

prætore urbis, locaverunt faciendam ædem in arce.
prætor of the city, contracted for the building *of* the temple in the citadel.

Ab eodem prætore ex senatus consulto
By the same prætor, in pursuance of a decree of the senate,

litteræ missæ ad consules, ut, si iis videretur,
a letter was sent to the consuls, that, if they thought proper,

alter eorum veniret Romam ad creandos consules;
one of them should come to Rome to elect consuls (*i. e. successors*);

se edicturum comitia in eam quam diem
and that he would proclaim the election for whatever day

jussissent. Ad hæc rescriptum consulibus,
they might name. To this it was replied by the consuls that,

sine detrimento rei publicæ non posse abscedi
"without detriment to the commonwealth they could not go to *any* distance

ab hoste: esse potius itaque comitia
from the enemy that it would be better, therefore, that the election

habenda per interregem, quam alter consulum
should be held by an interrex, than that one of the consuls

avocaretur a bello. Visum est rectius
should be called away from the war." It was deemed more advisable

patribus, dictatorem dici a consule
by the senate, that a dictator *should* be nominated by a consul

causa habendorum comitiorum: L. Veturius Philo
for the purpose of holding the election; Lucius Veturius Philo,

dictus dixit M' Pomponium Mathonem
being *accordingly* nominated, appointed Manius Pomponius Matho

magistrum equitum. Iis creatis vitio
master of the horse. These having been created with *some* defect,

jussisque quarto decimo die abdicare se magistratu,
and ordered on the fourteenth day to abdicate their offices,

res rediit ad interregnum.
the state came to an interregnum.

XXXIV.—Consulibus imperium prorogatum
To the consuls the authority was continued

in annum. C. Claudius Centho, filius Appii,
for *another* year. Caius Claudius Centho, son of Appius

inde P. Cornelius Asina proditi sunt interreges
and then Publius Cornelius Asina, were declared interreges

a patribus. In interregno ejus comitia habita
by the fathers. During the interregnum of the latter the election was held,

magno certamine patrum ac plebis.
with a violent contest between the patricians and plebeians.

C. Terentio Varroni— quem vulgus et nitebatur
Caius Terentius Varro, whom the populace strove hard

extrahere ad consulatum, hominem sui generis,
to raise to the consulship, *as being* a person of their own rank,

conciliatum plebi insectatione principum
endeared to the people by *his* malignment of the patricians

popularibusque artibus, ab concusso
and *other* popular arts, *and who*, upon the decline

dictatorio imperio et opibus Q. Fabii
of the dictatorial authority and the influence of Quintus Fabius

splendentem aliena invidia—
was deriving lustre from others' displeasure *against the dictator,*—

patres obstabant summa ope, ne homines
him the patricians opposed with their utmost efforts, lest men,

insectando se assuescerent æquari
by inveighing against them, should come to be placed on an equality

sibi. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis,
with them. Quintus Bæbius Herennius, a plebeian tribune,

cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non modo senatum,
a relation of Caius Terentius, by criminating not only the senate,

sed etiam augures, quod prohibuissent dictatorem
but likewise the augurs, for having prevented the dictator

perficere comitia, per invidiam eorum
from completing the election, by the odium *cast* upon them

conciliabat favorem suo candidato:
conciliated favor to his own candidate.

ab nobilibus hominibus, per multos annos
He asserted that, by *certain of* the nobility, *who had* for many years

quærentibus bellum, Hannibalem adductum
been wishing for a war, Hannibal had been brought

in Italiam; ab iisdem bellum fraude trahi,
into Italy: that by the same *men* the war was treacherously prolonged,

cum possit debellari: eo,
though it might have been brought to *a* conclusion: that from the *fact*

quod M. Minucius pugnasset prospere
that Marcus Minucius had fought with success

absente Fabio, apparuisse posse pugnari
in the absence of Fabius, it was evident they could fight *their battles*

cum quattuor universis legionibus; duas legiones
with *an army consisting of* four entire legions; that two legions

objectas hosti ad cædem, deinde ereptas
had been exposed to the enemy for slaughter, and then were rescued

ex ipsa cæde, ut appellaretur
from absolute destruction in order that *the man* should be saluted

pater patronusque, qui prohibuisset Romanos vincere
as father and patron, who had hindered the Romans from conquering

priusquam vinci: deinde consules
before *he prevented* their defeat: that subsequently the consuls had,

artibus Fabianis traxisse bellum, cum
on the plan of Fabius, protracted the war, when

possent debellare: id
they had *it in their* power to bring it to an end: that this *was*

fœdus ictum inter omnes nobiles; nec
an agreement contracted between all the nobles; nor

habituros finem belli ante, quam fecissent consulem
would they see an end of the war until they had created *as* consul

vere plebeium, id est novum hominem: nam plebeios
a real plebeian, that is, a new man: for that plebeians

nobiles jam initiatos esse eisdem sacris,
who had attained nobility were now initiated into the self-same mysteries,

et, ex quo desierint contemni patribus,
and from *the moment* when they ceased to be despised by the patricians,

cœpisse contemnere plebem: cui
they began to look with contempt on the commons. To whom

id non apparere, id actum et quæsitum esse, ut
was it not obvious, that their end and object was, that

interregnum iniretur, ut comitia
an interregnum should be formed, in order that the elections

essent in potestate patrum? Ambos consules
might be in the power of the patricians? That both the consuls

id quæsisse morando ad exercitum: postea,
had that in view in tarrying with the army: *and* that afterwards,

quia iis invitis dictator esset dictus
when, contrary to their wishes, a dictator had been nominated

causa comitiorum, id expugnatum esse,
for the purpose of *holding* the election, they carried it, *as it were*, by storm,

ut dictator fieret vitiosus per augures:
that the appointment should be pronounced defective by the augurs:

eos igitur habere interregnum; certe
but they therefore had gotten an interregnum; *but* certainly

unum consulatum esse Romanæ plebis:
one consulate was *in the hands* of the Roman commons,

populum habiturum liberum ac daturum ei,
which the people would dispose of impartially, and would bestow on that man

qui magis malit vincere vere quam
who rather wished to conquer effectually than

diu imperare.
to continue long in command.

XXXV.—Cum plebs accensa esset his orationibus,
When the commons had been inflamed by these harangues,

petentibus tribus patriciis, P. Cornelio Merenda,
though there stood candidates three patricians, Publius Cornelius Merenda,

L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus
Lucius Manlius Vulso, *and* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and two

familiarum plebei jam nobilibus, C. Atilio Serrano
of plebeian families, *who were* now ennobled, Caius Atilius Serranus

et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter erat pontifex
and Quintus Ælius Pætus, one of whom was pontiff,

alter augur, C. Terentius unus creatur consul,
the other augur, *yet* Caius Terentius Varro alone was elected consul,

ut comitia rogando collegæ essent
in order that the comitia for choosing his colleague might be

in ejus manu. Tum nobilitas, experta fuisse
under his control. Then the nobles, finding that there was

parum virium in ejus competitoribus, compellit
not sufficient strength on *the side of* his competitors, force

ad petitionem, diu ac multum recusantem,
into the candidacy, *after he had* long and earnestly refused,

L. Æmilium Paulum infestum plebei
Lucius Æmilius Paulus, a determined enemy of the people,

qui fuerat consul cum M. Livio
the same who had been consul *before* with Marcus Livius,

et damnatione collegæ et prope sua
and from the condemnation of his colleague and almost of himself

evaserat ambustus. Proximo die comitiali, omnibus,
had come off scathed. On the next day of assembly, all

qui certaverant cum Varrone, concedentibus, datur
who had contended against Varro withdrawing, it is given

consuli magis par in adversandum quam collega.
to the consul rather as a match to oppose *him* than as colleague.

Comitia prætoria inde habita: M' Pomponius Matho
The election of prætors was then held, *and* Manius Pomponius Matho

et P. Furius Philus creati: urbana sors
and Publius Furius Philus were chosen: the city lot

dicundo juri Romæ evenit Pomponio,
for the administration of justice at Rome fell to Pomponius;

inter Romanos cives et peregrinos Philo.
between Roman citizens and foreigners, to Philus

Duo prætores additi, M. Claudius Marcellus
Two prætors were added, Marcus Claudius Marcellus

in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam:
for Sicily, *and* Lucius Postumius Albinus for Gaul.

omnes creati sunt absentes, nec honos,
All *these* were appointed in their absence; nor *was* an honor

quem non jam antea gessisset, mandatus cuiquam eorum
which he had not previously borne committed to any one of them,

præter consulem Terentium, aliquot fortibus
excepting the consul Terentius, several brave

ac strenuis viris præteritis, quia
and active men having been passed over, because,

in tali tempore videbatur nullis
at such a juncture, it was deemed *advisable* *that* to no person

novus magistratus mandandus.
should a new office be intrusted.

XXXVI.—Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt.
The armies also were reinforced;

Quantæ autem copiæ peditum equitumque
but *as to* how many troops of foot and horse

additæ sint, auctores variant adeo et numero
were added, authors vary so much, both *as* to the number

et genere copiarum, ut vix ausus sim affirmare quidquam
and the kind of forces, that I can scarcely venture to affirm anything

satis certum: alii decem millia
[very] certain *on that head.* Some *assert* that ten thousand

novorum militum scripta in supplementum; alii
new soldiers were levied as a reinforcement; others

quattuor novas legiones, ut octo legionibus
four new legions, so that eight legions

rem gererent: legiones quoque auctas
were employed; *and* that the legions were also augmented

numero peditum equitumque, millibus peditum
as to the number *both* of foot and horse, one thousand foot

et centenis equitibus adjectis in singulas, ut
and one hundred horse being added to each, so that

essent quina millia peditum quadringenti equites;
there were *now* five thousand foot *and* four hundred horse *in each;*

socii darent duplicem numerum equitum,
and that the allies furnished double the number of cavalry,

æquarent peditis. Quidam auctores sunt, cum
and an equal *number* of infantry. Some writers affirm that, when

pugnatum est ad Cannas in Romanis castris
the battle was fought at Cannæ, *there were* in the Roman camp

septem et octoginta millia et ducentos armatorum.
eighty-seven thousand two hundred soldiers.

Illud haudquaquam discrepat, rem
There is no dispute at all, that the business *of war*

actam majore conatu atque impetu quam
was *now* prosecuted with greater energy and spirit than

prioribus annis, quia dictator præbuerat
in the former years, because the dictator had afforded *them*

spem hostem posse vinci. Ceterum,
room to hope that the enemy might be vanquished. However,

priusquam novæ legiones signa moverent ab urbe,
before the new legions marched from the city,

decemviri jussi adire atque inspicere libros
the decemvirs were ordered to go and inspect the books

propter homines vulgo territos
on account of persons having been generally alarmed

novis prodigiis. Nam nuntiatum erat et Romæ
by extraordinary prodigies; for word was brought, that at Rome

in Aventino et sub idem tempus Aricie
on the Aventine, and, at the same time, at Aricia,

pluvisse lapidibus; et in Sabinis signa
it had rained *stones*: that among the Sabines, *statues*

sudasse cruore multo aquas Cæretes manasse gelidas
had sweated blood copiously, *and* the waters at Cære flowed cold

calido fonte: id quidem etiam magis terrebat,
from a warm spring; the latter, moreover, excited *the* greater terror,

quod sæpius acciderat. Et in Fornicata via
because it had frequently occurred. In Arch street,

quæ erat ad Campum, aliquot homines
[which was] near the Campus *Martius*, several persons

tacti fuerant de cœlo exanimatique: ea prodigia
had been struck with lightning and killed. These portents

procurata ex libris. Legati a Pæsto
were expiated according to the books. Ambassadors from Pæstum

attulerunt aureas pateras Romam: iis,
brought *some* golden vessels to Rome, *and* to these,

sicut Neapolitanis, gratiæ actæ, aurum
as to the Neapolitans, thanks were returned, *but* the gold

non acceptum.
was not accepted.

XXXVII.—Per eosdem dies accessit Ostiam
About the same time arrived at Ostia

classis ab Hierone cum magno commeatu.
a fleet, *sent* by Hiero, with *a* large *supply of* provisions.

Legati introducti in senatum
The *Syracusan* ambassadors, being introduced to the senate,

nuntiarunt: regem Hieronem adeo ægre tulisse
acquainted them that "King Hiero was so much distressed at

cædem allatam consulis C. Flaminii exercitusque,
the loss announced *to him* of the consul Caius Flaminius and his army,

ut potuerit magis moveri nulla clade
that he could not have been more afflicted by any disaster *happening*

sua propria sui regnique. Itaque, quamquam
to his own person or kingdom. Wherefore, though

probe sciat magnitudinem Romani populi
he was well aware that the greatness of the Roman people

esse prope admirabiliorem adversis rebus quam
was almost more admirable in adversity than

secundis, tamen se mississe omnia, quibus
prosperity, yet he had sent all kinds *of supplies* with which

bella soleant juvari a bonis fidelibusque sociis
wars are usually abetted by good and faithful allies,

quæ magno opere orare conscriptos patres,
and which he earnestly entreated the conscript fathers

ne abnuant accipere. Jam primum omnium
not to refuse to accept. First of all,

causa ominis sese afferre auream Victoriam
for the sake of the omen, they had brought a golden *statue of* Victory,

ducentum ac viginti pondo: eam acciperent
of two hundred and twenty pounds' weight, which they should accept,

tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam.
hold and possess *as* appropriated *to them* forever.

Ne deessent commeatus, etiam advexisse
And that there might be no want of provisions, they had also brought

trecenta millia modium tritici, ducenta
three hundred thousand pecks of wheat, *and* two hundred *thousand*

hordei, et, quantum præterea opus esset,
of barley; and as much more as would be necessary

subvecturos quo jussissent.
they would convey, *as a supply*, to whatever place they should order

Scire Romanum populum non uti milite
He knew that the Roman people did not employ *any legionary* soldiers

atque equite, nisi Romano Latinique nominis;
or cavalry other than Roman *citizens*, or of the Latin confederacy:

etiam vidisse in Romanis castris externa
yet he had also seen, in the Roman camp, foreign *bands of*

levium armorum auxilia. Itaque misisse mille
light-armed auxiliaries; wherefore he had sent a thousand

sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum
archers and slingers, a suitable force

adversus Baleares ac Mauros aliasque gentes
against the Balearians and Moors, and other nations

pugnaces missili telo. Ad ea dona
remarkable for fighting with missile weapons." To these presents

quoque addebant consilium, ut prætor,
they added also advice: "That the prætor,

cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, trajiceret classem
to whose lot the province *of* Sicily had fallen, should pass a fleet over

in Africam, ut et hostes haberent bellum
to Africa, that the enemy also might have a war

in sua terra, minusque laxamenti daretur his
in their own country, and that less leisure might be afforded them

ad submittenda auxilia Hannibali. Ab senatu
of sending reinforcements to Hannibal. "On the part of the senate

ita responsum est regi: Hieronem esse
reply was thus made to the king: "That Hiero was

bonum virum egregiumque socium, atque
a good man and an excellent ally; and that,

ex quo venerit in amicitiam Romani populi,
from *the time* when he *first* entered into friendship with the Roman people,

uno tenore coluisse fidem ac omni tempore
he had uniformly cultivated *a spirit of* fidelity, and at all times,

ac loco munifice adjuvisse rem Romanam:
and *in all* places, had munificently assisted the interest of Rome.

id esse, perinde ac deberet gratum
That this was, as it ought to be, a cause of gratitude

Romano populo. Aurum et allatum
to the Roman people. That gold *had* likewise *been* offered

a quibusdam civitatibus, accepta gratia rei,
by some *other* states, *which, though* thankful for the act,

Romanum populum non accepisse: Victoriam
the Roman people had not accepted: *the statue of* Victory, *however*,

omenque accipere, dareque dicare
and the omen they would accept, and would assign *and* dedicate

ei divæ sedem Capitolium, templum
to that divinity, *as* her abode, the Capitol, the temple

Jovis optimi maximi: sacratam in ea arce
of Jupiter supremely good and great; *hoping* that, consecrated in that fortress

urbis Romanæ fore firmam ac stabilem,
of the city of Rome, she would continue *there* firm and immoveable,

volentem propitiamque Romano populo. Funditores
kind and propitious to the Roman people." The slingers,

sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus:
archers, and the corn were delivered to the consuls

ad classem navium, quæ erant in Sicilia
To the fleet of ships [which were] *already* in Sicily

cum proprætore T. Otacilio, additæ
with the proprætor Titus Otacilius, were added

quinque et viginti quinqueremes, permissumque est,
twenty-five quinqueremes, and permission was given

si censeret esse e republica, ut trajiceret
him, if he thought it were for *the advantage of* the state, to pass over

in Africam.
into Africa.

XXXVIII.—Dilectu perfecto, consules morati
The levy completed, the consuls waited

paucos dies, dum socii ab Latino nomine venirent.
a few days, till the allies of the Latin confederacy arrived.

Tum milites adacti jurejurando ab
At this time the soldiers were bound by an oath *dictated* by

tribunis militum, quod nunquam antea factum erat,
the military tribunes, (which had never before been practised,)

conventuros jussu consulum
'that they would assemble on the orders of the consuls, *and*

injussu neque abituros. Nam ad eam diem
without *their* orders would not depart:' for *up* to that time

nihil præter sacramentum fuerat, et,
none but the military oath had been *employed;* and *further,*

ubi convenissent ad decuriatum aut centuriatum,
when *the soldiers* met to divide into decuries or centuries,

equites decuriati, pedites
the horsemen *on* being placed in *their* decuries, *and* the footmen

centuriati conjurabant sua voluntate
on being placed in *their* centuries, used to swear voluntarily

ipsi inter se, non abituros ergo formidinis
among themselves 'that they would not depart through fear

atque fugæ, neque recessuros ex ordine, nisi
or *in* flight; nor quit their ranks, except

causa sumendi aut petendi teli et aut
for the purpose of taking up or fetching a weapon, [and either]

feriendi hostis aut servandi civis. Id
of striking an enemy, or saving a countryman.' This

ex voluntario fœdere inter ipsos translatum
from *having been* a voluntary compact between themselves, was converted

ad legitimam adactionem jurisjurandi ad tribunos
into the legal compulsion of an oath by the tribunes

Priusquam signa moverentur ab urbe,
Before the standards were moved from the city,

conciones consulis Varronis fuere multæ ac feroces,
the harangues of the consul Varro were frequent and furious,

denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Italiam
protesting that the war had been invited into Italy

ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus
by the nobles, and that it would continue *fixed* in the bowels

reipublicæ, si haberet plures imperatores Fabios:
of the state, if it employed *any* more commanders like Fabius;

se perfecturum, quo die
but that he would bring *the war* to conclusion on the *very* day

vidisset hostem. Una concio fuit ejus collegæ
he got sight of the enemy. One speech *only* was *made* by his colleague

Pauli, pridie quam proficisceretur ex urbe,
Paulus, on the day before they set out from the city,

verior quam gratior populo, qua
which was more true than gratifying to the people, *and* in which

nihil dictum inclementer in Varronem, nisi id modo;
nothing was said severely against Varro, except this only:

se mirari, quomodo quis dux, priusquam
That he wondered how any general, before

nosset aut suum aut hostium exercitum,
he was acquainted with either his own or the enemy's army,

situm locorum, naturam regionis, jam nunc
the situation of posts, *or* the nature of the country, even now *while*

in urbe togatus sciret, quæ sibi agenda forent
in the city, *and with* the gown on, could *yet* know what he should have to do

armato, et posset quoque prædicere diem,
when in arms, and could even foretell the day

qua dimicaturus cum hoste collatis signis.
on which he would engage [with] the enemy with encountering standards.

Se non ante tempus immaturā præcepturum
For his part, he would not, before the time *arrived,* prematurely anticipate

ea consilia, quæ res dent hominibus
those plans which circumstances imposed on men,

magis, quam homines rebus: optare ut,
rather than men on circumstances. He wished that *those measures*

quæ gesta essent caute ac consulte, evenirent
which had been taken with *due* caution and deliberation would turn out

satis prospere: temeritatem, præterquam quod
right prosperously: *since* rashness, besides that

sit stulta, ad id locorum fuisse etiam infelicem.
it was folly, had hitherto been also unsuccessful.

Id sua sponte apparebat, præpositurum tuto
This obviously appeared, that he would prefer safe

celeribus consiliis, et, quo perseveraret constantius
to hasty counsels; and that he might persevere the more constantly

id, Q. Fabius Maximus fertur sic allocutus
in this *resolution,* Quintus Fabius Maximus is said to have thus addressed

eum proficiscentem.
him on *his* departure:—

XXXIX.—"Si, L. Æmili, aut haberes
"If, Lucius Æmilius, you either had

collegam similem tui, id quod mallem, aut tu
a colleague like yourself, (which I would prefer,) or yourself

esses similis tui collegæ, oratio mea esset supervacanea
were like your colleague, an address from me would be superfluous:

nam et duo boni consules faceretis
for, in the first place, *were you* both good consuls, you would do

omnia e republica vestra fide,
everything for *the good of* the state from your own sense of honor,

etiam me indicente, et
even without my saying *a word;* and in the other, *were you both*

mali nec acciperetis mea verba vestris auribus
bad *consuls,* you would neither admit my words into your ears,

nec consilia animis. Nunc mihi intuenti
nor my counsels into your minds. At present *when* I *am* considering

et tuum collegam et te
on the one hand, your colleague and, on the other, yourself

virum talem oratio est omnis tecum,
as being a man of such character, my address will be solely to you,

quem video fore et bonum virum et civem
who, I *clearly* see, will prove *yourself* a good man and *worthy* citizen

nequidquam, si res publica claudet altera parte,
to no purpose, if the administration is defective on the other side,

idem juris et potestatis erit malis consiliis
and equal privilege and authority be *accorded* to evil counsels

ac bonis. Enim erras, L. Paule, si censes
as to good. For you are mistaken, Lucius Paulus, if you imagine

tibi futurum minus certaminis cum C. Terentio
that you will have a less *difficult* struggle *to maintain* with Caius Terentius

quam cum Hannibale; nescio an
than with Hannibal. I know not whether

hic maneat infestior adversarius quam ille
the former may *not* prove a more dangerous adversary than the latter

hostis. Cum illo certaturus es
your open enemy. With the one, you will contend

in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus;
in the field only; with the other, in all places and times;

adversus Hannibalem ejus legionesque
against Hannibal and his legions,

tibi pugnandum est tuis equitibus ac peditibus,
you will go to battle with *support of* your cavalry and infantry;

Varro te est oppugnaturus dux tuis militibus.
Varro will oppose you *at the* head of your own soldiers.

Memoria C. Flaminii absit tibi etiam
May the thought of Caius Flaminius not be present with you, even

causa ominis: tamen ille demum cœpit furere
for the omen's sake! Yet he only became mad

consul, et in provincia et ad exercitum:
on becoming consul, *when* in his province and at *the head of* the army

hic insanit, priusquam peteret consulatum,
this *man* is raving before he put up for the consulship,

deinde in petendo consulatum nunc quoque consul,
afterwards when canvassing for it. *and* even now *on being* consul

priusquam videat castra aut hostem. Et,
before he has seen the camp or the enemy. And *when*,

jactando prœlia atque acies jam nunc ciet
by talking largely of fights and fields of battle, he now excites

tantas procellas inter togatos, quid censes
such storms among the citizens in *their* gowns, what do you suppose

facturum inter juventutem armatam, et ubi
he will do among the young men *who are* in arms, and with whom

res extemplo sequitur verba? Atqui
acts instantly follow words? *But* be assured,

si hic extemplo pugnaverit, quod denuntiat
if he shall immediately fight *the enemy*, as he protests

se facturum, aut ego ignoro rem militarem,
he will [do], either I am ignorant of military affairs,

hoc genus belli, hunc hostem,
of the nature of the *present* war, *and the character of* the enemy,

aut alius locus erit nobilior nostris cladibus
or *some* other place will become more celebrated by our disasters

Trasimeno. Nec est tempus gloriandi
than *is* the Thrasymenus. It is not *now* the time for vaunting *one's self*

adversus unum, et ego excesserim
in comparison with *any* individual; and *besides* I have exceeded

modum contemnendo potius quam appetendo
the bounds *of moderation* in contemning rather than in courting

gloriam: sed res habet se ita; una ratio
fame; but the case is really this: the only rational method

gerendi belli adversus Hannibalem est, qua
of conducting the war against Hannibal is *that* in which

ego gessi, nec eventus modo— iste est magister
I conducted *it;* nor does the event alone, that *only* [is the] instructor

stultorum— docet hoc, sed eadem ratio, quæ
of fools, confirm this, but that same reasoning which

fuit futuraque est immutabilis, donec
has *hitherto* been, and will *continue to* be, unchangeable so long as

res manebunt eædem. Gerimus bellum
circumstances remain the same. We are carrying on war

in Italia in sede ac nostro solo,
in Italy, in our *own* country, and on our own soil, where

omnia circa sunt plena civium ac sociorum,
all *the places* round are full of our countrymen and allies,

juvant juvabuntque viris, armis, equis,
who do and will assist *us* with men, arms, horses

commeatibus; id documentum fidei jam dederunt
and provisions: such proofs of their fidelity have they *ere* now given

in nostris adversis rebus: tempus diesque facit noe
in our adversity. Time, nay, *every* day makes us

meliores, prudentiores, constantiores. Hannibal
better, wiser *and* firmer. Hannibal,

contra est in aliena, in hostili terra, inter
on the contrary, is in a foreign, an enemy's territory, amidst

omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo
all hostile and disadvantageous *surroundings*, far from home,

ab patria; illi est pax neque terra neque mari;
far from his native country; he has peace neither by land nor sea;

nullæ urbes, nulla mœnia accipiunt eum; videt
no cities, no walls receive him; he sees

nihil usquam sui; vivit
nothing anywhere *which he can call* his own; he lives on

capto in diem: habet vix tertiam partem ejus exercitus,
the plunder of the day; he has scarcely a third part of that army

quem trajecit amnem Iberum; fames absumpsit
which he brought across the river Iberus; famine has destroyed

plures quam ferro, nec jam suppeditat victus
more than the sword, and there is not now a supply of food

his paucis. Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo
even for the few *that are left*. Do you doubt, then, that by remaining quiet

superaturi simus eum, qui in dies senescat,
we will overcome him who is daily declining *in strength*,

habeat non commeatus, non supplementum,
who has no *resource of* provisions, no reinforcements,

non pecuniam? Quamdiu pro mœnibus Geronii,
no money? How long under the walls of Geronium,

inopis castelli Apuliæ, tamquam pro Carthaginis—
a wretched fortress of Apulia, as if under *those* of Carthage, *did I*—

sed ne gloriabor de me quidem adversus te Vide
but I will not boast of myself even before you. See

quemadmodum proximi consules, Cn. Servilius atque
how the last consuls, Cneius Servilius and

Atilius eum ludificati sint. Hæc, L. Paule, est
Atilius baffled him. This, Lucius Paulus, is

una via salutis, quam cives facient
the only way of safety, which your countrymen will render

magis difficilem infestamque tibi quam hostes.
more difficult and dangerous to you than their enemies *will*,

Enim tui milites volent idem, quod hostium;
for your own soldiers will wish the same *thing* as *those* of the enemy

Varro, Romanus consul, cupiet idem, quod
Varro, the Roman consul, will desire the same *thing* as

Hannibal, Pœnus imperator: unus oportet resistas
Hannibal, the Carthaginian commander. Alone, you will have to withstand

duobus ducibus: autem resistes, si
two generals: however, you will withstand *them*, provided

steteris firmus satis adversus famam rumoresque
you remain firm enough against the report and the rumors

hominum, si neque vana gloria collegæ
of men; *and* if neither the empty glory of your colleague

neque falsa infamia tua te moverit.
nor the false imputations *thrown* on yourself shall move you.

Veritatem aiunt nimis sæpe laborare,
Truth, they say, very often suffers,

nunquam exstingui: qui spreverit gloriam,
but is never destroyed. *He* who slights fame

habebit veram. Sine, vocent timidum pro cauto,
shall enjoy it *in its* purity. Let them call *you* timid, instead of cautious;

tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli:
dilatory, instead of considerate; unenterprising, instead of expert, in war.

malo sapiens hostis metuat, quam
I rather wish *that* a wise enemy may fear, than *that*

stulti cives te laudent: audentem omnia
foolish countrymen should applaud you. *A man* who hazards all things

Hannibal contemnet, agentem nihil temere metuet.
Hannibal will despise; *him* who does nothing rashly he will fear.

Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, sed ut ratio,
Yet I would not *advise* that nothing should be done, but that reason,

non fortuna, ducat te agentem : omnia sint
and not fortune, guide you *in your* proceedings. Let every matter be *kept*

semper tuæ potestatis que tua.
always within your own power and *under* your own *direction*

Sis armatus intentusque, neque
Be *always* armed and on your guard ; *and* neither

desis occasioni tuæ, neque des suam occasionem
miss a favorable opportunity of your own, nor afford such an opportunity

hosti : Non properanti omnia erunt clara certaque :
to the foe. To the deliberate *man* all things are clear and sure.

festinatio est improvida et cæca."
Haste is improvident and blind."

XL.—Oratio consulis adversus ea fuit
The address of the consul in reply was

haud sane læta, fatentis, ea, quæ diceret esse vera
by no means cheerful, admitting that what he said was true

magis, quam facilia factu : dictatori
rather than easy to put in practice. "*If* to the dictator," *he said*,

magistrum equitum fuisse intolerabilem ; quid virium
"his master of horse was unbearable, what power

atque auctoritatis consuli fore adversus
or influence could a consul have against

seditiosum ac temerarium collegam ? Se
a seditious and hot-headed colleague ? *As to himself*, he had,

priore consulatu effugisse populare incendium
in his former consulate, escaped a popular conflagration *not without*

semiustum : optare, ut omnia evenirent prospere ;
being scorched : he wished that all might end happily ;

at, si quid adversi caderet, se objecturum caput
but, should any misfortune occur, he would expose his life

telis hostium potius quam suffragiis
to the weapons of the enemy, rather than to the votes

iratorum civium. Ab hoc sermone tradunt
of his incensed countrymen." *Directly* after this conversation, *as we are* told,

Paulum profectum prosequentibus primoribus patrum :
Paulus set out, escorted by the principal senators :

sua plebes prosecuta plebeium consulem,
his own *party of* plebeians attended the plebeian consul,

conspectior turba quam dignitate. Ut
more distinguished by *their* numbers than respectability. When

venerunt in castra, vetere ac novo exercitu permixto,
they came into the field, *and* the old and new troops *were* intermixed,

factis bifariam castris, ut nova minora
they formed two separate camps, *in such manner* that the new *and* smaller *one*

essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus esset
was nearest to Hannibal, *and* in the old were *lodged*

major pars et omne robur virium: tum miserunt
the greater number and the main strength *of the army*. They then sent

Romam M. Atilium consulum prioris anni
to Rome Marcus Atilius, *one* of the consuls of the former year,

excusantem ætatem; Geminum Servilium
who alleged his age in excuse; *and the other*, Geminus Servilius,

præficiunt Romanæ legioni et duobus millibus
they appoint to *the* command *of* a Roman legion, and two thousand

socium peditum equitumque in minoribus castris
of the confederate infantry and cavalry, *stationed* in the smaller camp.

Hannibal, quamquam cernebat copias hostium
Hannibal, although he perceived that the forces of the enemy

auctas dimidia parte, tamen gaudere mire
were augmented by one-half, yet rejoiced exceedingly

adventu consulum; enim non solum nihil superabat
at the arrival of the consuls; for not only was no part remaining

ex commeatibus raptis in diem, sed erat
of the provisions acquired by plunder from day to day, but there was

ne quidem quidquam reliqui, unde raperet,
not even anything left of which he could make prey,

omni frumento undique, postquam ager erat
all the corn in every quarter, when the country was *found*

parum tutus, convecto in munitas urbes;
unsafe, having been collected together into the fortified towns,

ut, quod postea compertum est, vix superesset
so that, as was afterwards discovered, there scarcely remained

frumentum decem dierum, que ob inopiam
corn *enough* for ten days; and, in consequence of the scarcity,

transitio parata fuerit Hispanorum, si
a *plan of* desertion would have been devised of the Spaniards, if

maturitas temporum exspectata foret.
the completion of *that* time had been awaited.

XLI.—Ceterum fortuna etiam dedit materiam
But fortune also furnished fuel

ræpropero ingenio ac temeritati consulis, quod
to the impetuous temper and rashness of the consul, for

in prohibendis prædatoribus prœlio,
in checking the plundering parties an engagement *having ensued*,

tumultuario ac orto magis procursu
of a tumultuary kind, and occasioned rather by a *voluntary* onset

militum quam ex præparato aut jussu
of the soldiers than by *any* preconcerted *design*, or order

imperatorum, dimicatio fuit haudquaquam par
of the commanders, the contest was by no means equal

Pœnis. Ad mille et septingenti
with the Carthaginians. As many as one thousand seven hundred *of them*

cæsi, occisis Romanorum sociorumque
were slain; *while* there fell of the Romans and their confederates

non plus centum. Ceterum victoribus sequentibus
no more than a hundred. However, upon the victors pursuing

effuse consul Paulus, cujus erat imperium eo die—
in hot haste, the consul Paulus, who held the command on that day,

nam imperitabant alternis— metu insidiarum
(for they commanded alternately,) through dread of an ambuscade

obstitit, Varrone indignante ac vociferante
brought *them* to a halt; *while* Varro indignantly vociferated,

hostem emissum e manibus,
that the enemy had been allowed to slip out of their hands

potuisseque debellari, ni cessatum foret.
and that the war might have been finished had not a stop been put

Hannibal haud ægerrime pati
to the action. Hannibal was not much grieved at

id damnum; quin potius credere, temeritatem
that loss; nay, rather, he felt convinced. that the temerity

ferocioris consulis ac militum maxime
of the more presumptuous consul and of the soldiers, particularly

novorum velut inescatam esse. Et omnia
the fresh ones, would, as it were, be lured by the bait. Indeed all

hostium erant haud secus nota ei
the circumstances of the enemy were as well known to him

quam sua: dissimiles discordesque imperitare;
as his own: that dissimilar and discordant *men* were in command

prope duas partes in exercitu esse tironum militum.
that nearly two-thirds of the army were raw recruits.

Ratus itaque se habere tempus et locum
Concluding therefore that he had *now found* *both* time and place

aptum insidiis, proxima nocte educit milites
convenient for a stratagem, on the following night he led away his men

ferentes secum nihil præter arma, relinquit castra
bringing with them nothing but their arms, *and* left the camp

plena fortunæ omnis publicæ privatæque; peditesque
full of *their* effects of all kinds, public and private. The infantry,

instructos læva condit trans proximos montes,
drawn up on the left, he lodged behind the nearest mountains,

equites dextra, traducit impedimenta
and the cavalry on the right; *and* conducted the baggage,

medium agmen per convallem, ut opprimeret
as a centre line, through the interjacent valley; *intending* to fall upon

hostem occupatum impeditumque diripiendis castris
the enemy *when* busy and incumbered in the pillaging *of* the camp,

velut desertis fuga dominorum. Crebri ignes
as if deserted [through the flight] of its owners. Numerous fires

relicti in castris, ut fieret fides, voluisse
were left in the camp to create a belief *that his* intention was

tenere consules in locis falsa imagine
to detain the consuls in their posts by the appearance

castrorum, dum ipse præciperet
of a camp, while he should gain *the advantage of* time

fuga longius spatium, sicut frustratus esset
for retreat to the greater distance, in like manner as he had deceived

Fabium anno priore.
Fabius the year before.

XLII.—Ubi illuxit, primo stationes
When it was day, first *the fact of* the outpost

subductæ, deinde adeuntibus propius
being withdrawn, and then, on their approaching nearer,

insolitum silentium fecit admirationem.
the unusual stillness, produced surprise *among the Romans*.

Solitudine in castris jam satis comperta, concursus
The desertion of the camp being now plainly discovered, a general rush

fit ad prætoria consulum nuntiantum
is made to the pavilions of the consuls by *those* who announced

fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut reliquerint
" the flight of the enemy so precipitate, that they left

castra tabernaculis stantibus; quoque fuga
their camp, with their tents standing; and that their flight

esset obscurior, crebros ignes etiam relictos
might be *the* more secret, numerous fires had also been left.

Inde clamor ortus, ut juberent signa proferri
Then a clamor arose that they should order the standards to be advanced,

ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac
and lead *them* in pursuit of the enemy, and

protinus diripienda castra. Et alter consul
to the immediate plunder of the camp. The other consul too

erat velut unus turbæ militaris: Paulus etiam atque etiam
was as one of the common soldiers. Paulus again and again

dicere providendum esse præcavendumque: postremo,
urged, that they should act with foresight and precaution; *and* at last,

cum posset neque aliter sustinere seditionem
when he could no otherwise restrain their mutiny

neque ducem seditionis, mittit Marium Statilium
or the leader of the sedition, he sends Marius Statilius,

præfectum cum Lucana turma exploratum.
a prefect, with a Lucanian troop, to reconnoitre;

Qui, ubi adequitavit portis, jussis ceteris
who, when he had ridden up to the gates, *and* ordered the rest

subsistere extra munimenta, ipse cum duobus equitibus
to halt without the trenches, himself, with two horsemen,

intravit vallum, cumque cura speculatus omnia.
entered the camp. and carefully examined everything

Renuntiant esse profecto insidias: ignes relictos
They bring back word that it was manifestly a snare: that fires were left

in parte castrorum, quæ vergat ad hostem:
in *that* part of the camp which faced the enemy;

tabernacula aperta et omnia cara relicta in promptu;
the tents *were* open, and all their valuables left in view;

quibusdam locis vidisse argentum temere per vias,
that in some places they saw silver carelessly *thrown* about the passages

velut objectum ad prædam. Ea,
as if laid *there* for plunder. These *very circumstances*,

quæ nuntiata erant ad deterrendos animos
which were mentioned for *the purpose of* deterring their minds

a cupiditate, accenderunt; et, clamore orto
from greediness, served to inflame *them;* and a cry being set up

a militibus, ni signum detur, ituros
by the soldiers, that, unless the signal was given, they would proceed

sine ducibus, haudquaquam defuit dux:
without their generals, there was no want at all of a leader;

nam Varro extemplo dedit signum proficiscendi.
for Varro instantly gave the signal for marching.

Paulus, cum, sua sponte cunctanti
Paulus, when, *even* from his own suggestion *in favor of* delaying

pulli quoque ei non addixissent auspicio,
the chickens [also] had not encouraged him by their auspices,

jussit obnuntiari collegæ
ordered the ill-omen to be reported to his colleague

jam efferenti signa porta. Quamquam
just *as he was* leading the troops out of the gate. *And* though

Varro quod passus est ægre, tamen recens casus
Varro bore it impatiently, yet the recent fate

Flaminii memorataque navalis clades consulis Claudii
f Flaminius, and the recorded naval defeat of the consul Claudius

rimo Punico bello incussit religionem animo.
in the first Punic war, struck religious scruples into his mind

Dii ipsi eo die distulere prope magis quam
he gods themselves, on that day, postponed, in a manner, rather than

rohibuere pestem imminentem Romanis: nam
averted. the calamity *which* hung over the Romans: for

forte ita evenit, ut, cum milites non parerent
It luckily happened that, while the soldiers did not obey

consuli jubenti referri signa in castra,
the consul *who* ordered *them* to return to the camp,

duo servi, unus, equitis Formiani, alter
two slaves, one *belonging* to a horseman of Formiæ, the other

Sidicini, qui excepti fuerant a Numidis
to *one* of Sidicinum, who had been taken prisoners by the Numidians

inter pabulatores, Servilio atque Atilio consulibus,
among *a party of* foragers, *when* Servilius and Atilius *were* consuls,

profugerent eo die ad dominos: deductique
made *their* escape on that *very* day to their owners; and, being brought

ad consules nuntiant, Hannibalis omnem exercitum
before the consuls, informed *them* that Hannibal's whole army

sedere in insidiis trans proximos montes.
lay in ambush behind the nearest mountains

Opportunus adventus horum fecit consules potentes
The seasonable arrival of these *men* made the consuls capable

imperii, cum ambitio alterius
of *maintaining* their authority, when the ambition of one *of them*,

prava indulgentia solvisset primum
and, through improper indulgence, impaired *more* particularly

suam majestatem apud eos.
his own dignity among the *soldiers*.

XLIII.—Postquam Hannibal vidit Romanos
When Hannibal perceived that the Romans

inconsulte motos magis quam temere evectos
had been indiscreetly prompted rather than rashly carried

ad ultimum, fraude detecta, rediit in castra
to a conclusion, the stratagem being *now* discovered, he returned to his camp

nequidquam. Nequit manere ibi plures dies
without effecting *anything*. He could not remain there many days

propter inopiam frumenti; novaque consilia
by reason of the scarcity of corn; and new measures

in dies oriebantur non solum apud milites,
were daily in contemplation, not only among the soldiery,

mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium,
compounded, *as it was,* of the refuse of all nations,

sed etiam apud ducem ipsum. Nam initio
but even with the general himself; for, first,

cum fuissent fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio
when there had been murmuring, and afterwards open clamors,

exposcentium debitum stipendium, querentiumque
of the *men* demanding their arrears of pay, and complaining

primo annonam, postremo famem,
first of the dearness *of provisions,* and at last of famine

et fama esset mercenarios milites, maxime
and a report was *afloat* that the mercenary soldiers, particularly

Hispani generis, cepisse consilium de transitione,
those of the Spanish race, had formed a scheme of going over

dicitur Hannibal ipse etiam
to the enemy, it is affirmed *that* Hannibal himself too

interdum agitasse de fuga in Galliam, ita
sometimes thought of flying into Gaul in such manner

ut, relicto omni peditatu, se proriperet
that, having left all his infantry behind, he might hurry away

cum equitibus. Cum hæc consilia esset
with his cavalry. While these plans were *in agitation*

atque hic habitus animorum in castris, statuit
and this the state of feeling in the camp, he resolved

movere inde in loca Apuliæ calidiora
to depart thence into the regions of Apulia, *which were* warmer,

atque eo maturiora messibus, simul quod,
and therefore earlier in the harvest; *thinking* also that

quo longius recessisset ab hoste, impeditiora
the farther he retired from the enemy, the more difficult

transfugia essent levibus ingeniis. Profectus est
would desertion be to *those of* unsettled tempers. He set out

nocte, factis ignibus similiter, relictisque
by night, after kindling fires as *before,* and leaving

paucis tabernaculis in speciem, ut
a few tents to *produce* an appearance; in order that

metus insidiarum par priori contineret Romanos.
fears of an ambuscade, similar to the former, might keep the Romans

Sed cum relatum esset per eundem
in their places. But when account was brought by the same

Lucanum Statilium exploratis omnibus
Lucanian Statilius, after having examined all *the ground*

ultra castra transque montes,
beyond the camp and on the other side of the mountains,

hostium agmen visum procul, tum
that the enemy's marching host was seen at a *great* distance, then

consilia cœpta agitari de eo insequendo. Cum
plans began to be set on foot about pursuing him. Here

utriusque consulis fuisset eadem sententia, quæ
each consul was of the same opinion which

ante semper, ceterum fere omnes assentiretur Varroni,
he had ever *held;* but almost all sided with Varro,

nemo Paulo præter Servilium
and none with Paulus except Servilius,

consulem prioris anni; sententia
the consul of the former year. *In compliance* with the determination

majoris partis profecti sunt, urgente fato,
of the majority, they set forward, under the impulse of destiny,

ad nobilitandas Cannas Romana clade.
to render Cannæ *forever* memorable by a Roman disaster.

Prope eum vicum Hannibal posuerat castra
Near that town Hannibal had pitched his camp,

aversa a vento Vulturno, qui
with his back towards the wind, *called* Vulturnus, which,

campis torridis siccitate vehit
in *those* plains parched with drought, carries along *with it*

nubes pulveris. Id fuit cum percommodum
clouds of dust. This *circumstance* was both highly commodious

castris ipsis, tum futurum erat
to the camp itself, and would be

præcipue salutare, cum dirigerent
particularly advantageous *to the men* when they drew up

aciem, ipsi aversi vento,
their line of battle; *as* they, being turned away from the wind

afflante tantum terga, pugnaturi in hostem occæcatum
blowing only on their backs, would fight against an enemy blinded

offuso pulvere.
with the thickly-driven dust.

XLIV.—Consules satis exploratis itineribus,
The consuls, carefully examining the roads

sequentes Pœnum, ut ventum est ad Cannas,
in pursuing the Carthaginian, when they had arrived near Cannæ,

ut habebant Pœnum in conspectu,
and had the [Carthaginian] *foe* in sight,

divisis copiis, sicut ante, communiunt bina castra
divided *their* forces, as before, *and* fortified two camps

ferme eodem intervallo, quo
at nearly the same distance *from each other* as *they had been*

ad Geronium. Amnis Aufidus, affluens castris utrisque,
at Geronium. The river Aufidus, *which* flowed by the camps of both,

dabat aditum aquatoribus cujusque
afforded approach to the watering parties of each,

ex sua opportunitate haud sine certamine.
according as opportunity *served*, *though* not without contest.

Romani tamen ex minoribus castris, quæ
The Romans, however, in the smaller camp, which

posita erant trans Aufidum,
was pitched on the other side of the Aufidus,

liberius aquabantur, quia ulterior ripa habebat
were more freely furnished with water, because the further bank had

nullum præsidium hostium. Hannibal nactus spem
no guard of the enemy. Hannibal, entertaining a hope

consules facturos copiam pugnandi locis
that the consuls would afford *him* an opportunity of battle in these parts

natis ad pugnam equestrem,
naturally adapted *as they were* to an engagement of cavalry,

qua parte virium erat invictus, dirigit aciem
(in which portion of *his* forces he was invincible,) formed his line,

lacessitque hostes procursatione Numidarum. Inde
and provoked the enemy by skirmishes of the Numidians. On this

Romana castra rursus sollicitari
the Roman camp was again thrown into disturbance

seditione militari ac discordia consulum;
by mutiny among the soldiers, and dissension between the consuls

cum Paulus objiceret Varroni temeritatem
since Paulus instanced to Varro the rashness

Sempronii*que* et Flaminii, Varro Fabium
of Sempronius and Flaminius; *while* Varro *pointed to* Fabius

speciosum exemplum timidis ac segnibus ducibus;
as a specious precedent for timid and inactive commanders.

hic testaretur deos hominesque nullam culpam
The latter called *both* gods and men to witness, "that no *part of the* blame

penes se esse, quod Hannibal jam cepisset Italiam
attached to him that Hannibal was now holding Italy,

velut usu; se teneri constrictum
as it were, by *right of* possession; *for* that he was held bound

a collega; ferrum atque arma adimi
by his colleague; that *their* swords and arms were taken away

militibus iratis et cupientibus pugnare
from the soldiers *who were* full of rage and eager to fight."

ille diceret, si quid accideret legionibus
The former declared, that if any *misfortune* should happen to the legions

projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam
from their being exposed and betrayed into an ill-advised

atque improvidam pugnam, se,
and imprudent battle, he himself, *though*

exsortem omnis culpæ, fore participem omnis
free from all reproach, would be a sharer of all

eventus: videret, ut manus, quibus lingua
the consequences. Let him take care that the hands *of those* whose tongues

tam prompta ac temeraria, æque vigerent
were *now* so ready and impetuous, were equally energetic

in pugna.
during the fight.

XLV.—Dum tempus teritur altercationibus
While time is *thus* consumed in altercation

magis quam consiliis, Hannibal, cum reciperet
rather than deliberating, Hannibal, having led back

in castra ceteras copias ex acie, quam tenuerat
into the camp *all* the other troops of the line which he had kept

instructam ad multum diei, mittit Numidas
in order of battle during a great part of the day, sends the Numidians

trans flumen ad invadendos aquatores Romanorum
across the river to attack a watering party of the Romans

ex minoribus castris. Vixdum egressi
from the lesser camp. Scarcely *had they* landed

in ripam cum clamore ac tumultu
on the *opposite* bank when, *merely* by shouting and tumult,

fugassent quam inconditam turbam, evecti sunt
they dispersed this disorderly crowd; *and then* pushed forward

quoque in stationem locatam pro vallo
even to an outpost stationed before the rampart,

atque prope ipsas portas. Id visum indignum vero
and almost up to the very gates. It was deemed an affront indeed

jam etiam castra Romana terreri
that now even the camp of the Romans should be terrified

ab tumultuario auxilio; ut modo una causa ea
by a tumultuary *band of* auxiliaries; so that the only reason that

tenuerit Romanos, ne transirent flumen extemplo
restrained the Romans from crossing the river forthwith,

dirigerentque aciem, quod summa imperii fuerit
and drawing out their line, *was* that the chief command was

eo die penes Paulum. Itaque Varro
on that day in the hands of Paulus. Accordingly Varro,

postero die, ejus diei sors imperii erat cui,
on the following day, on which the lot of command fell to him,

nihil consulto collega, proposuit signum
without conferring with his colleague, displayed the signal *for battle*;

copiasque instructas traduxit flumen, Paulo sequente
and his forces marshalled, he led *them* over the river; *while* Paulus followed,

quia poterat magis non probare consilium quam
because he could better disapprove of the design, than

non adjuvare. Transgressi flumen adjungunt suis
withhold *his* assistance. Having crossed the river, they add to their *force*

eas quoque copias, quas habuerant in minoribus castris;
those troops which they had in the lesser camp;

atque instructa acie ita: in dextro cornu—
and formed their line in this manner: in the right wing

id erat propius flumini— locant Romanos equites,
which was next the river, they placed the Roman cavalry

deinde pedites: sociorum equites
and next *them* the *Roman* infantry; the confederate cavalry *composed*

extremi lævum cornu, intra pedites
the extreme left wing; *and* within these the *allied* infantry

tenuerunt ad medium juncti Romanis legionibus:
stretched to the centre *so as* to unite with the Roman legions.

jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis
The archers and the rest of the light-armed auxiliaries

facta prima acies: consules tenuere cornua,
formed the van. The consuls commanded the wings,

Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum;
Terentius the left, Æmilius the right;

Gemino Servilio data tuenda pugna
to Geminus Servilius was committed the *charge of* maintaining the battle

media.
in the centre.

XLVI.—Hannibal prima luce, præmissa
Hannibal, at the first light, sending before *him*

Balearibus aliaque levi armatura, transgressus flumen,
the Balearians and the other light-armed *troops*, crossed the river,

locabat quosque in acie ita, ut
and posted each *company* in *his* line of battle just as

traduxerat. Gallos Hispanosque equites
he had led *them* over. The Gallic and Spanish cavalry *he placed*

in lævo cornu prope ripam adversus
in the left wing near the bank, opposite

Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu datum
the Roman cavalry; the right wing was assigned

Numidis equitibus, media acie firmata
to the Numidian horse; the centre of the line being strongly formed

peditibus ita, ut utraque cornua
by the infantry in such a manner, that both extremities *of it*

essent Afrorum, medii his interponerentur
were *composed* of Africans, *and* between these were placed

Galli atque Hispani. Crederes Afros
the Gauls and Spaniards. You would suppose the Africans *were*

magna ex parte aciem Romanam; ita armati erant
for the most part a body *of* Roman *troops*, they were so equipped

armis captis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte
with arms taken partly at the Trebia, but the greater part

ad Trasimenus. Scuta Gallis Hispanisque
at the Thrasymenus. The shields of the Gauls and Spaniards

erant ejusdem formæ, gladii dispares ac dissimiles,
were of the same shape; their swords unequal and dissimilar,

Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus,
those of the Gauls *being* very long, and without points;

Hispano— assueto petere hostem
those of the Spaniards, (*who were* accustomed to attack their enemy

punctim magis quam cæsim— habiles brevitate
with the point rather than with the edge,) convenient from their shortness,

et cum mucronibus. Sane terribilis erat et alius
and with points. Simply terrible was also *in* other *respects*

habitus harum gentium cum specie
the aspect of these nations, as well from *their* appearance

tum magnitudine corporum. Galli erant nudi
as from the size of their bodies. The Gauls were naked

super umbilicum: Hispani constiterant linteis tunicis,
above the navel: the Spaniards stood arrayed in linen vests

fulgentibus miro candore prætextis purpura.
resplendent with surprising whiteness, and bordered with purple.

Numerus omnium peditum, qui steterunt in acie
The whole number of infantry which was drawn up in the field

tum, fuit quadraginta millium, equitum decem.
on this *occasion* was forty thousand, of cavalry ten.

Duces præerant cornibus, sinistro Hasdrubal,
The generals *who* commanded the wings *were*, on the left Hasdrubal,

dextro Maharbal; Hannibal ipse, cum fratre Magone
on the right Maharbal: Hannibal himself, with his brother Mago,

tenuit mediam aciem. Sol peropportune
took *the* command of the centre. The sun very conveniently

erat obliquus utrique parti, Romanis versis in meridiem,
shone obliquely upon both parties, the Romans facing the south,

Pœnis in septemtrionem, seu locatis ita
and the Carthaginians the north, whether posted in such manner

de industria, seu quod stetere ita
designedly, or that they stationed themselves thus

forte: ventus— incolæ regionis vocant
by accident. The wind, *which* the natives of the country call

Vulturnum— coortus adversus Romanis
the Vulturnus, blowing briskly against the Romans,

ademit prospectum volvendo multo pulvere
prevented *them* from seeing *clearly* by rolling great *quantities of* dust

in ipsa ora.
into their faces.

XLVII.—Clamore sublato, procursum
The shout having been raised, a charge is made

auxiliis, et pugna commissa primum
by the auxiliaries, and the battle commenced first

levibus armis: deinde lævum cornu
between the light-armed *troops;* then the left wing,

Gallorum Hispanorumque equitum concurrit
consisting of Gallic and Spanish cavalry, engages

cum dextro Romano, minime more
with the right *wing* of the Romans; *but* by no means in the manner

equestris pugnæ: enim concurrendum erat
of a cavalry fight; for they were obliged to engage

adversis frontibus, nullo spatio relicto circa
front to front, no room having been left at the flanks

ad evagandum, quia hinc amnis, hinc
for *any* evolutions, as on one side the river, on the other

acies peditum claudebant utrimque nitentes
the line of infantry hemmed them in, *so that* both parties *were* struggling

in directum. Postremo equis confertis
directly forward; at last the horses being pressed together

turba ac stantibus, vir amplexus virum
in a crowd and standing still, man, grappling with man,

detrahebat equo. Certamen jam factum erat
dragged *him* from his horse. The contest was now maintained

magna ex parte pedestre: tamen pugnatum est
chiefly on foot, but the battle was

acrius quam diutius, Romanique equites pulsi
more furious than lasting, and the Roman horsemen, being repulsed

terga vertunt. Sub finem equestris certaminis
turn their backs. About the conclusion of the cavalry engagement,

pugna peditum coorta est. Primo
the fight between the infantry commenced. At first,

ordines Gallis Hispanisque constabant pares
the ranks of the Gauls and Spaniards stood unbroken *and were* equal

et viribus et animis: tandem
both in strength and courage *to their enemies* *but* at length

Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi, fronte æqua
the Romans, after long and repeated efforts, with their front regular

densaque acie impulere hostium
and in compact order drove back *a portion* of the enemy

prominentem a cetera acie cuneum
which projected before the rest of their line *in the form of* a wedge,

nimis tenuem eoque parum validum:
and which being too thin, consequently wanted strength.

deinde impulsis ac referentibus pedem trepide
On being thus repulsed and retreating in disorderly haste

insistere; ac uno tenore
they (*i. e. the Romans*) pursue them; and *charging* uninterruptedly

per agmen fugientium præceps pavore illati
through the body of *troops* flying headlong in dismay, they are borne

primum in mediam aciem, postremo, nullo resistente,
first upon their centre line; *and* at length, no one opposing

pervenerunt ad subsidia Afrorum, qui
them, they arrived at the African reserves, which *latter*

constiterant utrimque alis reductis,
had been posted on both flanks *of the others*, inclining backward

media acie, qua Galli Hispanique
towards the rear; *while* the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniard

steterant, prominente aliquantum. Ut qui cuneus
were placed, jutted considerably forward. When the wedge *thus formed,*

pulsus primum frontem æquavit deinde
being driven in, first rendered the front even, and then,

cedendo etiam dedit sinum in medio,
by falling back still *further,* made a curvature in the middle,

Afri jam fecerant cornua circa, Romanisque
the Africans now formed wings on each side *of them;* and the Romans

incaute irruentibus in medium circumdedere alas,
incautiously rushing into the centre, they outflanked them;

mox extendendo cornua clausere hostes et ab tergo.
and presently extending their wings, enclosed the enemy on the rear also.

Hinc Romani, nequidquam defuncti uno prœlio,
Upon this the Romans, *who had* in vain finished one battle,

omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga cecidérant,
quitting the Gauls and Spaniards, whose rear they had slaughtered,

et ineunt integram pugnam adversus Afros,
[in addition] commenced a fresh fight against the Africans,

iniquam non tantum in eo, quod
which proved disadvantageous not only from the *fact* that,

inclusi adversus circumfusos,
being shut in, *they were* opposed to *men* who surrounded *them,*

sed etiam quod fessi pugnabant
but also because, being fatigued, they fought

cum recentibus ac vegetis.
with *those* who were fresh and vigorous.

XLVIII.—Jam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi
Now also on the left wing of the Romans, where

sociorum equites steterant adversus Numidas,
the confederate cavalry had *been* posted against the Numidians,

prœlium consertum erat, segne primo et
the battle was joined; *it was* languid at first, and

cœptum a Punica fraude. Ferme quingenti
commenced with *a piece of* Carthaginian treachery. About five hundred

Numidæ, habentes præter cetera arma telaque
Numidians carrying, besides their usual armor and weapons,

gladios occultos sub loricis, cum adequitassent
swords concealed beneath their coats of mail, after riding up to *the enemy*

specie transfugarum ab suis, habentes parmas
under the semblance of deserters from their own *party*, holding their bucklers

post terga repente desiliunt ex equis, projectisque
behind their backs, suddenly leap down from their horses, and, throwing

parmis et jaculis ante pedes hostium, accepti
their bucklers and javelins at the feet of their enemies, were received

in mediam aciem ductique ad ultimos
into their centre line, and being conducted to the hindmost *ranks*,

jubentur considere ab tergo. Ac manserunt quieti,
were ordered to sit down in the rear; and *there* they remained quiet

dum prœlium conseritur ab omni parte: postquam
until the fight was begun in every quarter: when, *however*,

certamen occupaverat animos oculosque omnium,
the contest was engaging the thoughts and attention of all *about them*,

tum, arreptis scutis, quæ humi strata erant
then, snatching up the shields, which lay scattered

passim inter acervos cæsorum corporum, adoriuntur
on all hands among the heaps of slain [bodies], they fell upon

aversam Romanam aciem, ferientesque terga
the rear of the Roman line, and stabbing *men in* the backs,

ac cædentes poplites, fecerunt ingentem stragem
and cutting their hams, occasioned vast havoc,

ac aliquanto majorem pavorem ac tumultum. Cum
and still greater panic and confusion. While

alibi esset terror ac fuga, alibi prœlium
in one part prevailed terror and flight, *and* in another the battle

pertinax in jam mala spe, Hasdrubal,
was obstinate, with a now ill-promising prospect; Hasdrubal,

qui jam præerat ea parte, subductos Numidas
who was then commanding in that section, drawing off the Numidians

ex media acie, quia pugna cum adversis
from the centre of their line, (for the conflict with their opponents

erat segnis mittit ad persequendos
was slight,) sends *them* in pursuit of

passim fugientes Gallos et Hispanos equites
the scattered fugitives, *and then with* his Gallic and Spanish horse

adjungit Afris jam prope fessis
forms a junction with the Africans, *who were* now almost weary

cæde magis quam pugna.
with slaying rather than fighting.

XLIX.—Altera parte pugnæ Paulus,
On the other side of the battle-*field*, Paulus,

quamquam graviter ictus funda primo statim prœlio,
though severely wounded from a sling in the very beginning of the action,

tamen cum confertis sæpe concurrit
yet, at the head of a compact band, frequently opposed *himself*

Hannibali, et aliquot locis restituit prœlium,
to Hannibal; and in several places he restored the fight,

Romanis equitibus protegentibus eum postremo
the Roman horsemen protecting him; *who* in the end

omissis equis quia consulem vires deficiebant
dismounted because the consul's strength was not sufficient

et ad regendum equum. Cuidam tum deinde
even to manage his horse. Some person, on this,

nuntianti, consulem jussisse equites
bringing intelligence that the consul had ordered the cavalry

descendere ad pedes, ferunt Hannibalem dixisse
to alight, it is said that Hannibal observed,

"quam mallem traderet mihi vinctos!"
"How much rather would I *that* he delivered *them* to me in chains."

Prœlium pedestre equitum fuit, quale victoria
The fighting of the dismounted cavalry was *such* as the victory

jam haud dubia hostium, cum
now unquestionably *in the hands* of the enemy, *admitted of*; *and* as

victi mallent mori in vestigio quam fugere,
the vanquished chose rather to die on the spot than fly,

victores irati morantibus victoriam
the victors, enraged at them *for* retarding their success,

trucidarent, quos non poterant pellere.
put to death *those* whom they could not drive *from their ground*.

Tamen jam pepulerunt paucos superantes
They did, however, at length drive away the few *who were* remaining

et fessos labore ac vulneribus: inde omnes dissipati sunt,
and *were* spent with toil and wounds. After that they were all dispersed,

quique poterant, repetebant equos ad fugam.
and such as were able repaired to their horses for flight.

Cn. Lentulus militum tribunus cum vidisset,
Cneius Lentulus, a military tribune, having observed,

prætervehens equo, consulem sedentem in saxo
on riding by, the consul sitting upon a stone

oppletum cruore, inquit, "L. Æmili,
and covered with blood, said *to him:* "Lucius Æmilius,

quem dei debent respicere unum
whom the gods ought to favor *as* the only person

insontem culpæ hodiernæ cladis, cape hunc equum,
free from the blame of this day's disaster, take this horse

dum tibi et aliquid virium superest, ego comes
while you have any strength remaining; I *will* accompany *you*

possum te tollere ac protegere: ne feceris
and am able to raise you up and protect *you.* Do not make

hanc pugnam funestam morte consulis:
this battle *more* calamitous by the death of a consul;

etiam sine hoc est satis lacrimarum luctusque."
even without that there is sufficient *cause* for tears and mourning."

Ad ea consul: "quidem, Cn. Corneli
In reply the consul *said:* "By all means, Cneius Cornelius,

tu macte esto virtute: sed cave, absumas
persevere in your valor! But beware *lest* you waste

frustra morando exiguum tempus evadendi
in useless tarrying the brief opportunity of escaping

e manibus hostium. Abi, nuntia patribus publice,
from the hands of the enemy. Go, tell the fathers publicly,

muniant urbem Romanam, ac, prius quam
to fortify the city of Rome, and, before

victor hostis advenit, firment præsidiis:
the victorious enemy arrives, secure it with a *strong* garrison:

Q. Fabio privatim, Æmilium et adhuc vixisse
and tell Quintus Fabius individually, that *Lucius* Æmilius has hitherto lived,

et mori memorem ejus præceptorum: memet
and *now* dies, mindful of his injunctions. *As to* myself

patere exspirare in hac strage meorum militum,
let me expire amid this carnage of my soldiers,

ne aut iterum sim reus e consulatu, aut
that I may not a second time be accused after my consulate, or

exsistam accusator collegæ, ut protegam
stand forth *as* the accuser of my colleague, in order to defend

meam innocentiam crimine alieno." Hæc exigentes
my own innocence by the impeachment of another." *While* thus discoursing,

prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes,
first a crowd of their flying countrymen, after that the enemy,

oppressere: obruere consulem telis,
came upon *them;* they overwhelm the consul with *their* weapons,

ignorantes, quis esset: inter tumultum equus
not knowing who he was: in the confusion his horse

abripuit Lentulum. Tum fugiunt effuse
rescued Lentulus. After that they fly precipitately

undique. Septem millia hominum perfugerunt
in all directions. Seven thousand men escaped

in minora castra, decem in majora,
to the smaller camp, ten *thousand* to the greater,

forme duo in vicum ipsum Cannas, qui
and about two *thousand* to the village [itself] of Cannæ, which *latter*

extemplo circumventi sunt a Carthalone atque
were immediately surrounded by Carthalo and

equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum.
the cavalry, no fortifications protecting the town.

Alter consul, seu consilio seu forte
The other consul, whether by design or accident,

insertus nulli agmini fugientium,
without mingling with any party of the flying *troops*

perfugit Venusiam cum fere septuaginta equitibus.
made *good* his escape to Venusia with about seventy horsemen.

Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti pedites,
Forty-five thousand five hundred foot,

duo millia septingenti equites dicuntur cæsi,
and two thousand seven hundred horse are said to have been slain

et pars civium sociorumque
and the number of citizens and of confederates to have been

prope tanta: in his ambo quæstores
almost equally great. Among these *were* both the quæstors

consulum, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus,
of the consuls, Lucius Atilius and Lucius Furius Bibaculus;

et viginti unus tribuni militum, quidam
and twenty-one military tribunes; several *who had passed through*

consulares prætoriique et ædilicii— inter eos
the offices of consul prætor and ædile, among whom

numerant Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium,
they reckon Cneius Servilius Geminus, and Marcus Minucius

qui fuerat magister equitum priore anno,
who had been master of the horse in the preceding year,

consul aliquot annis ante,— præterea octoginta,
and consul some years before; moreover eighty

qui aut senatores aut gessissent eos magistratus,
who *were* either senators, or had borne those offices

unde deberent legi in senatum, cum
by which they might be elected into the senate, though

sua voluntate facti essent milites in legionibus.
they had voluntarily enlisted *as* soldiers in the legions.

Tria millia peditum et mille et quingenti equites
Three thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry

dicuntur capta eo prœlio.
are reported *as* having been captured in this battle.

L.—Hæc est pugna Cannensis, par nobilitate
Such was the battle of Cannæ, equal in celebrity

cladi Aliensi; ceterum ut levior illis,
to the defeat at the Allia: but though less important as regards those

quæ accidere post pugnam, quia est cessatum
circumstances which happened after it, (because there was remissness

ab hoste, sic
on the part of the enemy *in pursuing the blow,*) yet

strage exercitus gravior
with *respect to* the destruction of the troops *it was* more grievous

fœdiorque. Namque fuga ad Aliam sicut
and horrible: for the flight at the Allia. while

prodidit urbem, ita servavit exercitum:
it betrayed the city, [yet] preserved the army;

ad Cannas vix septuaginta secuti sunt
but at Cannæ scarcely seventy accompanied

consulem fugientem, prope totus exercitus
the consul who fled; almost the whole army

fuit alterius morientis. In binis castris
followed the other in death. *The troops collected* in the two camps

um esset semiermis multitudo sine ducibus,
being a half-armed multitude, without leaders,

qui erant in majoribus mittunt nuntium, ut,
those in the larger send a message *to the others*, that

dum nocturna quies premeret hostes fatigatos
while the night's repose was encumbering the enemy, *who were* fatigued

prœlio, epulis deinde ex lætitia, transirent
with the battle *and* their feasting thereafter for joy, they should come over

ad se: abituros esse uno agmine Canusium.
to them, *and* they would go off in one body to Canusium

Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari: enim cur
This advice some totally rejected: "For why," *said they*,

non illos, qui se arcessant, venire ipsos, cum
did not those who sent for them come themselves, when

possent æque conjungi? Quia videlicet
a junction might as well have been formed *by this means?* Because, evidently,

omnia in medio essent plena hostium, et
all the intermediate *space* was crowded with the enemy, and

mallent objicere corpora aliorum tanto periculo
they would rather expose the persons of others to so great a danger

quam sua. Aliis sententia non tam displicere,
than their own." By others the advice was not so much disapproved,

quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus,
as the courage was wanting *them to follow it.* Publius Sempronius Tuditanus,

tribunus militum, inquit, "mavultis ergo
a military tribune, exclaims: "Do you choose, then,

capi ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste,
to be taken *prisoners* by a most rapacious and cruel enemy,

æstimarique vestra capita, et pretia exquiri
to have a price set upon your heads, and have *your* value ascertained

ab interrogantibus sis civis Romanus an
by *men* who will inquire *whether* you are a citizen of Rome, or

Latinus socius, ut ex tua miseria et contumelia
a Latin confederate, in order that from your miseries and indignities

honos quæratur alteri? Non tu, si estis quidem
honor may be procured to another? Not you *surely*, if you be really

cives consulis L. Æmilii, qui maluit
fellow-citizens of the consul Æmilius, who chose rather

se mori bene quam vivere turpiter, et tot
to die honorably than to live in infamy, and of such a number

fortissimorum virorum, qui jacent cumulati
of brave men who lie in heaps

circa eum. Sed antequam lux opprimit majoraque
around him. But, before the light overtakes *us* and more numerous

agmina hostium obsæpiunt iter, erumpamus per
bodies of the enemy stop up the way, let us sally forth through

hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt
those who, without *any* order or regularity are making *this* noise

portis. Audacia atque ferro via fit
at our gates. By courage and the sword a passage is effected

per hostes quamvis confertos: cuneo quidem
through enemies, however dense. In a wedge, *I am* sure,

disjicias hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si
you will penetrate this loose and disjointed band, as if

nihil obstet: ite itaque, qui vultis salvam
nothing opposed *you*. Come on, then, *you* who wish the preservation

et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam, mecum."
of yourselves and the commonwealth, follow me!"

Ubi dedit hæc dicta stringit gladium factoque cuneo
As he uttered these words, he drew his sword, and, forming a wedge,

vadit per medios hostes: et cum Numidæ
made *his* way through the midst of the enemy: and as the Numidians

jacularentur in dextrum latus, quod
discharged *their* javelins against their right side, which

patebat, translatis scutis in dextrum,
was uncovered, *they* transferred *their* shields to their right, *and thus*,

ad sexcenti evaserunt in majora castra, atque
to *the number of* six hundred, escaped to the greater camp; and

inde protinus, adjuncto alio magno agmine,
proceeding thence forthwith, in conjunction with the other larger body

perveniunt incolumes Canusium. Hæc agebantur
they arrived safe at Canusium. These steps were taken

apud victos ex impetu animorum, quem
by the vanquished according to the impulse of their tempers, which

suum ingenium aut fors dabat cuique magis, quam
his own disposition or *even* accident gave to each, rather than

consilio ipsorum aut cujusquam imperio.
from deliberation among themselves, or any one's orders.

LI.—Cum ceteri circumfusi victori Hannibali
When *all* others, surrounding the victorious Hannibal,

gratularentur suaderentque, ut, perfunctus
congratulated *him* and recommended that, after going through

tanto bello, et ipse sibi sumeret et daret
such a hard-*fought* battle, he should take himself, and allow

fessis militibus quietem, quod reliquum esset diei,
the wearied soldiers, repose during the remainder of *that* day,

insequentisque noctis; Maharbal, præfectus equitum
and the ensuing night, Maharbal, prefect of the cavalry,

ratus cessandum minime,
being of opinion that there should be *no* delay under any circumstances,

inquit, "immo, ut scias, quid
said *to him*, "Nay, rather, that you may know what

actum sit hac pugna, quinto die
has been accomplished by this engagement, on the fifth day *following*

epulaberis victor in Capitolio. Sequere: præcedam
you shall feast victorious in the Capitol. Follow *me:* I will go first

cum equite, ut venisse prius quam sciant
with the cavalry, that *they may see me* arrived before they know of

venturum." Hannibali res visa est
my being on the way." To Hannibal *this* project appeared

nimis læta majorque, quam ut posset
too full of joy, and *the prospect* too vast as that he could

eam capere animo statim: Itaque ait
comprehend it at the instant. He therefore replied

se laudare Maharbalis voluntatem,
that "he applauded Maharbal's zeal

temporis opus esse ad pensandum consilium. Tum
time was necessary to ponder the proposal." Upon this

Maharbal: "nimirum dii non dedere eidem
Maharbal *observed*, "True, the gods do not bestow on the same

omnia: Hannibal, scis vincere,
person all kinds *of talents*. You, Hannibal, know *how* to conquer,

nescis uti victoria." Ejus diei mora
but know not *how* to make use of your victory." That day's delay

satis creditur fuisse saluti urbi atque
is firmly believed to have been the preservation of the city and

imperio. Postero die, ubi primum illuxit,
the empire. On the following day, as soon as it dawned,

insistunt ad legenda spolia spectandamque
they applied themselves to the collecting *of* the spoils, and *in* viewing

stragem fœdam etiam hostibus. Tot millia
the carnage, *which was* shocking even to enemies: so many thousands

Romanorum, equites peditesque, jacebant passim,
of Romans, horsemen and footmen, were lying promiscuously

ut fors junxerat quem cuique aut pugna
on the field, as chance had thrown them together, either in the battle

aut fuga. Quidam, quos vulnera stricta
or flight. Some, whom their wounds, being pinched

matutino frigore excitaverant, oppressi sunt
by the morning cold, had roused *from their posture*, were put to death

ab hoste, assurgentes cruenti
by the enemy *as they were* rising up, covered with blood,

ex media strage. Quosdam et invenerunt
from the midst of *the heaps of* slain. Some, too, they found

jacentes vivos feminibus poplitibusque succisis,
lying alive, with their thighs and hams cut, *who*,

nudantes cervicem jugulumque et jubentes haurire
stripping their necks and throats, bade *them* spill

reliquum sanguinem. Quidam inventi sunt
what remained *of their* blood. Some were found

capitibus mersis in effossam terram, quos apparebat
with their heads buried in the pitted earth. who, it appears,

fecisse foveas sibi ipsos obruentesque ora humo
had made holes for themselves, and covering their faces with earth

superjecta spiritum interclusisse. Præcipue
thrown over *them*, had thus *been* suffocated. *But what* principally

convertit omnes vivus Numida naso
attracted *the attention of* all *was* a living Numidian with his nose

auribusque laceratis subtractus mortuo Romano
and ears *strangely* mangled, stretched beneath a dead Roman

superincubanti; cum manibus inutilibus ad
who lay upon *him, and who,* when his hands *were* powerless to

capiendum telum, versa ira in rabiem, exspirasset
grasp a weapon, turning from rage to madness, had expired

laniando hostem dentibus.
in *the act of* tearing his antagonist with his teeth.

LII.—Spoliis lectis ad multum diei
The spoils having been gathered for a great part of the day

Hannibal ducit ad oppugnanda minora castra,
Hannibal leads *his troops* to attack the smaller camp,

et primum omnium, objecto brachio, excludit
and first of all, by interposing a trench, excludes

eos flumine. Ceterum fessis labore,
the *garrison* from the river. But, *as they were* spent with labor,

vigiliis, etiam vulneribus, deditio facta est ab
watching and wounds, a surrender was made by

omnibus maturior ipsius spe.
all *the forces,* sooner than his expectation *had warranted.*

Pacti, ut traderent arma atque equos
Having agreed, that they would deliver up their arms and horses

trecenis nummis quadrigatis in Romana capita,
at *the price of* three hundred denarii for *every* Roman,

ducenis in socios centenis in servos, et ut,
two hundred for an ally, one hundred for a slave, and that,

persoluto eo pretio, abirent cum singulis
on payment of this ransom, they should depart with single

vestimentis, acceperunt hostes in castra:
garments, they received the enemy into the camp;

omnesque traditi sunt in custodiam cives sociique
and were all put into custody, the citizens and allies

seorsum. Dum tempus teritur ibi,
being kept separate. While the time is being spent there, *such troops*

ex majoribus castris, quibus fuit virium aut animi
from the greater camp as had strength or spirit

satis, ad quattuor millia hominum et
enough, *amounting* to four thousand *foot*men and

ducenti equites, cum interea perfugissent Canusium,
two hundred horse, having meanwhile made their escape to Canusium,

alii sine, alii palati passim per agros,
some in bodies, others straggling different ways through the country,

quod erat haud minus tutum, castra ipsa
(which was no less secure *a course*,) the camp itself

tradita hosti ab sauciis timidisque
is delivered up to the enemy by the wounded and spiritless *who remained*,

eadem conditione, qua altera. Præda parta
on the same terms as the other *was*. The spoil obtained

est ingens; et præter viros equosque et
was immense; and, excepting the men and horses, and

si quid argenti— quod plurimum erat in phaleris
whatever silver *there was*, (most of which was on the trappings

equorum, nam utebantur perexiguo facto
of the horses; as they used *but* very little [made

ad vescendum, utique militantes— omnis
for eating from, particularly in campaign,) all

cetera præda data est diripienda. Tum jussit
the rest of the booty was given up to be plundered. *Hannibal* then ordered

corpora suorum conferri in unum causa sepeliendi:
the bodies of his own *troops* to be collected for burial:

dicuntur fuisse ad octo millia fortissimorum
they are said to have amounted to eight thousand of his bravest

virorum. Quidam auctores sunt quoque conquisitum
men. Some authors say that he also searched for

sepultumque Romanum consulem. Eos, qui
and interred the Roman consul. Those who

perfugerant Canusium, acceptos a Canusinis
escaped to Canusium, being received by the people of that place

mœnibus tectisque tantum, mulier Apula, nomine
within their walls and houses only, a woman of Apulia, named

Busa, clara genere ac divitiis, juvit frumento,
Busa, eminent for her birth and riches, *generously* assisted with corn,

veste, etiam viatico; pro qua munificentia
clothes, and provisions; *in return* for which munificence,

honores postea habiti sunt ei ab senatu,
high honors were afterwards paid to her by the senate

perfecto bello.
at the conclusion of the war.

LIII.—Ceterum, cum essent quattuor
Now, though there were four

militum tribuni ibi, de prima legione Fabius
military tribunes there: of the first legion, Fabius

Maximus, cujus pater fuerat dictator anno priore,
Maximus, whose father had been dictator the year before;

et de secunda legione L. Publicius Bibulus et
of the second legion, Lucius Publicius Bibulus and

P. Cornelius Scipio, et de tertia legione Ap.
Publius Cornelius Scipio; and of the third legion, Appius

Claudius Pulcher, qui fuerat ædilis proxime,
Claudius Pulcher, who had been ædile the last *year*;

summa imperii est omnium consensu delata
yet the command-in-chief was, with universal consent, conferred

ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem
on Publius Scipio, *then* very young,

et ad Ap. Claudium. Quibus consultantibus
in conjunction with Appius Claudius. To these, *while* deliberating

inter paucos de summa rerum, P. Furius
with a few *others* on the crisis of *their* affairs, Publius Furius

Philus, filius viri consularis, nuntiat,
Philus, son of a man *of* consular *dignity*, brings intelligence,

nequidquam eos fovere spem perditam,
"That *it was* in vain they cherished hopes *in a case* past retrieving,

rem publicam desperatam esse comploratamque
for the commonwealth was despaired of and lamented *as lost*.

quosdam juvenes nobiles, quorum principem
That several young men of *the* nobility, *at* whose head

L. Cæcilium Metellum, spectare mare ac naves,
was Cæcilius Metellus, were having an eye to the sea and ships,

ut, deserta Italia, transfugiant ad aliquem
in order that, abandoning Italy, they might escape to some one

regum. Cum quod malum, præterquam
of the *foreign* kings." When this calamity, *which*, besides

atrox, etiam novum super
being *itself* appalling, *followed*, moreover, unexpected*ly* in the wake of

tot clades, defixisset torpidos miraculo
so many disasters, had struck them motionless with astonishment

ac stupore, et, qui aderant censerent
and stupor; and *while* those who were present gave *it as* their opinion

consilium advocandum de eo, juvenis Scipio,
that a council should be called on the *subject*, young Scipio,

fatalis dux hujusce belli, negat esse
the destined general of this war, declares "that it was not

rem consilii: audendum atque agendum ait,
a subject for council; resolution and action, [says he,]

non consultandum esse in tanto malo:
and not deliberation were *necessary* in such *direful* distress.

irent secum extemplo armati, qui vellent
Those should come with him that moment in arms, who wished

salvam rem publicam: nullo loco esse castra
the preservation of the state: *for* in no place was the camp

hostium verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur.
of the enemy more truly, than where such *designs* were meditated."

Pergit ire, sequentibus paucis, in hospitium
Immediately he proceeds, attended by a few, to the lodging

Metelli: et, cum invenisset ibi concilium
of Metellus; and on finding there the council

juvenum, de quibus allatum erat, consultantium,
of youths, of whom mention had been made, *sitting* in consultation,

stricto gladio super capita, inquit,
he held his drawn sword over their heads, *and* said:

"ex sententia mei animi, ut ego non deseram
"With sincerity of soul *I swear* that I will not desert

rem publicam Romani populi, neque patiar alium
the commonwealth of the Roman people; neither will I suffer any other

Romanum civem deserere: si sciens fallo,
Roman citizen to desert *it*. If, knowingly, I perjure myself,

tum, Jupiter optime maxime afficias
then, do thou, Jupiter, supremely good and great, overwhelm,

pessimo leto me, domum, familiam
in the severest ruin, myself, my house, my family

meamque rem. Postulo, L. Cæcili, ceterique,
and my fortune! I demand *of you* Lucius Cæcilius, and the rest *of you*

qui adestis, jures in hæc verba:
who are present, *to* take oath with these *same* words:

qui non juraverit sciat in se hunc
and let him, that will not swear, be assured, that against him this

gladium strictum esse." Pavidi haud secus, quam si
sword is drawn." Terrified no less than if

cernerent victorem Hannibalem, omnes jurant,
they had seen the victorious Hannibal, they all take the oath,

traduntque semet ipsos Scipioni custodiendos.
and surrender themselves to Scipio to be kept in custody

LIV.—Eo tempore, quo hæc agebantur
During the time in which these things were passing

Canusii, ad quattuor millia et quingenti
at Canusium, about four thousand five hundred

equites peditesque, qui fuga sparsi fuerant
horse and foot, who, in the flight, had been dispersed

per agros, pervenere Venusiam ad consulem,
through the country, came to Venusia to the consul.

Venusini, cum divisissent eos omnes
The Venusians, after distributing them every one,

per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque,
throughout their families, to be kindly entertained and taken care of,

dederunt in singulos equites togas et tunicas
gave to each horseman a gown and tunic,

et vicenos quinos quadrigatos nummos et
and twenty-five denarii; and

pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant;
o *each* footman ten *denarii*, and *such* arms as they wanted;

ceteraque hospitaliter facta publice
and every other *kind of* hospitality was shown *then*. *both by the* public

ac privatim, certatumque,
and *by* private *persons*, emulously striving

ne Venusinus populus vinceretur officiis
that the Venusian state might not be outdone in kind offices

a muliere Canusina. Sed multitudo
by a woman of Canusium. However, the great number *of her guests*,

et erant jam ad decem millia hominum, faciebat
which amounted now to ten thousand men, made

onus gravius Busæ: Appiusque et Scipio, postquam
the burden heavier on Busa. Appius and Scipio, as soon as

acceperunt alterum consulem esse incolumem,
they learned that the other consul was safe,

extemplo mittunt nuntium, quantæ copiæ
instantly despatch a messenger *to him* *with word of* how many troops

equitum peditumque essent secum,
of horse and foot were with them,

simul sciscitatumque, utrumne juberet exercitum
and at the same time to inquire, whether he desired the army

adduci Venusiam an manere Canusii.
to be brought to Venusia, or to remain at Canusium.

Varro ipse traduxit copias Canusium: et jam
Varro himself led over his forces to Canusium. And now

erat aliqua species consularis exercitus,
there was some appearance of a consular army,

videbanturque defensuri se si non armis
and they seemed capable of defending themselves, though not with *their* arms

certe mœnibus. Allatum fuerat
alone, *yet* certainly with *the help of* walls. Account had been brought

Romam, ne quidem has reliquias civium sociorumque
to Rome that not even these relics of the citizens and allies

superesse, sed exercitum cum duobus consulibus
had survived, but that the armies, *together* with the two consuls,

occidone occisum omnesque copias deletas. Nunquam,
were utterly cut off, and all the forces annihilated. Never.

urbe salva, tantum pavoris tumultusque
when the city *was* in safety, did such a degree of dismay and confusion

fuit intra mœnia Romana. Itaque succumbam oneri,
prevail within the walls of Rome. I shall therefore shrink from the task

neque aggrediar narrare, quæ edissertando
and will not undertake to describe what, in the representation,

faciebant minora vero. Nuntiabantur non
must fall short of the reality. The report was, not *of another*

vulnus super vulnus consule exercituque amisso
wound upon that *of* a consul and his army being lost,

anno priore ad Trasimenum, sed multiplex clades,
the year before, at the Thrasymenus, but *of* a multiplicity of disasters,

amissi duo consulares exercitus cum duobus consulibus;
the loss of two consular armies, *together* with both consuls:

jam esse nec ulla Romana castra nec ducem
that now there was neither any Roman camp, nor general,

nec militem, Apuliam, Samnium ac jam prope
nor soldiery; that Apulia, Samnium and now almost

totam Italiam factam Hannibalis.
the whole *of* Italy were in *the* possession of Hannibal. *There is*

Nulla alia gens profecto non obruta esset
no other nation certainly, *that* would not have been crushed

tanta mole cladis. Compares
by such an accumulation of misfortune. Can you compare *with it*

aut cladem Carthaginiensium, acceptam
either] the disaster of the Carthaginians, sustained

navali prœlio ad Ægates insulas, fracti qua
in the sea-fight at the Ægatian islands, dispirited by which

cessere Sicilia ac Sardinia, inde passi sunt se fieri
they gave up Sicily and Sardinia, *and* thenceforth submitted to become

vectigales ac stipendiarios: aut adversam pugnam
tributary and stipendiary? Or the loss *of the* battle

in Africa, cui hic ipse Hannibal postea succubuit:
in Africa, under which this same Hannibal afterward sunk?

nulla ex parte sunt comparandæ, nisi quod latæ sunt
In no respect are they comparable, except that they were endured

minore animo.
with less fortitude.

LV.—Prætores P. Furius Philus et M' Pomponius
The prætors, Publius Furius Philus and Manius Pomponius,

vocaverunt senatum in curiam Hostiliam, ut
convened the senate in the Curia Hostilia, that

consulerent de custodia urbis:
they might take counsel about the guarding of the city;

enim neque dubitabant, exercitibus deletis,
for they doubted not but that, the armies being destroyed,

hostem venturum ad oppugnandam Romam,
the enemy would come *directly* to attack Rome,

unum opus belli quod restaret. Cum
the only operation of the war which remained. When,

in malis, sicut ingentibus, ita ignotis
in *the midst of* misfortunes as unbounded as *they were* unapprehended

ne quidem satis expedirent consilium,
they could not even fairly prepare a plan *of defence*,

clamorque lamentantium mulierum obstreperet,
and *while* the loud lamentations of the women were resounding,

et, nondum palam facto, vivi mortuique promiscue
and, nothing *being* as yet positively known, the living and the dead alike

complorarentur per pæne omnes domos; tum
were lamented *as lost* in almost every house, [then]

Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, expeditos equites
Quintus Fabius Maximus gave *his* opinion, "That swift horsemen

mittendos et Appia et Latina via, qui
should be sent along the Appian and Latin roads, who,

percunctando obvios— aliquos profecto fore dissipatos
questioning those *they* met, (*as* some would certainly be dispersed

passim ex fuga— referant, quæ sit
in all directions from the flight,) might bring back word what was

fortuna consulum atque exercituum; et, si
the fate of the consuls and the armies; and, if

immortales dii, miseriti imperii fecerint quid reliquum
the immortal gods, in compassion to the empire, had left any remnant

Romani nominis; ubi eæ copiæ sint; quo Hannibal
of the Roman name, where these forces were; whither Hannibal

se contulerit post prœlium, quid paret,
had repaired after the battle; what he was meditating;

quid agat acturusque sit. Hæc
what he was doing and preparing to do. These *particulars*

exploranda esse noscendaque per impigros juvenes.
ought to be inquired into and ascertained by active young men;

Illud agendum per patres ipsos, quoniam
and it should be the business of the senators themselves, since

sit parum magistratuum, ut tollant tumultum
there was a deficiency of magistrates, to do away with the tumult

ac trepidationem in urbe, arceant matronas publico
and trepidation in the city; *to* remove the women from the public

cogantque quamque contineri intra suum limen;
places, and compel each to abide within her own threshold;

coerceant comploratus familarum, faciant silentium
to restrain the lamentations of families; *to* cause silence

per urbem, curent nuntios
throughout the city; *to* take care that the bearers

omnium rerum deducendos ad prætores;
of every *kind of* intelligence be conducted to the prætors,

quisque exspectant domi auctorem
and each *person* await in his *own* house the information

suæ fortunæ; præterea ponant custodes
respecting his own fortune: *that* they should moreover place guards

ad portas, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi
at the gates to hinder any from going out of

urbem, cogantque homines, sperare nullam salutem,
the city, and oblige men to place no hope of safety

nisi salvis mœnibus ac urbe: ubi tumultus
but in the preservation of the walls and the city. That when the tumult

recte conticuerit, tum patres revocandos esse
had fairly subsided, then the senators should be called back

in curiam consulendumque de custodia urbis."
into the house, and consultation be had about the defence of the city."

LVI.—Cum omnes issent pedibus in hanc sententiam,
When all had signified *their* assent to this opinion,

turbaque submota foro per magistratus,
and, upon the crowd being removed out of the forum by the magistrates,

patres discessissent diversi ad sedandos tumultus,
the senators had proceeded in different directions to quiet the commotions.

tum demum litteræ allatæ sunt a consule C. Terentio,
then at length a letter was brought from the consul Terentius,

consulem L. Æmilium exercitumque cæsum,
stating, "that the consul Lucius Æmilius and his army were slain;

sese esse Canusii, colligentem velut ex naufragio
that he himself was at Canusium, collecting, as from a shipwreck,

eliquias tantæ cladis. Esse
the remains of such a dreadful disaster; that there were *with him*

ferme ad decem millia incompositorum
nearly ten thousand irregular

inordinatorumque militum: Pœnum, nec
and unorganized troops. That the Carthaginian, neither

animo victoris nec more magni ducis, sedere
in the spirit of a conqueror nor in the style of a great general, lay still

ad Cannas nundinantem in pretiis captivorum
at Cannæ, bargaining about the price of the captives,

aliaque præda. Tum clades privatæ quoque
and the other booty." Then the losses *of* private *families* also

vulgatæ sunt per domos; adeoque
were made known throughout their *several* houses; and so largely

ut anniversarium sacrum
did grief *now* pervade the entire city, that the anniversary festival

Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec est fas
of Ceres was omitted, because it is not allowable

lugentibus id facere, nec fuerat
for persons *in* mourning to celebrate it, and there was not,

in illa tempestate ulla matrona expers luctus.
at that juncture, one matron without sorrowing-apparel

Ne, itaque, ob eandem causam alia sacra quoque
Lest, therefore, for the same reason, other festivals [also,]

publica aut privata desererentur, luctus est
public or private, might be neglected, the mourning was,

senatus consulto finitus triginta diebus. Ceterum
by a decree of the senate, limited to thirty days. Now

cum, tumultu urbis sedato, patres
when, upon the tumult in the city being allayed, the senators

revocati essent in curiam, aliæ insuper litteræ
were reassembled in their house, an additional letter

allatæ sunt ex Sicilia ab proprætore T. Otacilio,
was brought from Sicily, from the proprætor Titus Otacilius, *stating*,

regnum Hieronis vastari Punica classe;
that the kingdom of Hiero was *being* devastated by a Carthaginian fleet

cum cui imploranti vellet ferre
and *that* when, *in answer* to his imploration, he was on the point of bringing

opem nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem stare
him assistance, word was sent him that another fleet lay

ad Ægates insulas instructam paratamque,
at the Ægatian islands, equipped and prepared *for battle*;

Pœni, ubi sensissent se
the Carthaginians *intending*, as soon as they perceived that he

versum ad tuendam oram Syracusanam,
was gone away to guard the coast of Syracuse,

ut extemplo aggrederentur Lilybæum aliamque
to fall immediately on Lilybæum and other

Romanam provinciam: itaque opus esse classe,
parts of the Roman province: that he therefore needed a fleet,

si vellent tueri Siciliam regemque socium."
if they wished *him* to protect Sicily and the king their ally."

LVII.—Litteris consulis proprætorisque perlectis,
The letters of the consul and the proprætor having been read,

censuerunt M. Claudium, qui præesset classi
they resolved that Marcus Claudius, who commanded the fleet

stanti ad Ostiam, mittendum ad exercitum
stationed at Ostia, should be sent to the army

Canusium, scribendumque consuli ut,
at Canusium; and a letter be written to the consul, *directing* that,

cum tradidisset exercitum prætori, veniret Romam
after he had delivered the army to the prætor, he should come to Rome

primo quoque tempore, quantum posset fieri
at *as* early an opportunity as he could [manage],

per commodum rei publicæ. Territi etiam
consistently with the interest of the republic. *People* were terrified also,

super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis,
in addition to such dire misfortunes, both by several prodigies,

tum quod duæ Vestales, Opimia atque Floronia,
and also because two Vestals, Opimia and Floronia,

eo anno compertæ stupri: et altera fuerat
were that year convicted of incontinence; one *of whom* was,

ut est mos necata sub terra; altera ipsa
according to custom, put to death by burial; the other voluntarily

mortem consciverat sibimet. L. Cantilius,
killed herself. Lucius Cantilius,

pontificis scriba, quos nunc appellant
pontifical scribe, (*a class*, whom they now call

minores pontifices, qui fecerat stuprum cum Feronia,
the lesser pontiffs,) who had committed rape on Feronia,

erat a maximo pontifice cæsus virgis in comitio
was, by *order of* the chief pontiff, beaten with rods, in the comitium,

eo usque, ut exspiraret inter verbera. Hoc nefas
so severely, that he expired under the stripes. This enormity,

inter tot clades cum versum esset
happening in the midst of so many calamities, being converted

in prodigium, ut fit, decemviri jussi sunt
into a prodigy, as is usual *in such cases*, the decemvirs were ordered

adire libros; Q. Fabius Pictor et missus est Delphos
to consult the books. Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent also to Delphi

ad sciscitatum oraculum, quibus precibus suppliciisque
to inquire of the oracle by what prayers and offerings

possent placare deos, et quænam finis
they might be able to appease the gods; and what termination

futura foret tantis cladibus. Interim
there would be to such great distresses. Meanwhile,

ex libris fatalibus aliquot extraordinaria sacrificia
according to the books of the fates, several extraordinary sacrifices

facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla,
were performed; among which a Gallic man and woman,

Græcus et Græca, sub terra demissi sunt vivi
and a Greek man and woman, were buried alive

in bovario foro in locum consæptum saxo,
in the cattle-market, in a vault built round with stone, *which had*

jum ante imbutum humanis hostiis, sacro minime
already *been* polluted with human victims, a rite by no means

Romano. Deis, ut rebantur, satis placatis,
Roman. The gods being, as they supposed, sufficiently appeased,

M. Claudius Marcellus mittit ab Ostia Romam
Marcus Claudius Marcellus despatches from Ostia to Rome,

ut essent præsidio urbi mille et quingentos milites
as a garrison for the city, one thousand five hundred troops

quos habebat scriptos in classem: ipse,
whom he had *there*, *and who had been* levied for the fleet. He himself

præmissa classica legione— ea erat tertia legio
sending before *him* a marine legion, (it was the third legion,)

cum militum tribunis Teanum Sidicinum,
under the *command of the* military tribunes, to Teanum Sidicinum,

tradita classe collegæ P. Furio Philo,
and having delivered the fleet to his colleague Publius Furius Philus,

post paucos dies contendit magnis itineribus
after a few days proceeded by forced marches

Canusium. Inde M. Junius, dictus dictator
to Canusium. Upon this Marcus Junius, appointed dictator

ex auctoritate patrum et Tib. Sempronius
on the authority of the senate, and Tiberius Sempronius

magister equitum, edicto dilectu, scribunt juniores
master of the horse, having proclaimed a levy, enrol the younger *men*

ab annis septemdecim et quosdam prætextatos:
from the age of seventeen, and some *even* who wore the "toga prætexta:"

ex his quattuor legiones et mille equites effecti.
of these, four legions and a thousand horse were formed.

Mittunt item ad socios Latinumque nomen
They send also to the allies and the Latin confederacy,

ad accipiendos milites ex formula:
to receive *from them* the soldiers according to the terms *of the treaty*.

jubent arma, tela alia
They give orders that armor, weapons, *and* other *necessaries*

parari, et detrahunt templis
should be prepared; and they *even* took down from the temples

porticibusque vetera spolia hostium. Et
and porticoes the old spoils *taken* from the enemy. Besides

necessitas ac inopia capitum liberorum dedit
the urgent necessity and the scarcity of men of free condition gave *rise to*

aliam formam dilectus novi: empta
a new mode of levy *of an* unusual *kind:* *they* purchased

publice octo millia validorum juvenum ex servitiis,
with the public *money* eight thousand stout young slaves,

prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare,
first inquiring of each whether he was willing to serve,

et armaverunt: hic miles magis placuit,
and *then* gave them arms. This *kind of* military was preferred,

cum copia fieret redimendi captivos
though the power was in their hands of redeeming the prisoners

minore pretio.
at a less expense.

LVIII.—Namque Hannibal secundum
For Hannibal, after

tam prosperam pugnam ad Cannas intentus curis
so successful a battle at Cannæ, *was* busied with the concerns

magis victoris quam gerentis bellum,
rather of a *complete* conqueror, than of one having a war to prosecute;

captivis productis segregatisque, cum
and the prisoners being brought forward and separated, when he had,

benigne allocutus dimisisset socios sine pretio,
after kindly addressing *them*, dismissed the allies without ransom,

sicut ante ad Trebiam lacumque Trasimenum
(as *he had done* formerly at the Trebia and the lake Thrasymenus,)

alloquitur Romanos quoque vocatos satis miti sermone—
he addressed the Romans too, *on* being called *to him*, in quite gentle terms.

quod nunquam alias antea: sibi non esse
thing which *he* never *did* on any former occasion: "That he was not

bellum internecivum cum Romanis; certare
saying a war of extermination with the Romans, *but* was fighting

de dignitate atque imperio: et patres cessisse
for glory and empire. That as his ancestors had yielded

Romanæ virtuti, et se id adniti, ut cedatur
to the Roman valor, so he *on his part* was trying it, to make *others* yield

in vicem suæ felicitati et virtuti simul. Itaque
in turn to his good fortune and valor together. Wherefore

facere captivis copiam redimendi se:
he would afford the captives an opportunity of ransoming themselves;

pretium in capita fore quingenos quadrigatos nummos
and that the price per head should be five hundred denarii

equiti, trecenos pediti, centenos servo
or a horseman, three hundred for a footman, *and* a hundred for a slave.

Quamquam aliquantum adjiciebatur ad
Although some addition was made to

id pretium equitibus, quod pepigerant
the sum for the cavalry, which they had stipulated

se dedentes, tamen læti acceperunt
on their surrendering, yet they joyfully accepted

quamcumque conditionem paciscendi: placuit
any terms of entering into *the* compact. It was determined

deligi ipsorum suffragio decem,
that they should choose by their own suffrages ten *of their number*,

qui irent Romam ad senatum: nec
who should go to Rome to the senate; nor

aliud pignus fidei acceptum, quam ut jurarent
was any other guarantee of their fidelity taken than that they should swear

se redituros. Cum his missus Carthalo,
that they would return. With these was sent Carthalo,

nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte animos
a noble Carthaginian, who, if perchance their minds

inclinarent ad pacem, ferret conditiones. Cum
were inclined towards peace, was to propose terms. After

egressi essent castris, unus ex iis, homo minime
they had set out from the camp, one of them, a man *who had* very little

Romani ingenii, cum redisset, veluti oblitus aliquid,
of the Roman character, having returned, as if *he had* forgotten something,

in castra causa solvendi jurisjurandi
to the camp, for the purpose of evading his oath, *afterwards*

assequitur comites ante noctem. Ubi nuntiatum est
caught up with his companions before night. When it was reported

Romam eos venire, lictor missus obviam
at Rome that they were coming, a lictor was sent to meet

Carthaloni, qui nuntiaret verbis dictatoris,
Carthalo, to tell *him*, in the words of the dictator

ut excederet Romanis finibus ante noctem.
to quit the Roman territories before night.

LIX.—Legatis captivorum senatu
To the deputies of the prisoners *an audience of* the senate

latus est ab dictatore. Princeps quorum
was granted by the dictator. The principal of them,

M. Junius inquit, "patres conscripti, nemo
Marcus Junius, *thus* spoke: "Conscript fathers, none

nostrum ignorat; nulli civitati fuisse
of us is ignorant that in no *other* state were

captivos unquam viliores quam nostræ.
prisoners ever held in greater contempt than in our own

Ceterum, nisi nostra causa plus placet nobis
However, unless our cause is dearer to us

justo, non alii unquam venerunt in potestatem
than *it* should be, none *who* ever fell into the power

hostium minus negligendi vobis
of an enemy *were* less *deserving* of being disregarded at your hands

quam nos. Enim non per timorem tradidimus
than we *are;* for we did not through cowardice surrender

arma in acie; sed cum extraxissemus prœlium
our arms in the field; but after having protracted the battle

prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis
until near night, *while* standing upon heaps

cæsorum corporum, nos recepimus in castra;
of our slaughtered comrades, we retreated within our works.

reliquum diei ac insequentem noctem fessi
During the remainder of the day and the ensuing night, spent

labore ac vulneribus tutati sumus vallum;
as we were with toil and wounds, we *yet* defended our rampart

postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore
Next day, when, beset by the army *of* the conquerors

arceremur aqua, nec jam esset ulla spes
we were debarred from *access to* the water, and there was now no hop

erumpendi per confertos hostes,
of breaking through the dense *bands of the* enemy,

nec duceremus esse nefas trucidatis
and not considering it an impiety that, after the slaughter

quinquaginta millibus hominum ex nostra acie
of fifty thousand [men] of our army,

ullum Romanum militem restare ex pugna
any Roman soldier should survive the battle

Cannensi, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium,
of Cannæ; then at length we agreed upon terms

quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus
on which we might be ransomed *and* let off; *and* our arms, in which

erat nihil jam auxilii, tradidimus hosti.
there was no longer any protection, we delivered to the enemy

Acceperamus majores quoque redemisse se
We had heard that our ancestors also redeemed themselves

auro a Gallis, et vestros patres,
with gold from the Gauls; and that your fathers, *though*

illos asperrimos ad conditionem pacis, tamen misisse
they *were* very rigid *as* to the terms of peace, still sent

legatos Tarentum gratia redimendorum
ambassadors to Tarentum for the purpose of ransoming

captivorum. Atqui et pugna ad Aliam cum
the captives. Yet, both the fight at the Allia with

Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho, fuit
the Gauls, and *that* at Heraclea with Pyrrhus, were

utraque infamis non tam clade
[each of them] disgraceful, not so much on account of the loss

quam pavore et fuga. Acervi Romanorum corporum
as the panic and flight. Heaps of Roman carcasses

tegunt campos Cannenses: nec supersumus pugnæ,
cover the plains of Cannæ; and none of us survived the battle

nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires
but *those*, for whose destruction sword and strength

defecerunt hostem. Sunt etiam quidam de nostris,
had failed the enemy. There are, too, some of us,

qui ne quidem refugerunt in acie, sed relicti
who did not even retreat in the field but being left

præsidio castris venerunt in potestatem hostium
to guard the camp, came into the hands of the enemy

cum castra traderentur. Equidem haud invideo
when that was surrendered. For my part I envy not

fortunæ aut conditioni ullius civis
the *good* fortune or the situation of any fellow-citizen

et commilitionis, nec velim premendo alium
or fellow-soldier, nor do I wish by depressing another

me extulisse: quidem, nisi est aliquod
to exalt myself; *but* surely, unless there is some

præmium pernicitatis pedum et cursus, illi,
prize *due* to swiftness of foot and running, those *men*,

qui fugientes ex acie plerique inermes
who, flying the field for the most part without *their* arms,

non constiterunt prius quam Venusiæ aut
never halted until *they arrived* at Venusia, or

Canusii, ne merito se prætulerint nobis
Canusium, cannot justly set themselves before us,

gloriatique sint, esse plus præsidii
or boast that there is more of a safeguard

rei publicæ in se quam in nobismet. Sed
to the commonwealth in them than in us. However,

et utemini illis bonis ac fortibus militibus, et nobis
you will both find them *to be* good and valiant soldiers, and us

etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod
still more zealous in our country's cause for

redempti fuerimus atque restituti in patriam
our having been ransomed and restored to *that* country

vestro beneficio. Habetis dilectum ex omni ætate
by your kindness. You are levying from every age

et fortuna, audio octo millia servorum armari:
and condition: I hear that eight thousand slaves are being armed.

noster numerus est non minor, possumus redimi
Our number is not inferior *to that*, *and* we may be ransomed

nec majore pretio, quam ii emuntur: nam
at less expense than they are purchased: [for]

si conferam nos cum illis, faciam injuriam
should I compare ourselves with them, I would cast a slur

nomini Romano. Censeam, conscripti patres,
on the name of Roman I think, conscript fathers, that,

in tali consilio illud etiam animadvertendum
in such a case, this *circumstance* also deserves consideration

vobis, si tamen velitis esse duriores,
on your part, (if indeed you are disposed to be over-severe

quod faciatis nullo merito nostro, cui hosti
which you can not do from any demerit of ours,) to what *sort of* enemy

relicturi sitis nos: Pyrrho videlicet, qui habuit vos
you would abandon us: to a Pyrrhus, for instance, who counted us,

captivos numero hospitum, an barbaro
when prisoners, among the number of his guests; or a barbarian

ac Pœno, qui potest vix existimari, utrum
and Carthaginian, *of* whom *it* can scarcely be determined, whether

sit avarior an crudelior. Si videatis
he be the more rapacious, or the more cruel. If you were to see

catenas, squalorem, deformitatem vestrorum civium,
the chains, the squalid dress, the loathsomeness of your countrymen,

ea species profecto moveat vos non minus,
the sight, *I am* convinced, would affect you not less *deeply*

quam si ex altera parte cernatis vestras legiones
than if, on the other hand, you beheld your legions

stratas campis Cannensibus. Potestis intueri
prostrate on the plains of Cannæ. You can *here* observe

sollicitudinem et lacrimas nostrorum cognatorum
the solicitude and the tears of our kinsmen

stantium in vestibulo curiæ exspectantiumque
as they stand in the porch of *your* senate-house, and await

vestrum responsum. Cum ii sint ita suspensi
your answer. When they are in so much suspense

ac solliciti pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt,
and anxiety in behalf of us and of those who are absent,

quem censetis esse ipsorum animum quorum
what do you suppose must be our own feelings, whose

libertas vitaque est in discrimine. Sed—
liberty and life are at stake? But,

me dius fidius— si Hannibal ipse contra suam
by the god of truth, should Hannibal himself, contrary to his

naturam velit esse mitis in nos, tamen censeamus
nature, be disposed to be lenient towards us, yet we should consider

vita esse nihil opus nobis, cum visi sumus a vobis
life to be no gratification to us, after having been adjudged by you

indigni, ut redimeremur. Quondam capti remissi
unworthy of being ransomed. Formerly, prisoners dismissed

a Pyrrho sine pretio rediere Romam: sed
by Pyrrhus without ransom returned *home* to Rome; but

rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis,
they returned with ambassadors, the chief men of the state,

missis ad redimendos sese. Ego redeam
who had been sent for *the purpose of* ransoming them. Should I return

in patriam, civis non æstimatus trecentis
to my country, a citizen, *and* not considered worth three hundred

nummis? Conscripti patres quisque habet
denarii? Conscript fathers, every man has

suum animum: scio meum corpus vitamque
his own *way of* thinking. I know that my person and life

esse in discrimine; periculum famæ,
are in hazard; *but* the danger to our reputation,

ne abeamus repulsi ac damnati a vobis,
if we should go away rejected and condemned by you,

movet me magis: enim homines neque credent
affects me more *deeply*: for men will never believe

vos pepercisse pretio."
that you grudged the price *of our redemption*."

LX.—Ubi is finem fecit, flebilis clamor
When he had concluded, a lamentable cry

sublatus est ab ea turba, quæ erat in comitio,
was set up by the multitude, who stood in the comitium,

tendebantque manus ad curiam orantes,
and stretched their hands towards the senate-house, beseeching

ut redderent sibi liberos, fratres,
the members to restore to them their children, their brothers

cognatos. Metus ac necessitas
and relations. *Their* fears and the urgency *of the case*

immiscuerat feminas quoque huic turbæ virorum in
had brought *a number of* women also among the crowd of men in

foro. Arbitris submotis, senatus
the forum. Spectators being removed, the senate

cœptus consuli. Ibi cum variaretur sententiis,
began to consider *the matter*. There being a difference of opinion,

et alii censerent redimendos de publico,
and some advising that they should be ransomed at the public charge,

alii nullam impensam faciendam publice,
others, that no expense should be incurred on the *part of the* state,

nec prohibendos redimi
but that they should not be hindered from redeeming themselves

ex privato, si quibus deesset argentum
with *their own* private *property*; *and* that to such as wanted money

in præsentiam mutuam pecuniam dandam ex
at present, a loan should be made out of

ærario, cavendumque populo prædibus
the *public* treasury, and security given to the nation by sureties

ac prædiis; tum T. Manlius Torquatus,
and mortgages; [then] Titus Manlius Torquatus, *a man*

priscæ ac ut plerisque videatur nimis duræ
of primitive, and, as many thought, over-rigorous

severitatis, interrogatus sententiam, fertur ita
severity, being asked his opinion, is reported thus

locutus: "si legati pro iis, qui sunt
to have spoken: "Had the deputies in favor of those who are

in potestate hostium, postulassent tantummodo, ut
in the hands of the enemy, requested merely, that

redimerentur, brevi peregissem sententiam
they might be ransomed, I should have briefly delivered *my* judgment,

sine insectatione ullius eorum. Enim quid aliud
without inveighing against any of them; for what else

quam admonendi essetis, ut servaretis
were requisite than that you be admonished to maintain

morem traditum a patribus exemplo
the practice transmitted from your *fore*fathers, a precedent

necessario ad rem militarem? Nunc autem, cum
indispensable to military discipline? But now, since

prope gloriati sint, quod se dediderint
they have, in a manner, made *a* merit of having surrendered themselves

hostibus, censuerintque æquum pæferri non modo
to the enemy, and have accounted it just to be preferred, not only

captis ab hostibus in acie, sed etiam iis,
to those *who were* captured [by the enemy] in the field, but even to those

qui pervenerunt Venusiam Canusiumque, atque
who made their way to Venusia and Canusium, and

consuli C. Terentio ipso, nihil patiar vos ignorare,
o the consul Caius Terentius himself, I will not let you remain ignorant

conscripti patres, eorum, quæ acta sunt illic.
conscript fathers, of any of those *things* which were done there.

Atque utinam, agerem hæc, quæ acturus sum
And I wish I could state, what I am about to bring

apud vos, Canusii apud exercitum ipsum,
before you, at Canusium in the presence of the army itself,

optimum testem cujusque ignaviæ et virtutis:
the most competent witness of every man's cowardice and bravery;

aut saltem unus hic adesset
or, at least, *that* one particular *person* were present here,

P. Sempronius, quem si isti secuti essent ducem,
Publius Sempronius, whom had those *men* followed *as* their leader,

hodie essent milites in Romanis castris, non
they would to-day be soldiers in the Roman camp, *and* not

captivi in potestate hostium. Et cum habuissent
prisoners in the power of the enemy. But though they had

noctem liberam ad erumpendum, hostibus
the *whole* night at *their* disposal for making a sally, (*as* the enemy,

fessis pugnando tum lætis victoria
being fatigued with fighting, *was* now *busy* rejoicing for their success,

et ipsis plerisque regressis in sua castra, et
and *had*, the greater part of them, retired into their camp;) and

septem millia armatorum hominum potuissent
though seven thousand armed troops had been able

erumpere etiam per confertos hostes,
to force *their* way even through close battalions,

neque per se ipsi conati sunt id facere, neque
yet they neither of themselves attempted to do this, nor

voluerunt alium sequi. Prope tota nocte
were willing to follow another. Throughout nearly the whole night

P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere,
Publius Sempronius Tuditanus ceased not to admonish

adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra,
and exhort them that, 'while *but* few of the enemy *were* about the camp,

dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox posset tegere
while quiet and silence prevailed, while the night would cover

inceptum, sequerentur se ducem: ante lucem
their design, they would follow him *as* guide; before daylight

posse pervenire in loca tuta, in urbes sociorum.
they might arrive in places of safety in the cities of their allies.'

Sicut memoria avorum
If he had said, in like manner, as, within the memory of our grandfathers,

P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, sicut
Publius Decius, military tribune in Samnium, *spoke; or,* as

priore Punico bello, nobis adolescentibus,
in the former Punic war, *when* we *were* youths,

Calpurnius Flamma dixit trecentis voluntariis,
Calpurnius Flamma said to the three hundred volunteers,

cum duceret eos ad capiendum tumulum, situm
when he was leading them to sieze on an eminence situated

inter medios hostes, 'milites, moriamur, et
in the midst of the enemy, 'Soldiers, let us die, and

nostra morte eripiamus circumventas legiones ex
by our deaths extricate the surrounded legions from

obsidione:' si P. Sempronius hoc diceret
the ambuscade;' if Publius Sempronius had spoken thus, *I say,*

nec quidem duceret vos Romanos nec viros, si
he could not surely deem you *either* Romans or men, if

nemo exstitisset comes tantæ virtutis.
no one stood forward *as his* companion in such valor*ous endeavor*

Demonstrat viam ferentem non ad gloriam
But still he points out the way that leads not to glory

magis quam ad salutem; facit reduces in patriam,
more than to safety; he restores *you* to your country

ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos. Vobis deest
your parents, wives and children. Do you want

animus, ut servemini— quid faceretis,
courage in order to your preservation? What would you do

si moriendum esset pro patria? Quinquagint..
if *you* had to die for your country? Fifty

millia civium sociorumque jacent circa vos cæsa
thousand of your countrymen and allies lay around you slain

eo ipso die: si tot exempla virtutis non movent,
on that very day. If so many examples of bravery do not rouse *you*

nihil unquam movebit: si tanta clades non fecit
nothing will ever rouse you: if such a carnage has not made

vitam vilem, nulla faciet. Liberi
life insignificant, none *ever* will. *While* in freedom

atque incolumes desiderate patriam: immo desiderate,
and safety, wish for your country; nay, rather do this

dum est patria, dum estis ejus cives. Nunc
as long as it is your country, and you [are] its citizens. *It is* now

sero desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati
too late *for* you *to* wish for it, *when you are* degraded, disfranchised

jure civium, facti servi Carthaginiensium.
from the rights of citizens, *and* become the slaves of the Carthaginians.

Redituri estis pretio eo, unde abistis
Will you return by purchase to that *condition* which you relinquished

ignavia ac nequitia? P. Sempronium vestrum
through cowardice and negligence? *To* Publius Sempronius, your

civem, jubentem capere arma ac se sequi,
countryman, ordering *you* to take arms and follow him,

non audistis: paulo post audistis Hannibalem,
you did not listen; *but*, a little after, you listened to Hannibal,

jubentem prodi castra et tradi arma.
ordering *you* to betray your camp *to him*, and surrender your arms.

Quam ego accuso istorum ignaviam, cum
Why do I charge those *men* with cowardice, when

possim accusare scelus? Enim non modo recusarunt
I might tax *them* *with* villany? For they not only refused

sequi bene monentem, sed conati sunt obsistere
to follow *him* who gave *them* good advice, but attempted to hinder

ac retinere, ni viri fortissimi
and to stop *him*, had not *some* men of the greatest bravery,

strictis gladiis submovissent inertes: inquam
with their drawn swords, removed the cowards. I affirm

P. Sempronio fuit erumpendum per agmen
that Publius Sempronius had to force *his* passage through a body

civium prius quam per hostium.
of his countrymen, before *he broke* through *that* of the enemy

Patria desideret hos cives? Quorum si ceteri
Can our country regret such citizens *as these*, to whom if the rest

fuissent similes, haberet hodie neminem civem ex iis,
had been like, she would not have this day one citizen of *all* those

qui pugnaverunt ad Cannas. Ex septem millibus
who fought at Cannæ? Among seven thousand

armatorum exstiterunt sexcenti, qui auderent
armed men, there stood forth six hundred who had *the* pluck

erumpere, qui redirent in patriam liberi
to force their way, who returned to their country free

atque armati: neque quadraginta millia hostium
and in arms; nor did forty thousand of the enemy

iis obstitere. Quam tutum censetis
successfully oppose them. How safe, do you suppose,

iter futurum fuisse agminis prope duarum legionum?
would a passage have been for a band of nearly two legions?

Conscripti patres, haberetis hodie
In that case, conscript fathers, you would have had this day

Canusii viginti millia armorum fortia, fidelia,
at Canusium twenty thousand soldiers brave and faithful,

Nunc autem quemadmodum possunt hi esse boni
But now how can these *men* be good

fidelesque cives?—nam ne ipsi quidem dixerint
and faithful citizens, (for they do not even themselves claim

fortes— nisi quis potest credere fuisse,
to be brave.) unless any *man can* believe that they were *such*

ut conati sunt obsistere erumpentibus
when they attempted to stop the sallying *party*

quin erumperent; aut eos
from breaking through *the enemy?* or *can suppose* that they

non invidere illorum incolumitati cum tum
do not look with envy on the others' safety as well as

gloriæ partæ per virtutem, cum sciant
the glory acquired by their valor, when they *must* know

timorem ignaviamque esse causam sibi ignominiosæ
that their pusillanimity and cowardice were the cause of their ignominious

servitutis. Latentes in tentoriis maluerunt
servitude? Skulking in their tents, they preferred

exspectare lucem atque hostem simul, cum
to wait for the light and the enemy together, though

silentio noctis esset occasio
during the silence of the night, there was a fair opportunity

erumpendi. Defuit animus ad erumpendum e castris,
of making *their* escape. *They* lacked the courage to sally out of the camp,

habuerunt animum fortiter ad tutanda castra: obsessi
but had the resolution valiantly to defend it. Being besieged

aliquot dies noctesque, tutati sunt vallum armis,
for several days and nights, they protected their rampart by arms,

se ipsi vallo: tandem ausi passique
and themselves by their rampart. At length, having dared and suffered

ultima, cum omnia subsidia vitæ abessent,
the utmost *extremities* when every support of life failed,

viribusque affectis fame, nequirent jam
and, their strength being wasted through hunger, they could no longer

sustinere arma, victi sunt necessitatibus humanis
bear up under their armor, they were overcome by the necessities of nature

magis quam armis. Sole orto ab hostibus accessum
rather than by arms. At sunrise, the enemy approached

ad vallum; ante secundam horam nullam experti
[to] the rampart: before the second hour, without trying

fortunam certaminis tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos: hæc
the issue of any dispute, they surrendered their arms and themselves. Such

vobis fuit militia ipsorum per biduum.
I tell you, was the military service of these *men* during two days

Cum decuerat stare in acie ac pugnare, tum
When they ought to have stood firm in array and fought *on*, then

refugerunt in castra; cum pugnandum erat
they fled back into their camp; when they ought to have battled

pro vallo, tradiderunt castra, neque utiles
in defence of their rampart, they delivered up their camp: good for no

in acie neque in castris. Et redimam vos?
either in the field, or within their works. And I redeem you?

Cum oportet erumpere castris, cunctamini
When you ought to sally forth from the camp, you hesitate

ac manetis; cum manere, necesse est
and stay *there*; *and* when staying, there is a necessity

tutari castra armis, traditis et castra et arma
to protect it in arms, you surrender the camp, your arms

et vos ipsos hosti. Conscripti patres, ego
and yourselves to the enemy. Conscript fathers, I *would*

non magis censeo redimendos istos, quam
no more vote for ransoming those *men* than *I would*

dedendos Hannibali illos, qui eruperunt
for delivering up to Hannibal the others, who forced *their* way

e castris per medios hostes ac per
out of the camp through the midst of the enemy, and, with

summam virtutem se restituerunt patriæ."
the most distinguished courage, restored themselves to their country."

LXI.—Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam
After Manlius had *thus* spoken, notwithstanding

captivi attingebant cognatione plerosque quoque patrum,
the prisoners were related to many even of the senators,

præter exemplum civitatis antiquitus
et, apart from the practice of the state, *which* from the earliest times

jam inde minime indulgentis in captivos,
had ever shown very little favor to captives.

summa pecuniæ quoque movit homines; quia
the sum of money also influenced the men *of the senate*; for

nec volebant exhaurire ærarium— magna summa
they were unwilling *either* to exhaust the treasury, a great sum

jam erogata in emendos armandosque servos
having already been issued for purchasing and arming the slaves

ad militiam— nec Hannibalem locupletari,
for service, or that Hannibal should be enriched

ut fama erat maxime egentem hujusce rei.
who, as report had it, *was* particularly in want of this very thing

Triste responsum, captivos non redimi,
The sad reply, 'that the prisoners should not be ransomed,

cum redditum esset, novusque luctus jactura
being delivered, and this new *cause of* grief, in the loss

tot civium adjectus esset super veterem,
of so many citizens, being added to the former, *the people*

prosecuti sunt legatos ad portam cum magnis fletibus
escorted the deputies to the gate with copious tears

questibusque. Unus ex iis abiit domum quod
and lamentations. One of the latter went home as *if*,

fallaci reditu in castra exsolvisset se jurejurando.
by fallaciously returning into the camp, he had discharged his obligations

Ubi quod innotuit, relatumque est ad senatum,
But as soon as this became known, and was reported to the senate,

omnes censuerunt comprehendendum esse et
they all voted that he should be seized and

deducendum ad Hannibalem custodibus dictis publice.
conveyed to Hannibal, under a guard appointed by the state.

Est et alia fama de captivis:
There is, however, another account respecting the prisoners:

decem venisse primos; cum esset dubitatum
'that ten *deputies* came *at* first; *and* there being *some* hesitation

in senatu de eis, admitterentur in urbem
on the *part of the* senate as to *whether* they should be admitted into the city

necne, admissos esse ita, tamen ne
or not, they were admitted on condition, however, that *an audience of*

senatus daretur iis: deinde morantibus longius
the senate would not be granted them; afterward, on their staying longer

spe omnium tres alios insuper legatos venisse,
than the expectation of all, three additional deputies arrived,

L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium:
Lucius Scribonius, Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Manlius.

tum demum de redimendis captivis relatum esse
Then, at last, *the question* of ransoming the prisoners was proposed

ab tribuno plebis cognato Scribonii, senatum censuisse
by a plebeian tribune, a relation of Scribonius, and the senate resolved

nec redimendos, et tres novos legatos
that they should not be ransomed. On this the three last deputies

revertisse ad Hannibalem, decem veteres remansisse
returned to Hannibal, *but* the ten former remained *at Rome*,

quod regressi ad Hannibalem ex itinere
as *if by* having returned to Hannibal, *after setting* out on their journey,

per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum,
under pretence of learning afresh the names of the captives,

exsolvissent sese religione. De dedendis iis
they had fulfilled their oath. *The point* of delivering them up

actum esse magna contentione in senatu,
to the enemy was debated with much warmth in the senate,

quique censuerint dedendos
and those who were of opinion that they ought to be surrendered

victos paucis sententiis: ceterum
were overcome by a small majority. However,

proximis censoribus adeo confectos esse omnibus notis
they were, by the next censors, so severely branded with every mark

ignominiisque, ut quidam eorum extemplo consciverint
of ignominy, that some of them immediately put

ipsi sibi mortem, ceteri omni vita deinde
themselves to death, *and* the rest, for all *their* life afterwards,

caruerint non solum foro, sed prope publico
shunned not only the forum, but almost the public *streets*

ac luce. Queas magis mirari adeo discrepare
and the light.' You can more *easily* wonder that there is so much discrepancy

inter auctores, quam discernere quid sit veri.
among authors, than determine what is the truth.

Quanto autem major ea clades fuerit
How much greater, though, this present calamity was

superioribus cladibus, vel ea res est indicio,
than *any* preceding misfortunes, even this circumstance is a proof,

quod fides sociorum, quæ ad eum diem steterat firma,
that the fidelity of the allies, which until this time had continued unbroken,

tum cœpit labare, de nulla alia re profecto
now began to give way, for no other reason, certainly,

quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Hi populi
but that they despaired of the empire. The following states

autem defecere ad Pœnos, Atellani, Calatini,
actually revolted to the Carthaginians: the Atellans, the Calatians,

Hirpini, pars Apulorum, Samnites præter
the Hirpinians, a part of the Apulians, the Samnites, excepting

Pentros, omnes Bruttii, Lucani: præter hos
the Pentrians,) all the Bruttians, *and* the Lucanians; besides these,

Surrentini et ferme omnis ora Græcorum,
the Surrentinians and almost the whole coast *possessed* by the Greeks

Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique,
the Tarentines, Metapontines, Crotonians, Locrians,

et omnes Cisalpini Galli. Nec tamen eæ clades
and all the Cisalpine Gauls. Yet did not *all* these losses

defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut
and revolts of *their* allies have *such* effect, that

mentio unquam fieret pacis apud Romanos, neque
mention was ever made of peace among the Romans, either

ante consulis adventum Romam, nec postquam is rediit
before the consul's return to Rome, or after he arrived,

renovavitque memoriam cladis acceptæ.
and renewed the memory of the misfortune *they had* sustained

Quo in ipso tempore civitas fuit adeo magno animo,
But at that very time the state was *possessed* of such magnanimity

ut consuli redeunti ex tanta clade, cujus
that on the consul's returning after such a heavy disaster, of which

ipse fuisset maxima causa, ab omnibus ordinibus
he himself had been the principal cause, all ranks *of people*

et itum sit frequenter obviam, et actæ gratiæ
went out in crowds to meet *him*, and even returned *him* thanks

quod non desperasset de re publica: qui
because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; *in whose case*,

si fuisset ductor Carthaginiensium, nihil supplicii
had he been a general of the Carthaginians, no species of punishment

recusandum foret.
would have been spared.

FINIS.

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